GUIDE TO THE OA5 APAYAO FILE

[The OA5 Apayao file is concerned with the Apayao (Apayaw, Isneg) who live in Mountain Province on the island of Luzon in the Philippines. The Apayao file is a subfile of the OA1 Philippines file and the text category (Category 116) will be found in that file. The file is based upon three sources: 42: Vanoverbergh, 44: Vanoverbergh, and 46: Wilson. Vanoverbergh is a Roman Catholic missionary who has spent most of his life in the Philippines, and Wilson lived in the area in the middle 1940's. 42: Vanoverbergh and 44: Vanoverbergh present basic data on life cycle and farming respectively. 46: Wilson contains a brief sketch of Apayao culture and translations of many myths and folktales. While the Apayao file is a small one, it contains interesting materials on this pagan people living on a generally Christian island and will probably serve many research purposes, especially for comparison with their neighbors to the south, the Ifugao(OA19). The file was processed in 1955 and 1956.]

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

577 771 portant and whenever it is customary to do so; in a word, you should lead a good religious life. Indeed what can you expect from a man who does not live according to his convictions, or rather to the convictions of the generality of his tribesmen? Do you think that the spirits will leave you at rest if you do not do what is necessary, either to propitiate them or to put them to flight? Do you think you will be fortunate in your enterprises if you fail to observe, either the usual signs that will prevent you from entering upon dangerous enterprises, or the taboos which custom has told you not to transgress? It would be considered as the acme of bad behavior to live as a free-thinker in matters religious. You may say you do so to a stranger, you may appear not to believe our laws any more, when in the presence of an Ibanag,[2] otherwise he might laugh at you; but among us these things are very serious and they should be observed by all means. If you are a true Isneg, believe as an Isneg and practise your religion".

577 177 771 The Isneg, however, seem to be much less fanatical in matters religious than the Kankanay, the Bontok Igorot, and others. I have known Kankanay men to whip their Christian children for refusing to attend heathen sacrifices; such things would rarely, if ever, happen here. I shall come back to this again when comparing theory with practice.

577 829 721 "Headhunting is a glorious practice. If you are a real Isneg, you should take a few heads during your lifetime or at least help your companions in doing so. Never forego the occasion of participating in a raid planned by your friends, whether into the lowlands among Christian Iloko and Kagayan, or among Negritos, Kalinga and other Isneg at enmity with your people. If you have the opportunity to take the head of an enemy unawares, be it that of a woman or child, there you have a splendid occasion of becoming a *mĕñal*, a brave, without too much trouble and with very little danger. Not everybody has that chance, not everybody will become a brave, but you should at least try your very best to be one. What a glory

101 192 104 [2] Ibanag is the language of the Kagayan, but in an Isneg mouth the term means "anybody who is not an Isneg". What we express by saying "to become a Christian" is translated by the Isneg as "to become an Ibanag". It is almost impossible to convince them that an Isneg can become a Christian and remain an Isneg. Similar ideas obtain among the Christian tribes: they call themselves *Christiano*, whatever tribe they belong to, and all pagans in their eyes are Igorot, Kalinga, Itneg or Isneg; once baptized the latter have ceased to be anything like that; they have become Christians pure and simple.

181 or if they
152 acquire money unfairly and buy rice with it, the rice,
157 when eaten, will give them no strength. As born psy-
[577 chologists, they enjoy working on you so that you will
827] think and act as they desire. They like a practical
[522] joke even when it is on themselves. In fact, even accidents are taken as jokes and the one who has been injured is the one who laughs the hardest. When going through hardship, they show real endurance. Their code is to laugh and joke near the end just as if they had only awakened from a good sleep.

181 The Apayaos are courageous and lovers of free-
175 dom. The Spaniards never did conquer them, and even we Americans had a difficult time establishing our benevolent government. It was necessary to continue the military control for many years; and only in 1923 was civil government established. During the first part of the Japanese occupation, Apayao was a place of refuge for fleeing Americans and, after the fall of Corregidor, Cabugao was made the headquarters of the USAFFE of Northern Luzon. The Japanese did not establish themselves here in these mountain fastnesses until March, 1943. They did not find the people at all willing to collaborate and left in August, 1944. When the Americans returned, the Apayaos volunteered, almost to a man, to assist in defeating the Japanese. Many acted as "bolo men" without pay, and served as cargados, messengers and laborers. Thus they neglected even their farming, so that this year their crops are small.

● 101 These people call themselves *Isnegs* and are so known by the neighboring *Ibanags*, whose language is related to theirs. Probably they are called Apa-

yaos after the principal river in their country. Some say the word Apayao was originated in their fierce battle cry *"Ma-ap-ay-ao."* During this call the hand is clapped rapidly over the mouth so that the cry sounds much like the American Indian war-whoop. This cry is also used at a feast: when a new visitor comes, when the basi is brought in, and when a pig is killed.

I will endeavor to describe, from personal observation of its still numerous cultural remains, something of the life of the Apayaos as it no doubt existed little changed during the long centuries during which their folktales were formed.

The life of these people has much to do with the streams of the country along which most of them live. They do not live on the river flats, but on the mountain sides for safety. Many of their communities are named after the streams near which they are located. A considerable part of the food is obtained from the streams; and they are used for washing, bathing and swimming, as well as for scenery. Much of the transportation is on the streams, and the men are expert boatma nand raftsmen. During the heavy rainy season transportation on swollen rivers is perilous; but it is carried on somewhat. The result is that many a banca has over-turned in the roaring rapids; much valuable merchandidse still lies in the deep pools at the feet of those rapids; and many of family mourns the loss of a loved one. Therefore stories of the streams often occur in the legends of the people.

The people on each stream were isolated from each other for many centuries so that there has come to be quite a difference in their customs and dialects.

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao OA19
Apayao OA5
Kalinga OA24
Bontok OA12
Igorot OA20
Benguet

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Map of the Mountain Province and Cordillera Central Region of Northern Luzon in the Philippines.

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966

OA19 Ifugao OA19
Apayao OA5
Kalinga OA24
Bontok OA12
Igorot OA20
Benguet

IAKIgB 101-102

KEY TO MAP

Amasien	8	Lepanto	36
Asiga	7	Limos	14
Bacari	20	Mabaca	3
Bakun	37	Maducayan	29
Balbalan	13	Manangol	23
Banaao	10	Mayaoyao	40
Banat	43	Namultugan	1
Banaue	39	Naneng	17
Bauko	35	Natonin	30
Bitwagan	31	Pacil	45
Bokod	41	Pangol	21
Bonot	28	Pinokpok	44
Bontok	6	Ripang (Conner)	2
Botbot	25	Sagada	33
Buaya	4	Salegseg	12
Bugnay	25	Samoki	34
Canao	5	Sumadel	24
Dakalan	27	Tabuk	18
Dantalan	15	Talalang	9
Kalakad	19	Tanglag	16
Klangan	42	Tanudan	22
Kibungan	88	Tiempo	82

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Map showing where the Apayaos live on the northern end of Luzon Island.

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao OA19
Apayao OA5
Kalinga OA24
Bontok OA12
Igorot OA20
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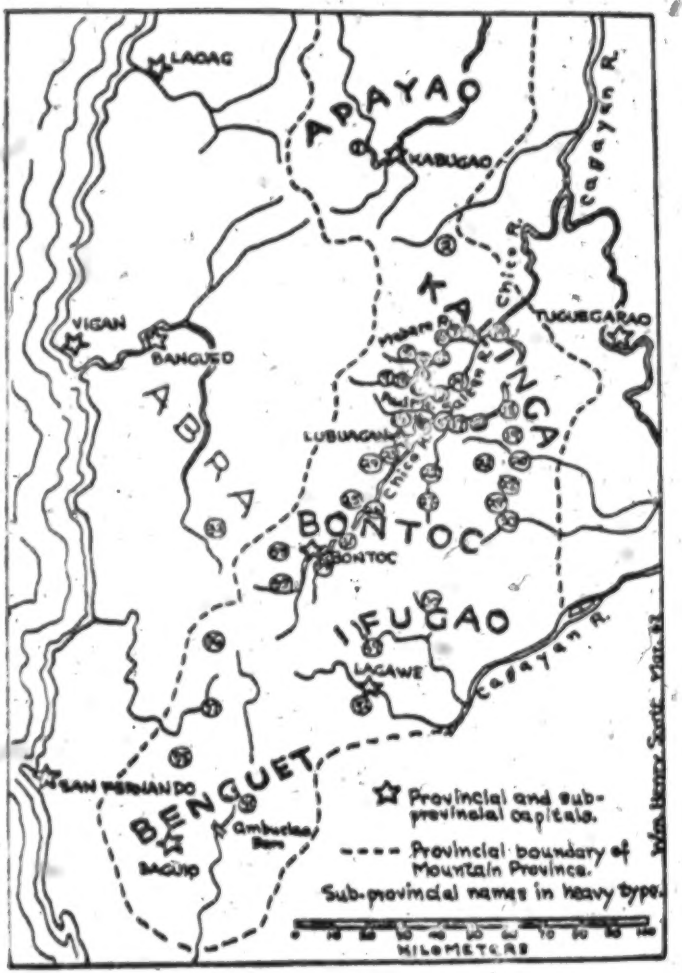

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The people on each stream were isolated from 184
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162

were also rich. But they had no bridge to cross the river when it was in flood. One day an old man named Bungsol thought of a plan. So he called all the people in that settlement and told them to gather all the big beads (*bungot*). When they had gathered all the beads, they made a long string out of them. They tied one end of the string at one side of the river and tied the other end at the other side. They put a handsome rooster on one side of the river and a pretty hen on the other side. When the rooster began to crow, the hen began to cluck and went to the rooster. She walked on the string of beads. When she was in the middle, the string broke and all the beads sank in the water. The people were angry. /03

Bungsol thought out another plan. They gathered all of the stones, banana trunks, and anything that could be used to block the Apayao River. After eight months of hard work, the river was still very high and swift. So they went down to *Abulug* to exchange their products that they might obtain goods to recoup their losses. They came to a steep mountain near Tawit, and climbed it. As they reached the top, a thick fog arose and no one could see even his companion. So they became lost and were trying to find the way. They thought that it was a flood. An old man swam through the fog. He came to what looked like a gulley. So he tried to jump across it. His companions were anxious to know how he got along. So they shouted to him, asking him if it was all right. A voice from the other side of the river answered, "Yes." So all of them jumped. But, sad to relate,

103 they had not jumped across a gully; but over a high, steep cliff facing the river. Some of them fell on the rocks and died, while the good jumpers fell into the water beyond. The lucky men returned to Madatag and told the story.

He who goes up and down the Apayao River can see the mountain from which the Madatag people jumped. There are no trees or grasses growing on it. Because of this incident, the mountain is called "Madatag Jump".

THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME OF THE BARANGAY CALLED KARAGAWAN

Once, in the early days of the world, a great swarm of mosquitoes were carrying a huge stone through the air. There were so many that they crowded each other. Each was so anxious to have a part in the carrying that they got in each others' way and lost control of the heavy weight. So the great stone dropped in the middle of the river and is to be seen there to this day.

The name for the stone which was being carried was "*Karagawan*" and so the narrow valley along the place in the river where the rock stands received that name. When the people from *Nagbayegan* migrated to the valley, their settlement was therefore called Karagawan.

Ne Banan Nga Barrio

HOW THE BARRIO OF BANAN GOT ITS NAME

(Bayag River Dialect)

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762

——*Ito nona ñga aldao owad da na maguagi nag-gangan da adi Arranggit se Sigodan.*

——Long, long time ago, there lived two sisters whose names were Arranggit and Sigodan.

——*Ngam ito Sigodan magsirap mahacabcabanan tungal ñga atan awan na wen no magkinin.*

——One of these women, Sigodan, kept on sneezing and sneezing, wherever she was, or whenever she moved.

——*Ngam igid ñga babay awan waya ñga magpana-tang-ñgam no mahabanan Magaloa.*

——But that woman was known to have no cold. When she sneezed, her tears would fall and keep her busy wiping them.

——*Owad isa ñga gidam sissa ñga nabona ito ba-layda. Ngam damdaman na pe to pinaggiyanna.*

——It was one afternoon when Sigodan was left alone in the house, solving the discomforts of life.

——*Caneno nolao ñga nangdandandem ito paciganan na nangala a battat sinala ñga nagpattal.*

——Because she was tired of her discomforts, which would continue throughout her life due to the misfortune which she had, she took some split rattan and tied the rattan around her neck tightly.

103 762 ——*Itonin natay. Caneno umbet to agina ñga Arrangit dinañgan na la ñga natay.*

——As the rattan was tied tightly around her neck, she died. And when Arrangit arrived in the morning, she found her sister dead.

——*Apos ta ammo ne Arrangit ñga nagbanal to agina tanggal ito ahababanan na ne ninagan na to barrio a banan ay panda iyan ay attan kam.*

——When Arrangit found her sister dead, she could think of nothing which would make her commit suicide if it was not on account of her misfortune and discomforts in life due to sneezing without having a cold.

——*Iyanin ya ñga gan na ipid ñga lugar rin ay Banan.*

——Since that time this settlement has the name "Banan" (which means in the dialect "always sneezing without a cold.")

HOW NAGBABALAYAN GOT ITS NAME

(Apayao River Dialect)

000 ——*O, attan kano may kina ñge Magsikam, se Naggenawdan, napan da ñga nagsapol ka nalaiwag ñga tannap ñga pagbalayan da. O, napan da ñga ñgokano daya dwa nagataiwa ñga nakadacdac panda di da nakasniac ka nappia panang ñga kua tannap. Iddi ñga tannap ay addu ñga babalay ñga—may awan ñga tulay. O, hidam mclañgin ay awan da pikam ma kinnan nang ga-*

000 *magsikam se nagenawdan.*

103 ——Once there lived in a certain *barangay*, a husband and wife by the name of Magsicam and Naggenawdan. This couple went for a walk in a certain *barangay* where there were no people living; but there were many houses, built of cogon and bamboo. Some were made of wood. When they saw these houses, they rested for a few minutes; for they were very tired and hungry.

After three days had passed, a bird came to them and asked them why they were there. The man answered: "We want to find a place for us to live; but, since we are so tired and hungry, we can't go any further than this."

When the bird and the man left the house, the woman died instantly because of her hunger. After a few days, the man came home with his heavy load on his back, and said to his wife: "Please open the door for I am very tired on account of my heavy load." But there was no answer. He then became angry and untied the fastenings of the door and dashed in. When he looked around, he saw his dead wife. He threw himself beside her-breathless. He died for the loss of his wife.

One day, Malindaw came to the *barangay* where that couple had died, and said to himself: "The best name of this place is Nagbabalayan."

(meaning: continuously houses). There it is still existing up to this day. That is how it got its name. 103

HOW ANGYOBAN STARTED HEAD-HUNTING

Many years ago in Madatag there lived a man named Angyoban. He was regarded as the bravest and most handsome of the young men. There was also a very good girl named Bandiyang whom Angyoban admired very much. He began to court her and loved her greatly; but he was not successful in his courtship. However, Angyoban was so determined to marry the girl that he continud to court her during twelve long years. 584

Then one evening in desperation, he went to the house of Bandiyang and fiercely demanded that Bandiyang should marry him. She refused, and the argument went on with Angyoban threatening more and more. At last Bandiyang said, "You shall have your demand if you obey what I tell you. Go to the land of our enemies and return with an enemy's head, shield, and *gaod*."

So Angyoban set out to go to the land of their enemies. When he had come near to the houses, he hid in ambush by one of the trails leading to the fields. This was very early in the morning. When an enemy came on his way to work, Angyoban sprang up and obtained his prize in an easy fashion. He had the 726 584.

628
726 by. Some of the Kumao warriors wanted to kill the Alisit men; but others objected. However, some threw spears and wounded the two men. But they escaped, ran to the river, and swam across. There they were safe, for the Kumao warriors could not follow.

HOW THE BARANGAY OF BADDUAT GOT ITS NAME

103 During the early days, there was fighting between the southern and northern people of Apayao. One time fighters from both north and south met in a certain place some distance below Lennang and there fought fiercely in hand to hand combat. After the fight, the southern warriors were exhausted for want of food and were lacking in brave men to fight. So they fled for home, scattering for the sake of better safety.

Unfortunately, one of the bravest and most renowned warriors, named Daguit, became confused on the way, as he was weak from hunger and suffering severely from his wounds. For these reasons, Daguit gave up and died in that place. When the other warriors arrived in their homes, he was the one found to be missing. They waited anxiously for him during two days; but in vain. Then they started in search of their missing companion. They found him dead under a tree near a brook which was strange to them. So they named the little brook in honor of Daguit. They called it *Badduat* (meaning—a dangerous place to live) : and so that is its name to this day.

000 guarded the wall with spears. Barbun tried to force the gate; but the warrior defenders beat him back with their *gaods*. He commanded some of his men to burn the neighboring houses and granaries, and the others to climb the walls; but the warriors threw their spears at them. Barbun fired arrows at the defenders; but their spears fell like rain on him. Barbun tried many times to force the gate; but he always failed. At last a defending warrior struck him hard with an *gaod*. He fell down and died. The warrior rushed over and took his head. They secured his weapons; but his comrades escaped to their homes.

HOW BALIWANAN GOT ITS NAME

● 103 Many years ago a band of warriors from the east were on their way to fight with enemies in the west. They came to a brook beside which there was a house where an old man named Bali lived.

The warriors stopped there for the night, and Bali, the old warrior, gave them a helpful lesson in the art of fighting. So they returned victorious. The heads of the enemies which they had taken were presented to Bali who buried them at the base of an old *tablang* tree as an offering to their ancestors. After that, these warriors were always successful in bringing home the heads of those whom they were fighting in their wars.

Because of the training in the art of fighting which Bali gave the warriors, he became very popular among them and his fame spread throughout the

neighboring people. They often came by that way in order to receive further instruction. So the place came to have the name: (*Bali* the warrior plus *wanan* to pass by). Baliwanan. 103

Ibobog Iya Maysa Nga Apo

A LEGEND ABOUT A POWERFUL MAN

(Bayag River Dialect)

——*Ito nona ñga aldao awan pam govierno ñgam tungal ili awan la ñga panorayan da.* 000

—— During the olden times there was no general government yet to rule the people; but in each settlement there was always one who was powerful.

——*Annan na Apayao iya barrio ñga Bayag owad ñga malmalakay ñga ito to panorayan da ngamin.*

——Among those places governed by its powerful men, was a settlement of Bayag, still found in Apayao today.

Idi ñga ili owad ñga naloray onay ñga nagngangan cani Dalañgan.

——In this Bayag settlement there lived the most powerful of the men, whose name was Dalañgan.

——*Iyid ñga lalaki nataray pacnang, ñga no mangmeeting bihigan na ñgamin to babbalan sinala bihigan to babbago.*

——He was so powerful that, when he received his people in his house, he used to gather all the maidens and bachelors into one room.

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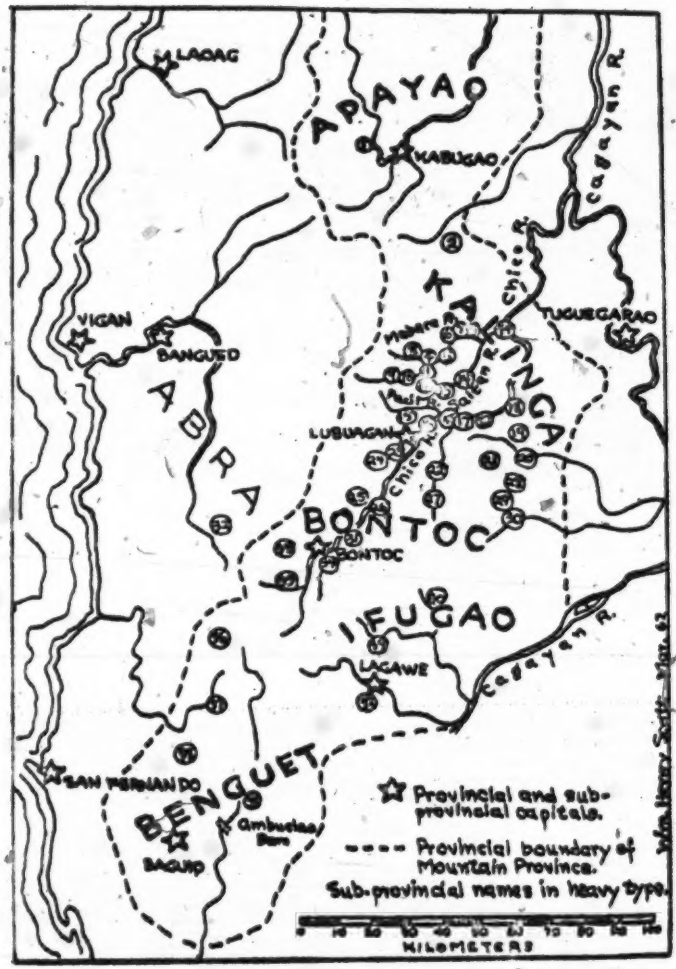

Map of the Mountain Province and Cordillera Central Region of Northern Luzon in the Philippines.

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

is not exactly what is quite ordinary, immediately all sorts of questions are asked: Why? What is the matter? What is the meaning? What might it portend? What secret is hidden behind it? And so on.

Now the pagan Isneg are no better. They also will try to find some explanation different from the natural one for any event that does not look entirely ordinary to them. And so the birth of twins being a rather rare occurrence, there must be something the matter with it. Twins. Who ever heard of two children being born at once from one husband and one wife, without there being a secret behind the whole affair? Twins: this is far from common. And there you are; an explanation has to be found. Now there is one ready at hand, and to the Isneg mind a very reasonable one, it is not even necessary to enter into the realm of spirits: two children at once must be the product of two men; when one man who lives in bigamy begets two children simultaneously from two women, there are at least three authors, so now also these twins must be the offspring of three persons, —in this case of only one woman of course, and thus necessarily of two men.

Now what to do? Just kill one of them, put it out of the way, and so avoid the shame attached to the whole affair; kill all gossip in the bud. But is every child not welcome? Certainly it is, but a child has no business bringing a companion with it, and the joy of the parents will be complete with the single child; the other one, if alive, will not add to that joy, nor, if dead, detract from it. Here of course the husband is faced with a dilemma: either his wife is a virtuous woman or she is not; if she is, and maybe he knows her to be so, then how can she have a child by another man? If she is not, why does he not divorce her? Yes, but this dilemma does not confront the Isneg, his reasoning does not extend as far as that. If he knew his wife to have been unfaithful, that would be reason enough for him to divorce her without needing the birth of twins to convince him. Here he stands before an extraordinary event, the birth of twins; he has found an explanation for it: the action of a third person. This is a very shameful affair to both husband and wife, but he will eliminate all difficulties at once: one of the twins will be done away with. And there his reasoning stops, the incident is closed.

Here follow a few Isneg expressions with reference to little children:

Babbíń or *ababbíń*, when used by the parents: son, daughter, child.

Ababbíń, when used by the parents: sons, daughters, children.

Ababbíń, when used by other persons: little children not yet able or barely able to walk.

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
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104 *Aná-* (used only in G [B and/or A.—Ed.] branch of Ô dialect) or *an-aná-*, when used by the parents: son, daughter, child.

601 *Anáná-*, when used by the parents: sons, daughters, children.

192 *Anáná-*, when used by other persons: children up to the age of puberty.

Abbí-: very small babe.

Abbág: child. A term used contemptuously by older people.

Mazabilin: to watch the baby.

Magtaddáy: to try to stand without support, to learn how to walk. Said of little children.

Magkalúsig: to weep, to cry, when father or mother goes away. Said of little children.

Manaŋgósi: to carry a child on the nape of one's neck, keeping the little one in a sitting position, its legs dangling in front, one on either side. An Isneg father often carries his baby that way, provided the latter has already attained a certain age.

Poŋanán: to give to eat, to feed (human beings). To feed animals is *pakkanán*. Both from the stem *kán* and the suffix *an*; only prefix differs: *paŋ* (the *k* of the stem being eliminated) in the first case, *pa* (the *k* of the stem being reduplicated) in the second.

C. NAMES AND NAMING

553 Now we come to the giving of a name. It goes without saying that
551 among the Isneg, like among most primitive peoples, there is no question of a family name. Every man and woman, every body and girl, has his or her own personal name, and that is all. But what's in a name? To an Isneg the name of a person in a way stands for that person's own self; to call his name is to call the person in question.

And so when a child is repeatedly ill, which means "pestered by the spirits", the best way to cure it is to change its name, or, to use the Isneg expression, "to shift its name (*ialít ya ŋáxanna*)". Let the spirits amuse themselves with the old name, the child as it was formerly; as it is at present, with its new name, its new personality, the spirits will have to leave it in peace: they have been fooled once more by the cleverness of poor mortals, they will pester an old name, a lost personality, and use their evil influence in vain; the new child, the child with the new name, will escape unscathed.

551 Again, do not pronounce the name of a dead person, an Isneg
769 "takes pity on him (*alakkán*)"; leave him in peace where he is, do

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Isneg

Another set of names has to do with certain happenings or other circumstances of time or place connected with the birth of a child, as has been hinted at before. For instance, when *Kábo*, a Nagbabalayan boy was born, it happened that one of the corporals (Spanish *cabo*) of the constabulary passed through that settlement at the time; and a boy who was born at Abbil while some people from Claveria were staying at his father's house, was called by the name of that town. But I do not believe this to be so exceedingly common,—at least actually, the more so that names with a known meaning are comparatively rare. I say "actually", because names that have no meaning at present may have had one before: the language of the Isneg has not remained stationary, any more than has that of other peoples. In Kankanay songs for instance, one encounters lots of antiquated words, some whose meaning is still known, although other terms have actually taken their place in popular language, and others whose meaning has been forgotten and lost for ever.

It may also happen of course that a certain name, now meaningless, was given for some circumstance that has since been forgotten; but on the other hand it is also far from sure that all names that have a known meaning were given for such a reason. I only mention here the name of *Mabíni* related before: the name has a meaning, but it was given merely at the suggestion of a teacher. So after all very few conclusions can be drawn from the fact that a name has a meaning or no meaning. Indeed, let us suppose that a certain *Súxăy* (no meaning) passes through the village at the time of the birth of a boy; that boy will perhaps be called *Súxăy*, and after a very short lapse of time the whole occurrence will be forgotten, as *Súxăy* is a very popular name among the Isneg.

Here may be mentioned some of the native Isneg names that have a meaning:

Baldś (M): lemon.
Basáń (M): ginger.
Uddn (M): rain.
Ósań (M or F): bagasse.
Adds (F): a kind of sedge, Scleria sp.; its leaves have very sharp
Barańdy (F): canoe.
Barańdy (F): canoe.
Baťó (F): stone.
Dódon (F): locust.
Xabí (F): night

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551 *Xídam* (F): evening

104 *Mámaw* (F): a kind of herb used in magical practices.

192 *Pariyá* (F): a vine of the squash family with edible fruits, Momordica ovata. Cogn.

551 For the rest any name will do, provided it pleases everybody concerned. This was repeatedly told me all over Apayaw, although the preferences referred to above, either all three or only one or two of them, were usually mentioned, and occasionally the question of some circumstance connected with the time or place of birth.

551 177 Actually one finds more and more Isneg youngsters who bear a Christian name, not only the one given them at baptism or in school, but the original name given at birth. So at Nagsimbanan and at Magapta we find a *Delfín* (M); at Musimut, *Xosé* (José) (M); at Baliwanan, *Kolás* (Nicolás) (M); at Nagilian (Namaltugan), *Román* (M); at Butaw, *Siyón* (Concepción) (M); at Bayag, *Donáta* (F); at Bayag, *Faustína* (F); at Musimut, *Leónsiya* (Leoncia) (F); at Lako, *Máriya* (María) (F); at Musimut, *Méri* (Mary) (F); at Kabugaw, *Néli* (Nellie) (F); at Abbil, *Rufína* (F); at Bayag, *Simóna* (F); at Nagsimbanan, *Verón* (Verónica) (F).

Such names occur even among those of older people; in this case they were probably brought in from the lowlands, from the Christian provinces, whither the Isneg frequently went either on headhunting expeditions or with the purpose of bartering their wares for clothes and so on. Thus at Musimut there is a *Sáriyo* (Cesario) (M); at Genned, an *Isabél* (F). At Lettuakan there was a man, now dead, called *Antón* (Antonio), the father of a young man called *Ásiyo* (Nicasio, Engracio, or some other name with a similar ending). Another *Antón* still lives at Bolo.

[554] Some Isneg names are nothing but the family name or the title of public servants.

551 Family names:

Bawánen (M), at Bayag: after Mr. Bawanen, a sanitary inspector.
Bunnáw (M), at Karagawan: a soldier.
Dison (M), at Mayaw: after Lt. Dizon of the Constabulary.
Dukúsen (M), at Musimut: after Mr. Ducusin, a former lieutenant-governor.
Galiyárdo (M), at Maduang: after Mr. Gallardo, a teacher.
Gársiya (M), at Lukab: after Lt. Garcia of the Constabulary.
Xárma (M), at Musimut: after Mr. Garma, a teacher.

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Isneg expressions referring to names and worthy of notice are the following:

kalóbaxán: a name that has the same ending as another one. *Magkalóbán*: to bear each a name with the same ending. For instance: *Balás, Kolás*; *Éba, Xawwá*; *Basán, Dawwán*; *Antóniyo, Asiyo*, etc.

isáń and *ébăy*: familiar diminutive names for girls in general. Similar names are: in Iloko, *ínińi*; in Ibanag, *néne-* (probably from the Spanish *nene*, "baby, whether boy or girl").

Nicknames, as applied to one particular person, are used very sparingly among the Isneg. I know of only one case: a Lettuakan boy, called *Asiyo* and baptized Pedro, is very generally called *Paláli* even by his own relatives. *Paláli* is the name of a tree, and also of its fruits, which are edible, but very sour.

The Isneg are not very good genealogists. It very often happens that a young man or an adult girl does not even know the name of one or more of their grandparents, especially if the latter died before their grandchild was born. When asked about such names, the Isneg who happens not to know them usually excuses his ignorance by saying: "*Akkáńko nasińán* (I did not see him or her)".

II. Education

It might be thought at first sight that the Isneg leads a very unhappy and miserable life, a life full of drudgery, a life devoid of all comforts and possessing only a minimum of pleasure. But when you come to consider him more intimately, to enter more deeply into the matter, it does not take long for you to be convinced of the contrary. Indeed, he has very few needs; it is comparatively easy, to quote Jerome K. Jerome in "Three Men in a Boat", for an Isneg "to have enough to eat and enough to wear, and a little more than enough to drink", and he has little work to do. Besides, look at the fine family life he is living: if he has a good diligent wife, and most Isneg women are like that, and plenty of children around, really his bliss exceeds all understanding, I mean the understanding of a Caucasian with his manifold cares and innumerable wants.

Again at first sight, it might seem that the children's education is reduced to the very minimum, or rather that the youngsters get no education at all, as everybody, not excepting the children, seems to shift for himself and to do as he pleases. One would be the more inclined to think so when comparing the Isneg with other primitive

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577 portant and whenever it is customary to do so; in a word, you should
771 lead a good religious life. Indeed what can you expect from a man who does not live according to his convictions, or rather to the convictions of the generality of his tribesmen? Do you think that the spirits will leave you at rest if you do not do what is necessary, either to propitiate them or to put them to flight? Do you think you will be fortunate in your enterprises if you fail to observe, either the usual signs that will prevent you from entering upon dangerous enterprises, or the taboos which custom has told you not to transgress? It would be considered as the acme of bad behavior to live as a freethinker in matters religious. You may say you do so to a stranger, you may appear not to believe our laws any more, when in the presence of an Ibanag,[2] otherwise he might laugh at you; but among us these things are very serious and they should be observed by all means. If you are a true Isneg, believe as an Isneg and practise your religion".

577 The Isneg, however, seem to be much less fanatical in matters reli-
177 gious than the Kankanay, the Bontok Igorot, and others. I have
771 known Kankanay men to whip their Christian children for refusing to attend heathen sacrifices; such things would rarely, if ever, happen here. I shall come back to this again when comparing theory with practice.

577 "Headhunting is a glorious practice. If you are a real Isneg,
829 you should take a few heads during your lifetime or at least help
721 your companions in doing so. Never forego the occasion of participating in a raid planned by your friends, whether into the lowlands among Christian Ilоko and Kagayan, or among Negritos, Kalinga and other Isneg at enmity with your people. If you have the opportunity to take the head of an enemy unawares, be it that of a woman or child, there you have a splendid occasion of becoming a *mĕñal*, a brave, without too much trouble and with very little danger. Not everybody has that chance, not everybody will become a brave, but you should at least try your very best to be one. What a glory

101 [2] Ibanag is the language of the Kagayan, but in an Isneg mouth the term means
193 "anybody who is not an Isneg". What we express by saying "to become a Christian" is translated by the Isneg as "to become an Ibanag". It is almost impossible to convince them that an Isneg can become a Christian and remain an
104 Isneg. Similar ideas obtain among the Christian tribes: they call themselves *Christiano* whatever tribe they belong to, and all pagans in their eyes are Igorot, Kalinga, Itneg or Isneg; once baptized the latter have ceased to be anything like that; they have become Christians pure and simple.

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my bananas, hoping in this way to catch him unaware, but as quick as lightning he retorted: "*Kinalbáw nāyá áto* (the dog ate them)". Now the poor boy never thought of the impossibility of that press being opened by a dog, and even in case it could have been done, of the improbability of a dog leaving the meat aside and choosing the bananas instead.

On another occasion I had observed that a kind Iloko lady had missed Mass on two consecutive Sundays; and so at our first meeting I made a little remark about the matter, but she was as quick as my Isneg boy in retorting: "I had my menses". This I merely answered with another question: "Twice a month?"

It may be hard indeed for any innocent person not to defend himself when he has been accused unjustly, but for an Isneg I think it would be simply heroic to keep silent after a reproof, even though it be slight and most amply deserved. And even when the unreasonableness of his excuse has been demonstrated to him, he must be a very dull fellow indeed if he will not immediately try another one, without even stopping to think whether it may not be as little acceptable as the one just rejected.

Another custom which very often makes abstraction of truth or error as we understand it is their manner of answering a question. No conscientious inquirer should ever forget that these people are in the habit of answering a question, not according to truth, but according to what they believe you except to hear from them. I would be the last to accuse them of wilful lying under the circumstances, and would much prefer to put the blame on their inborn desire to please you. This goes to show that one has to be very careful in proffering judgment on our Isneg, not only with reference to questions that may have been answered the wrong way, but also with reference to obedience in general to those precepts of their moral code that have to do with truthfulness and lying. The blame of the whole affair is very often to be laid, either on the inquirer himself who should know something about the mentality of this people, or on the courtesy of the latter: in this case they should be credited, not with the vice of lying, but with the social virtue of politeness.

A few Isneg expressions with a direct or indirect bearing on the education and home life of the child may here be appended:

Aydyam: Toy.

Lulluplan: Said of a child who cries for the smallest reason.

Dumdúm: Dull, unhandy at work. Also: dull at learning.

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857 *Magdaldál*: Said of a mother who badly wants to see her absent child.

192 *Kakóboń*: Family, parents and children.

104 *Makikóboń*: To live together in the same house (two different families, servants of the family).

601 *Amá* or *ammá*: Father.

Iná or *inná*: Mother.

Wazí: Brother, sister. Plural: *wawáxi*.

Manákam: Oldest brother or sister (the first of all); also: parents, ancestors.

Udiyán: Youngest brother or sister (the last of all).

Ulitág: Uncle.

Íkit: Aunt.

Kapinsán: First cousin.

Kapiduwá: Second cousin.

Kapi-ló: Third cousin (prefix *kapi* and stem *talló*, "three").

Katuxáńan: Father-in-law, mother-in-law.

Manúxań: Son-in-law, daughter-in-law.

Kâyoń or *katâyúg*: Brother-in-law.

Ípāg: Sister-in-law.

Kabírat: The relation that exists between the husbands or wives of two brothers or sisters, or the husband of a woman and her brother's wife.

Bálo: widower, widow (mourning).

Búkud: widower, widow (after the mourning period is over).

601 Many of these terms have a very elastic meaning. *Wazí* may be either a real brother or sister, or simply any kind of relative. *Amá* and *iná* may sometimes refer to any relative whose relation is similar to that of father and mother, for instance: uncle and aunt, etc. *Kâyoń* may be either a real brother-in-law or the husband of a first cousin, etc.

III. Daily Routine

512 Although the daily life of an Isneg is not regulated by the clock,
264 there is nevertheless a certain order in the routine of his duties and occupations. The family generally rises at daybreak. An Isneg begins the day as soon as artificial light can be dispensed with, and if yams (*úbi*) or sweet potatoes (*kamusí*) are available, the women cook them on the never-absent fire, and all inmates of the house try to get their share as best they can. As soon as this informal break-

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586 When *Rukkadéń* ran homewards in order to fetch his gun, *Kadáw*
684 again had followed him hoping to give him the coup de grâce, but
628 when the latter had got hold of his gun, *Kadáw* had fled a second
703 time and hid in the municipal building. *Rukkadéń* had shown at
578 least that he was not a coward: although wounded to death he had faced his adversary and tried to kill him; he died a couple of hours later. The whole Isneg outfit of policemen and soldiers had not made a very brave stand either, as the last scene of the drama was enacted in the public square, and none of them dared approach old *Kadáw*, who had entrenched himself in the building just referred to and refused to lay down his headax reeking with blood. He finally surrendered at the summons of the lieutenant of the constabulary who threatened him with his revolver.

192 In concluding this account of marriage, the following Isneg ex-
585 pressions may be recorded:

Mańén: Menses.

837 *Maxatáwa:* To marry. Said of both men and women.

Mańatáwa: To marry. Said only of men.

104 *Makiatáwa:* To marry. Said only of women.

Meatáwa: To be married. Said only of women.

Mańaduwá: To live in bigamy. From the stem *duwá*, "two", and the complex prefix *mańa*, syncopated for *mań* and *ka*.

Mańa-ló: To have three wives. From the syncopated stem *talló*, "three", and the complex prefix *mańa*.

Dumaládag: To commit adultery, to be in love with another man. Said of married women.

Manaládag: To commit adultery with a married woman. Said of men, whether married or single.

192 *Sumibná:* To separate, to go and live in another house. This does
586 not always and necessarily mean divorce; it may also mean that somebody stops living with a certain family in order to go and live
104 somewhere else; for instance, a young married couple who have built themselves a new house, or who go to live in a house different from the one they have previously lived in, provided the latter was inhabited at the same time by another family, who continue to live there after their former companions went away.

105, 113, 131, 142, 157, 161, 177, 262, 291, 302, 304, 721, Apayao OA5

[For information on location, physical type, personality, population, acculturation, diet, clothing, toilet, tatooing and headhunting, see 58: Barton, OA1 Philippines, category 116, pp. 300-301.]

105, 113, 131, 142, 157, 161, 177, 262, 291, 302, 304, 721, Apayao OA5

[For information on location, physical type, personality, population, acculturation, diet, clothing, toilet, tatooing and headhunting, see 58: Barton, OA1 Philippines, category 116, pp. 300-301.]

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[For information on the location of the Apayao of northern Luzon, see 58: Barton, OA1 Philippines, category 116, pp. xx.]

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THE ISNEG LIFE CYCLE. I. BIRTH, EDUCATION, AND DAILY ROUTINE

By MORICE VANOVERBERGH, C.I.C.M.

Mountain Province, Philippine Islands

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[1] On the habitat of the Isneg of the subprovince of Apayaw, Mountain Province, Northern Luzon, Philippine Islands, see details in M. Vanoverbergh, The Isneg, Publ. Cath. Anthrop. Conf., 1932. v. 3, no. 1, esp. pp. 55–57, map, p. 51: on Isneg

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language, with phonetic key, ibid., pp. 3–14. [Since writing and forwarding the manuscript of the present paper, Father Vanoverbergh has discovered that what he previously had called the G branch of the O dialect of Isneg is in reality two separate branches which he is now calling the Bayag branch (abbrev. B), spoken in the municipal district of Bayag, and the Abbil (abbrev. A) branch, spoken in the municipal district of Namaltugan. So he is eliminating G and substituting B and A. Detailed data on B and A, received from Father Vanoverbergh since

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the receipt of this manuscript, will be published shortly.—Ed.] In native words used in the present paper the accent (') is placed over, instead of after, the accented vowel. Accented n (n̄), however, denotes, not accent, but the ng sound in English "bring".

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836 course, and the distinction seems rather to be theoretical than prac-
673 tical: nevertheless that is what is going on in the Isneg mind as far
684 as I understand it. To them purpose and intention mean very little,
672 as will be shown again very soon when I shall refer to killing as a crime; what counts is the result. If a boy chances to sleep with a girl without rendering her pregnant, the Isneg may perhaps not see anything very wrong in the whole affair, but woe to him if fate is against him.

836 Nevertheless with reference to young women, the code is much
684 stricter, although the boy will suffer a much harder immediate punishment for his delinquency than will the girl. A girl should never think of doing anything in that line; a boy might perhaps be inclined to do it, but he should know the consequences, if the result is what it should not be.

834 I have described in my introduction to this paper how certain
626 Isneg parents refused to send their girls to school on account of the notoriously immoral conduct of their teacher, and here is what we read in a little manual of instructions for soldiers of the Philippine Constabulary: "No Isneg woman should be joked with or touched by anyone. Christian cargadores or servants should be cautioned about this, as serious trouble may result".[2]

836 Once I heard a boy of some twelve years old, who was working for
533 wages here at Kabugaw, improvise a little song, probably in order to render the work less heavy and to relieve his tiredness. The song was not what you would call a religious one, but it served to show very nicely the ideas current among these people, and at the same time it proved that even the Isneg understood the meaning of what is called an "occasion of sin" (in this case: the sin of impregnating a girl). I may be permitted to write the song down exactly as I heard it: "Do not approach my vulva, I do not want you to have sexual intercourse with me, I am afraid of becoming pregnant: so say the women".

836 A boy who has made a girl pregnant has to marry her; if he refuses,
684 the raids just referred to take place without exception, and the family of the boy loses everything. The same happens when a married man commits adultery with a girl and impregnates her; in his case of course there is rarely question of marriage, and the raids take place almost without exception. Formerly the boy must have been for-

[2] Camp John Hay Guide Book. A Trip to Ifugao and Bontoc. By Captain Harrington W. Cochran, Coast Artillery Corps, 1923, p. 28.

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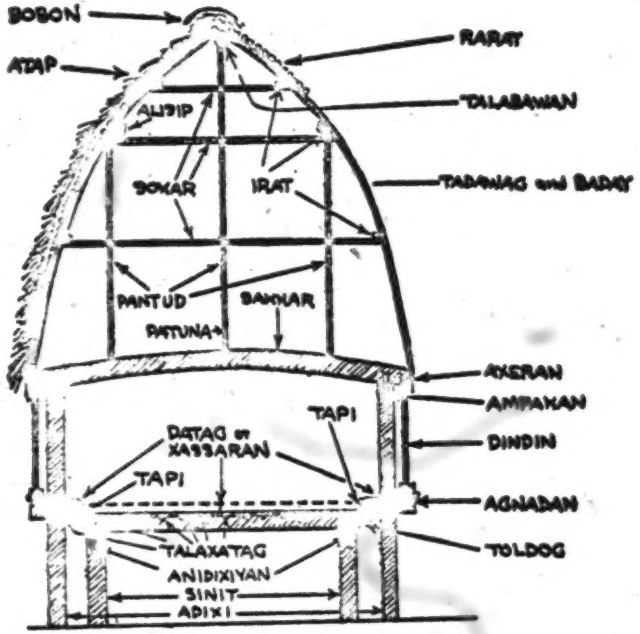

Fig. 6. — Isneg *binuron*-style house. The diagram is a composite of an unoccupied house built about 1905 in *barrio* Magabta, Kabugao, and another unoccupied house in *sitio* Malitaw, Namultugan, examined on 18-20 April 1956; terminology taken from "Isneg Buildings" by Morice Vanoverberg, CICM, *The Philippine Journal of Science*, Vol. 82, No. 1 (March 1953), pp. 77-108.

[114] [113]

Southern Strain. Each of these two long girders (*anadixiyan*) is mortised into the top of three posts (*sinit*) which elevate the floor to about the height of a man's shoulder, and across these girders are eleven floor joists (*toldog*). The actual flooring (*datag* or *xassaran*), however, is a mat of bamboo grass or rattan, and it rests on a series of thin laths (*talaxatag*) mortised into the upper surface of the joists, parallel, therefore, to the girders beneath. Also riding on the joists are two longi-

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which protrudes beyond the ends of the house to protect the smoke holes in the gables.

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[824]
The Isneg house not being square in plan, its opposite ends are quite different from one another. At one end, just outside but a bit higher than the transverse beam into which the upper ends of the wall-boards are rabbeted, is another transverse beam whose upper edge is grooved to receive a second tier of wall boards which close the upper section of the gable save for a few feet at the top which are left open as a smoke hole or only loosely covered with horizontal bamboo. The other end of the house terminates in a kind of transverse platform or annex with a lean-to roof up against the gable itself; at the outer two corners of this little annex, in line with the full width of the building, are two more *sinit*-posts under the wall itself, a circumstance which has led some observers to report with slightly dramatic exaggeration that the floor, walls and roof of the Isneg house are supported on three separate sets of posts. The floor of

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this annex is slightly higher than even the little side platforms of the house proper; Cole reported fifty years ago that it was a special sleeping area for men,[104] and H. Otley Beyer recalls that women were not even allowed to set foot there.[105] In the long sides of the

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house three or four windows are produced simply by omitting some of the wall-boards; since the door opens into one of these sides, however, it might be more appropriate to refer to it as the "front" rather than "side".

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Entrance is gained by means of a permanent short flight of steps or ladder.

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[104] Cole, Fay-Cooper, "Distribution of the Non-Christian Tribes of Northwest Luzon," *American Anthropologist*, new series, Vol. XI, No. 3 (July-September 1909), p. 347.

[105] Personal statement during interview in Manila on Feb. 19, 1962.

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at night and that the owners had allowed him to do so. He immediately set out for Kabugaw, firmly intent in claiming his daughter back, and he only desisted from his purpose after he had been convinced that the rumor was entirely unfounded. On the other hand another Baliwanan girl was allowed to follow a Kagayan into another village and to live maritally with him for a certain period of time, after which she came back home.

Go to another near-by settlement: some parents object to their daughters going to school for reasons given in the introduction of this paper, while others allow them not only to go to school but even to live at the house of the teacher.

Let us pass over to Talifugu. A girl becomes pregnant, and the case is dropped. The same man, a Kagayan, deflowers another girl with the same result, and he is left no peace until he marries her.

At Dagara: a girl has the reputation, which I understand to be deserved, of being of very loose morals; she is left all liberty by her parents; while the generality of the Dagara girls behave as decently as anywhere else.

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I twice assisted at a small Isneg sacrifice, once at Ampaw and once at Abbil. In the former place, everything went on as if it were the most serious and most important act that could be performed by an Isneg: all details were attended to with the utmost earnestness and accuracy; while at Abbil, the whole ceremony seemed rather to be considered as an irksome duty: it looked like a joke when compared with the Ampaw case. It must be conceded that the Abbil people were more or less ill at ease on account of my presence; but I was equally present at Ampaw, and in the latter place I was even sitting much nearer the shaman than at Abbil, nevertheless the shaman and her helpers never flinched.

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I have little chance to read books on anthropology, but I understand it has been stated in some of them that primitives think in common, that among primitives every community has something like one mind for all individuals; how exactly the books express it I do not know, but I am sure that my readers who know about it, understand what I mean. Now, I know nothing at all from personal experience about primitives living in other parts of the world, but with reference to our Mountain people, whether Negritos or Malays, Kankanay or Isneg, I dare say that anybody who would pass a few weeks among them, would not have to take the trouble any more to form an opinion on the subject or to try to frame some theory, the

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156 truth would have been so patent that it would have thrust itself
184 upon him.

I must confess that I also had my prejudices, when I first came
181 to the Mountain Province of Luzon: I thought that primitives were
114 different, that they were not at all like other people I had met up till then, that you could not very well treat with them as with other normal human beings, that they were very unsophisticated. Well, I had scarcely been a week among the Kankanay, when my superior left me alone and in charge of the mission for a fortnight. He told me to buy all possible timber that the natives might bring for sale, with the help of the cook as interpreter, and, in order to induce them to bring plenty of it, to give them, besides the ordinary payment, a few leaves of tobacco gratis. Very soon two young men came along (probably they also thought that I was something different) and stated that they had timber for sale, that they had left it at the outskirts of the town and that they would bring it in if I wanted them to do so. I told them, of course I did. Then the rascals asked me for tobacco, and I gladly gave them a few leaves each. So they went . . . , and never came back . . . And I knew.

156 Yes, they are human beings just like you and me, and they are as
184 different from one another as you and I. The only thing that might
181 be conceded is that the members of each tribe wear a kind of uniform,
151 that is that they use the same kind or almost the same kind of clothes,
114 that you can usually see at first glance that a certain individual is an Isneg, although he be mixed with a thousand others who are not Isneg. But here the identity stops. I had much more difficulty at first in distinguishing one individual from another. In the beginning of my stay among the Kankanay, the latter looked almost all alike to me; I really thought that they were reduced to a few types and that all the others conformed to these few; and also in this I have been disillusioned. Besides, the same also obtains the other way. Primitives who first come in contact with a limited number of white men, generally experience the same difficulty when trying to distinguish them from one another. Here in Kabugaw I have been asked more than once if my assistant and I were brothers, even when we were sitting side by side, and although we do not resemble each other in the least, not even in the color of the hair, which in our case is very noticeable. Both of us have beards, and while my hair, well, turns grey, that of my assistant rivals the sun's rays in its bright golden color. There is nothing new under the sun.

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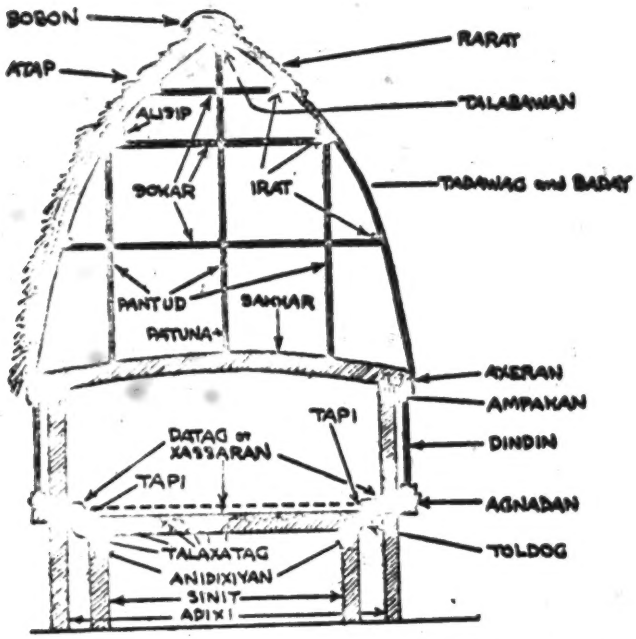

Fig. 6. — Isneg *binuron*-style house. The diagram is a composite of an unoccupied house built about 1905 in *barrio* Magabta, Kabugao, and another unoccupied house in *sitio* Malitaw, Namultugan, examined on 18-20 April 1956; terminology taken from "Isneg Buildings" by Morice Vanoverberg, CICM, *The Philippine Journal of Science*, Vol. 82, No. 1 (March 1953), pp. 77-108.

[114]
[113]

Southern Strain. Each of these two long girders (*anadixiyan*) is mortised into the top of three posts (*sinit*) which elevate the floor to about the height of a man's shoulder, and across these girders are eleven floor joists (*toldog*). The actual flooring (*datag* or *xassaran*), however, is a mat of bamboo grass or rattan, and it rests on a series of thin laths (*talaxatag*) mortised into the upper surface of the joists, parallel, therefore, to the girders beneath. Also riding on the joists are two longi-

[824]

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197 2. On my own part:

126 In my dealings with the Isneg I use the Main branch of the O dialect, while in writing I use the K branch for reasons given before.[6] So it may have happened that, in writing down texts, my own ordinary use of M has influenced me to write down a given word as I myself would have pronounced it, or my use of K in writing has caused me to put down K's where they were absent in the informant's pronunciation.

Nevertheless I have always tried to write down texts as faithfully as possible, and now I start publishing them as I have them, without trying to correct anything, even though an occasional guttural that appears in a given term does not belong to the correct language of a given informant.

The above warning is given here once for all, and it refers to all Isneg texts that I shall publish in the future.

TEXT I

[584] This text is a continuous dialogue between a boy and the girl he goes to court for the first time. My informant is Baydan from Tawit
[115] (M), and he calls it *maibabbáy*, "courting the girls".

539 1. *Lalái: iápugnā- man ikáw*[7] *ta adú kanó ya mamā́mmo a nā́nda.*
Babā́y: āwán pańalakkā́nta ka mamá ńa ńáxan balái.[8]

2. *L.: nā́mmo ā́y pagdamadámagda ńa nagsiníińde ka mamá.*
B.: díta maxańgám no mapooná ńam ā́y.

3. *L.: mańuwáa pagká- kiyá atā́n kammalańín simpapadā́n.*
B.: turā́ńka mańuwá ka ibatā́ymo ka asitólā́ymo.

4. *L.: díka mańaluníb kiyá ittó ya nā́ńko.*
B.: xapó walá xané ta ummā́nta kiddí ya agdalidálēnta ńa dadúma.

[6] Op. cit., 14.

192 [7] *ikáw*, sometimes pronounced *kaw*, which literally means "you", and which I render by 'you', is a little term which is very hard to translate. The Isneg use it all the time, and always in the form *ikáw*, although when it stands for the personal pronoun, those who use the Main branch pronounce *iáw*. Here thus it stands for something like "come on now", "what is the matter", but it changes its shade of meaning with every context.

[8] *balái* is a term used with affectation; the real ordinary word is *babā́y*; *balái* is made to look similar to *lalái*, "man".

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192 Three Iloko terms, almost in juxtaposition with their corresponding Isneg terms:

In (12) and passim: *panúnut*, "thought", Isneg *damdám* (in 14).
In (13), *kaási*, "pity", "mercy", Isneg *allá-*.
In (15), *arámid*, "doing", "acting", Isneg *nwá*.

TEXT II

584 115 This text, like the preceding, consists in a continuous dialogue between a boy and the girl he goes to court for the first time. My informant is Umila from Abbil (A), and he calls it *mamgbáy*, "to court a girl".

539

1. *L.: magápugka man ikáw.*
   B.: áwán abbulón.
2. *L.: daddán turá áwán no iyá- ya maiápug ta.*
   B.: wáyyó ńalá iddánta ya áwán.
3. *L.: ta daddán turáńka mapáwanán ta.*
   B.: úráy nad atán abbulón áy piyánnu pĕ nad.
4. *L.: bakkánnu a abbulón piyán no daáyó.*
   B.: magiyámánta a no ummán kiyán.
5. *L.: áy símpre bakkánnu id kammalańín piyán ya mańiápug.*
   B.: ô walá no andaáyó.
6. *L.: se pĕ lugúd ta bakkámmo piyán mańilnáb ki mamám.*
   B.: ammóta ma- no piyánnu ya dagapágap ńa gawád.
7. *L.: bakkámmo a piyán babáy no iáw.*
   B.: ô námmo walá a kiyán ikáw kiyá ummán pĕ idí.
8. *L.: agkúd kammalańín lu-sáwańko úráy dagapágap ńa gawád.*
   B.: no áwánmo lu-sáwan bakkáńka lugúd magbabáwi ta iápugtaka.
9. *L.: áy paannánta lugúd abbulón.*
   B.: mapaannád totó walá ya urámo ikáw ki ummá iddí.
10. *L.: sigún ki panúnutko a ikáw ya atán ki ólo-.*
    B.: no sigún ki panúnutmo ikáw áy bakkáńka lugúd nagdamdám ki sabáli.
11. *L.: nágan ma- kam pagtuńpálāńko no di ittó uídí.*
    B.: babáyyā- ikáw ńa áwán serbí.

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16. M.: It will not continue if you (do not want), companion.
W.: Not indeed, but why is the one who is here the fortunate one with you.

17. M.: My thought with reference to you is true though.
W.: If it is like that, companion, why though do you make our thoughts uneasy.

18. M.: I like everything though, companion, even though perhaps my companions make a fool out of me on account of you.
W.: Perhaps you say so only, companion, because you are here.

19. M.: Ah, not so indeed, companion, but would we not be ashamed of what you say like that.
W.: Ah, it does not matter what you do with reference to acting like this.

20. M.: To whom would I finally belong if not to the one like this.[29]
W.: Anything you do is all right then, companion, as I truthfully tell you now that I love you, but do not repent then if we allow long days to pass beginning with this night.

Here we meet again with several words borrowed from other languages:

From the Spanish:

In (5), *símpre* from *siempre*, "always", with the meaning of "surely".

In (10), *sigún* from *según*, "according to", with the meaning of "it depends on".

In (11), *serbí* from *servir*, "to serve", with the meaning of "use".

Then Iloko and Isneg terms in juxtaposition:

In (10), Iloko *panúnut* and Isneg *damdám*, "thinking".

In (13), Iloko *arámid* and Isneg *uwá*, "acting".

TEXT III

This text consists in a continuous dialogue between a boy and the girl he has been courting for some time. My informant is the same Umila of the preceding text, who again calls it *mamabdy*, "to court a girl".

[29] If not to you.

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584 My informant emphatically stated that nothing untoward would yet happen at this juncture.

192 In this text we have one word borrowed from the Spanish:
In (1, *L.*), *sirrá*, from *cerrar*, to close".

Also one Ilokо term in juxtaposition with its Isneg equivalent:
In (3, *B.*), Ilokо *babáwi* and Isneg *appôli*, "repenting" (the *ô* in *appôli* and in the derivatives above, 3, *B.* and 4, *B.*, is like the *aw* in English "dawn", but longer).

Besides, one Ilokо expression, a favorite with many Isneg:
In (4, *L.*), *has pagarígān*, "for instance".

TEXT IV

584 115 539 This text consists in a dialogue between a boy and the girl he courts for the first time. In the latter part of the dialogue, the answers of the girl are lacking. My informant is Kimat from Baliwanan (M), who calls it *manabây*, "to court a girl".

1. *L.: maxápugka man ikáw.*
   B.: wag[33] *kud mamáńko ikáw.*
2. *L.: busídmo yān ikáw.*
   B.: paxádigmo xané ta magbusbusígka.[34]
3. *L.: bakkán luxúd nam ăy náńko ampčlańin.*
   B.: námmo no ikáw.
4. *L.: sč- bakkán ikáw.*
   B.: úrăy no námmo ikáw ăy pandá ńalá.
5. *L.: atân yān ikáw no dôdúma se pč iyá.*
   B.: tān nam ăy bakkán kammalańin kurkurúggin.
6. *L.: úrăy no bakkán kurúg ăy piyáńko walá.*
   B.: poonáńā- pč ikáw.
7. *L.: úrăy man no uniyá ikáw ya malak-ámáńko ăy pandá ńalá.*
   B.: maammóa ikáw dčlámo walá ibańát.
8. *L.: úrăymo walá sinnán t.*
   B.: díyā- miyamánān abbulón no mapooná.
9. *L.: isá ampčlańin ikáw ya axiyáńko manín.*

194 [33] *(a)mád*: *d* changed into *g*, before *k*.
[34] *busíd*: Cf. preceding note.

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TEXT V

This text contains a few scattered sayings, mostly of a boy who is courting a girl, occasionally of the girl answering him. Even when they are not marked "singing", these sayings are pronounced in a more or less singing tone, with rhythm and occasionally rhyme clearly apparent. My informant is Lampa from Dangla (M), who calls it *mamabáy*, "to court a girl".

[584]
539
[115]

1. *L.: iápugnā- íkit, bowaḗmmo ka lúsit, ta apúxāmmo ka bitti-, asixídańko mamídit.*
2. *(ag-axí): dínu ag-axiyán*
   kaw ô to xăyyám maāwán.
3. *as paannán ud xané ikáw no maxińgápta ka bátug ińgáp no abbulón.*
4. *as kannā́mo ittó piyā́n ya maxiddá kiddí ăy nalawā́g ma- ya balā́y.*
5. *kannā́nta ittó piyā́n ya maxis-isissá ăy atā́nkayo ma- pē ta.*
6. *tittó pē ya mańiroboróbo ka pádana magdalidálēn akkáńko uwaán.*
7. *atā́n kid abbulón no sabáli ya makápug ńam ăy se iyā́- to ya āwán nā́nnu.*
8. *B.: akkán luxúd abbulón ńam ăy āwán kammalańín.*
9. *tittó pē ya magdudúma ka páda- magbibiyā́g akkáńko uwaán.*
10. *pagdudumā́nnu ikáw ya tólăy ta.*
11. *L.: akkán luxúd abbulón ńam ăy bárań ńalá nā́ńko.*
12. *B.: atā́n mamá ikáw ńam ăy mamá kammalańín ńa ur-úrăy.*
13. *xawág*[45] *kammalańín na ur-úrăy.*
14. *L.: atā́n kud kammalá ńa lu-sáwańko wa tólăy.*
15. *séno ya xawád da ur-úrăy ya nā́nnu wag kud da di magkalkaláse kammalańín kiyá xawád atā́n ya namít ta xawád ăy atā́n ya nasablḗ-.*
16. *se kadím pē kada-tá tólăy atā́n da babā́y se laláki.*
17. *ummā́ń kanó ma- pē kada-tá iyā́- ăy no banā́nā- ka abā́g ăy ikáw ăy no banā́ńka ak-akḗn.*
18. *(ag-axí): díta bumanbanannā́y*
    ma- ô lu-sáw di babā́y.
19. *nannawā́nā- babā́y*
    ta nalláā- pē săy.

[45] *xawád*: Cf. note 33.

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to be able to do so; and the same story may be repeated several times all over again on different occasions without the young people losing any interest in the matter.

The cry "*udôdit*" (a story) is heard very often when the young people have placed themselves in a position for slumber, and the exclamation "*udôditko*" (I have a story; literally: my story), emitted by an uninvited story-teller, is usually sufficient to gain him the attention of all present. Consequently Isneg tales are mostly bedtime stories: nevertheless it also happens that they are recited, this time mostly by men, at the opening of a jar of *bási* (alcoholic beverage obtained from the juice of the sugar cane), or rather during the absorption of its contents. On such occasions, whenever an old man begins to tell a story, the youngsters have no sooner got wind of the affair but they leave everything in order to come near and to listen all ears to these wonderful happenings of times gone by or of a world alien to their own. It may sometimes happen also that parents or grandparents call their children or grandchildren together at the time of going to sleep in order to relate to them some traditional myth or legend: in this case, of course, the teaching should be called entirely formal.

How to look for omens and auguries and how to distinguish between good and bad ones are both the subject of almost exclusively direct instruction. Parents and older brothers and sisters are the accepted purveyors of this knowledge, which to the Isneg is absolutely indispensable if he wants to live in peace and beyond the power of malevolent imps and spirits.

E. MORAL EDUCATION

When reading books of travel, especially old ones, written by men who spent a few days at the home of some primitive people, one usually meets with the statement that the latter seem to have no concept of truth and honesty, and one almost always meets with several concrete instances, which apparently prove the truth of that assertion. Not to go too far out of my way, I shall cite as an example a book that has to do almost immediately with the Philippine Islands. We read in the account of Magellan's travels written by Pigafetta that on a certain day, during his famous voyage which led to the discovery of our archipelago, the expedition landed at a place among a group of islands, the inhabitants of which boarded the vessels, laid hands on whatever took their fancy and ran away to hide among the bushes;

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for this reason Magellan gave that group of islands the name of Ladrones (Spanish, "thieves"), and to this day the name of Ladrone Islands may be found on the map. According to the same authority, cases of treachery and deceit were also very frequent among the inhabitants of the Philippines.

Now in my opinion, and probably in that of most other men who have resided for a sufficiently long time among more or less primitive peoples, all these concrete instances (and they may be increased by a thousand similar ones) do not shed any light on that part of the moral code of these peoples which refers to their relations with one another, strictly among themselves. They merely prove that they thought or think it quite consonant with right behavior to steal from the white man and to deceive him whenever the occasion presents itself. But this is far from meaning that stealing and lying in general are permitted by their own standard of morality.

In order to proceed with order and clearness, I shall try in the following paragraphs, first to give an idea of the moral code of the Isneg, and then to consider more in particular the motives that are proposed to the child and the methods of training in vogue among them; after that a few comparisons between theory and practice will show in how far such training is usually successful.

1. The Moral Code

I shall begin by making a preliminary remark which I deem to be of supreme importance: the Isneg moral code does not exactly coincide with the Christian one, and so, what is considered good by the Isneg may very often be very bad according to our own principles. Now, in the next few pages, I shall try to see good and bad through Isneg eyes, and I hope that on that account the reader will not credit me, a Catholic missionary, with a pagan standard of morality. I shall put on the garb of an Isneg moralist for a few moments merely to give a better perspective to the whole treatment of this very important subject.

My first talk will be about virtues and acts of virtue and their opposites; afterwards I shall consider some vices and sins more in detail.

"In order to be a good and decent Isneg you should be faithful in complying with all injunctions of the shamans, in offering the regular sacrifices according to tradition and custom, in observing all taboos, in looking for omens and auguries before starting on anything im-

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THE ISNEG FARMER

By MORICE VANOVERBERGH, C.I.C.M.
Mountain Province, Philippine Islands

Introduction

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The Isneg are farmers. It is not necessary to have lived a long time among them to know that: the fact is patent; it obtrudes itself almost at every step, almost at every moment.

The chief crop of the Isneg is rice. This is evident not only from the fact that their staple food is rice, but also from the minute care they bestow on their rice fields. All other products of the soil are subordinate to rice, and nothing is left to chance when there is question of raising a good rice crop. They are so meticulous about it that, in a study of their farm activities, all other plants seem to be of little or no importance. The truth of this statement will thrust itself upon anybody who peruses the following pages.

I shall first make a few remarks about Isneg farming in general. Then I shall describe as accurately as possible the Isneg method of raising rice. After that I shall say a few words about other products

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of the soil that are cultivated among the Isneg. This little treatise on Isneg agriculture might have been written by a native, as I try to put myself as much as possible in the place of the Isneg.

I. Isneg Farming in General

It is freely stated all over Apayaw that, in former times, rice was always abundant in each and every village. Not to have old rice (*kópag*) in store, meaning "rice that had been reaped one or more years previously",[1] was the exception rather than the rule; and there were always in existence a goodly number of granaries where rice was kept that had been harvested up to four years back.

A famine (*dasmág* or *ulát*), under the circumstances, might be called an unknown entity, were it not that *dasmág* and *ulát* are genuine Isneg terms, and so that the thing they refer to must have made its appearance at least occasionally. Actually, however, every few years one hears about a famine devastating the land and bringing in its wake a tremendous amount of distress and misery. The children, of course, are usually the most to be pitied, as they are liable to be permanently affected by the lack of sufficient nourishment.

It might be objected that Apayaw is a rich agricultural country, that it is covered with vegetation throughout the year, that rice is not the only crop that can be raised with advantage, that there is an abundance of tropical forests containing plenty of trees and plants of which one or more parts are edible, and consequently that starvation must be impossible. To this I must answer that the cause is not to be found in the soil or in the climatic conditions of the country, but in the character of its inhabitants. The Isneg is easily dejected, he cannot stand adversity; if his ordinary means of sustenance fail, he is at a loss what to do, he just sits down and moons. Even when remunerative work is offered to him, an Isneg who has not the usual amount of rice at his disposal has rarely the courage to perform it: he is simply down.

Fortunately the average Isneg woman shows herself much more courageous, and, where her husband proves a dismal failure, she it

[1] Rice that has been kept for one or two years, because its owners, being in mourning for a dead child, abstained from eating it, is called *dinínág*. In native words occurring in the present paper the accent (') is placed over the accented vowel. Accented n (ń) denotes the ng sound in English "bring". For full phonetic key, see M. Vanoverbergh. The Isneg, Publ. Cath. Anthrop. Conf., 1932, v. 3, no. 1, pp. 3-4.

yaos after the principal river in their country. Some 101
say the word Apayao was originated in their fierce [726]
battle cry *"Ma-ap-ay-ao."* During this call the hand [198]
is clapped rapidly over the mouth so that the cry sounds
much like the American Indian war-whoop. This cry [574]
is also used at a feast: when a new visitor comes,
when the basi is brought in, and when a pig is killed.

I will endeavor to describe, from personal obser- 121
vation of its still numerous cultural remains, some-
thing of the life of the Apayaos as it no doubt existed
little changed during the long centuries during which
their folktales were formed.

The life of these people has much to do with the 361
streams of the country along which most of them live.
They do not live on the river flats, but on the mountain
sides for safety. Many of their communities are [103]
named after the streams near which they are located.
A considerable part of the food is obtained from the
streams; and they are used for washing, bathing and
swimming, as well as for scenery. Much of the trans- 505
portation is on the streams, and the men are expert 502
boatma nand raftsmen. During the heavy rainy sea- [487]
son transportation on swollen rivers is perilous; but, [221]
it is carried on somewhat. The result is that many
a banca has over-turned in the roaring rapids; much
valuable merchandidse still lies in the deep pools at the
feet of those rapids; and many of family mourns the
loss of a loved one. Therefore stories of the streams [538]
often occur in the legends of the people.

The people on each stream were isolated from 184
each other for many centuries so that there has come 174
to be quite a difference in their customs and dialects. 361
197
162

FOLKLORE

Folklore is the fabric upon which the people weave the pattern of their future. It is woven from materials composed of the religious beliefs, customs, habits, and daily life of the people. If these are changed by migration, borrowing from other people, or by internal alteration, the result is a different culture in the future.

If one were to make a complete collection of all the folklore of the people during their varied life, he would have the basic material for a cultural history of that people. For folklore has also sometimes been called the vine that clings to the crumbling ruins of man's progress upward.

The culture of the Apayaos has remained much the same during many long centuries: there has been little progress upward. Thus the interesting old vine has been growing and expanding. If you look at it carefully, you will observe much of the culture of these people.

The Apayao people tell their stories in two ways. The short way is used at such times as when they happen to meet together, perchance on the trail, or are resting for a while. It is a simple narration of events.

The long way is used when time hangs rather heavily during the confinement of the torrential rains, or in the long evenings. These story hours are much enjoyed and are the principal amusement of the people. An old woman or man, steeped in the lore of the past, makes the best story teller. He spins out his tale using a certain pleasing tune, *sanimela*, which at times

538 is rather monotonous and at other times becomes excitingly thrilling, according to the drift of the story.

538 In order to follow the tune, the narrator will often
522 draw out the end of some words or maybe add meaningless syllables. There are many repetitions of action and thought, as well as inconsequential happenings. Incongruities of action and sudden transitions of scene often occur. Once in awhile the narrative is broken by some ludicrous incident just as you have clowning in a drama. The greater pleasure is not so much in following the development of the plot of the story as it is in the delightful manner of the telling. Yet the plot is interesting, being often based on some
[513] practical joke. Listening to such a story is really a very happy way to spend an otherwise dull time. Sometimes the people stay up all night and listen to them.

126 However, if one wrote down every syllable which the story teller uttered in narrating one story, he would have a book which very few people would care to read. Therefore most of the folk tales in this little collection are written in the short way. With some, the popular dialect used (sometimes ungrammatically) is also given. The English following is a free translation. Sometimes two versions of a story are given.

● 121 Some students make distinction between myths
538 and folktales. But the people have only one name,
773 *adodit*, for both; and as a matter of fact, there are
776 few folktales which do not have a religious element. In the early days the main distinction between *anitos* and men was that they lived in a different place: the only physical difference being that the female *anitos* had only one breast which was in the center of their

bosoms. It was possible for an *anito* to be a man or for a man to become an anito. If the people make so little distinction between gods and men, why should I? 121 538 773 776

Anyhow, here are some of the Apayao tales.

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or pulling the ears, in pinching any part of the body. There is no question of kicking, of forbidding to eat, of ordering to abstain from amusements or feasts. A punishment that is rather common among the Isneg is to shame the children by talking to others about their misbehavior or their bad conduct: such a punishment rarely fails to induce the child to amend its ways. Food taboos are very common with reference to women; for men I know none. Thus, women do not eat eels, lest they become blind; they abstain from dog meat, monkey, etc.; but the aim of these prohibitions is certainly not that of influencing their moral conduct or inuring them to hardship: so this is not the place to explain them any further.

Corporal punishments are almost always used when the child, whether a boy or a girl, is caught stealing or lying; it is occasionally resorted to when the child is disobedient or disrespectful. Other more severe punishments, such as the robbing of valuables, divorce, etc., have been sufficiently explained in the preceding pages. Scolding is of course much more frequent than any other punishment. Spare the rod, spoil the child, is a proverb unknown to the Isneg; in my opinion they use the rod very sparingly: it is often sufficient for a child to say: "*Maddiyâ-* (I do not want)", to be left undisturbed, and to cause the parent to refrain from any further insistence. Here I have to repeat again one of my former statements: it is not the guilt that counts, but the result; so a boy may refuse to obey, and if it really makes no difference, the parent allows him to do what he likes; but if he has stolen something or refuses to help his father, that is another question; here the power of the rod will be invoked almost without exception.

Isneg parents love their children very much, and the easiest way to break down an Isneg parent's stubbornness or aloofness is to show a smiling face to the little ones, to say a nice word to them or to give them a little present. The aim of every grown-up boy and girl is to beget children; his offspring is the Isneg's most precious treasure. A houseful of boys and girls, children and grandchildren, is an invaluable and most esteemed boon; they are a crown avidly coveted by every Isneg man and woman. An Isneg father has a thousand ways of showing his affection to his children: if they are still small he will play with them for hours at a time; later on he will patiently forbear the boy's unhandiness while he is helping him at work, and still later he will see to it that he grows up a virtuous young man. The mother will do the same with boys and girls alike until the time

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Isneg

855 comes for the boys to follow their father and for the girls to be left to her care. The best viands are always reserved for the little ones and dainties are stored away (*maxalúmid*) for their future use. If a child gets sick, the parents will do their utmost to relieve the little sufferer; and if it is its fate, as the Isneg put it, to die, its elders' lamentations will follow it to the grave.

731 In times of famine the children are of course the biggest sufferers, not that the Isneg does not share with them whatever food he can lay
858 hands on, but because growing boys and girls lack the sustenance they badly need at their age, which rarely fails to be followed by
597 results that affect them unfavorably for the rest of their life. I have heard once of a hard-pressed Isneg who sold a child for money: this is certainly a rare exception, and, as all circumstances are not known to me (I am not even sure that it was his own child), I am not free to pronounce judgment on the transaction. What I know is that the family by whom the child was adopted would certainly not cause it to regret its former life, as far as material advantages are concerned; nevertheless this is not a sufficient excuse for such an act.

855 It may be asked if families differ much in their solicitude for the
867 proper moral upbringing of children, if some families are more religious-minded than others, if some families are more concerned than
184 others in watching over their children and in safeguarding them in sex morality. What can I answer to such questions? I should like
124 to make the following invitation to my inquirers: let them choose a certain district of the United States, say in Kansas or in Indiana or in whatever state they prefer, a district where there are no densely populated sections and where some ten thousand people are scattered over a comparatively large area, and then let them tell me the result of their investigations among inhabitants of that district with reference to the above questions. I am sure that their task would not be easier or more difficult than mine, in order to give a satisfactory survey of the situation. Nevertheless I shall try to give a few concrete instances that have come to my personal notice and which I can recall just now, leaving aside the Kankanay, among whom I resided from 1909 to 1915, and confining myself exclusively to the Isneg, with whom I have been living since 1925.

855 Take the settlement of Baliwanan. A Baliwanan girl was living
184 with the family of my catechist at Kabugaw, where she took care of the children, washed the clothes, and did other little chores. On a
836 certain day somebody told her father that a boy had entered the house

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the girl in question; as soon as she swallows a part of the juice of this mixture, her love for the other boy will have disappeared in its entirety, and you will have taken his place in her affections.

To complete the account I shall add here the means used by a spurned lover in order to revenge himself on the girl who despises his love. The first thing to do is to obtain another kind of herb or mixture of herbs from the compliant shaman. After that the boy pays a last nocturnal visit to the house of the girl who has definitively refused his advances, and throws a part of this charm, which in this case is not a love charm of course, at the girl in question. If it sticks to her body or to her clothes, the Isneg firmly believe that she will conceive through the sole adherence of the herbs thrown at her; in such a case she will forever be scorned by other young men, and the young man's revenge will be complete. If the charm falls down and does not stick to the girl, she will escape unscathed. Similar [71] beliefs are to be found among other Mountain tribes; in certain Kankanay tales, for instance, there is question of a girl who crosses a brook or takes a bath at a place below the one where a boy has thrown his anklet (Kankanay: *bóyat*) into the water: the latter, having floated down, encircled one of the girl's legs, with the inevitable result, not only that she became pregnant at once, but that her being with child became apparent almost immediately.

All the above information concerning the means used by Isneg lovers to win a girl was given to me by young men who had exactly the required age to know everything about the subject from personal experience. From some of the Isneg boys I have also obtained tests giving typical dialogues between a boy and a girl whom he courts. Owing to their content and length and to the necessity of prefacing them with certain linguistic data of a more general nature, they are given as an appendix to the present paper (pp. 261-80).

The Isneg believe that, if the betel (nut, leaf and lime) which a girl prepares for her lover to chew, causes a burning sensation in the latter's mouth, it is a favorable omen for him. In such a case the boy may hope to find his sweetheart ready to accept his suit. So also, if the betel prepared by a lover for his sweetheart burns in the latter's mouth, the girl understands that the boy is really in love with her.

An Isneg lover generally looks for a good omen before going to court the girls, at least when the affair has become serious or when he takes the necessary steps to know definitively whether his feelings

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Apayao OA5
Isneg

SCHEMA II

Passing the mountains between Bayag and Kabugaw

(B) Bayag:	*makbisi-*	*agoxúp*	*xoxó*
(M) Dangla:	*magbisi-*	*ayoúp* [3]	*oó*
(M) Kabugaw:	*magbisi-*	*axoúp*	*oó*
(M) Tawit:	*magbisi*	*axoúp* [4]	*oó*

In this connection I should like to warn the reader that the text of a given informant does not always and in every particular render faithfully his own special dialect or branch of a dialect, and this for the following reasons:

1. On the part of the informant:

Communication between the different parts of the subprovince is increasing at a rapid pace; and so, except for old women (who are rarely available informants for investigators) and a few exceptionally backward persons (from whom no reliable information can be obtained), the Isneg tends to adopt, at least occasionally, a pronunciation which is not strictly his own. At first, marriage and marriage ceremonies were almost the only means of bringing together persons who pronounced their gutturals in a different way. Later on, however, more extensive travelling brought male representatives of every district into contact with one another. This was mostly due to the gradual elimination of headhunting raids and, although in a less marked degree, to the building of better roads. Now again, with the opening of schools in the larger centers and the introduction of compulsory education, boys and girls flock together from all parts of the subprovince, and differences in pronunciation tend to become obliterated, or rather, the language actually spoken by most of them offers to the ear a confused medley of gutturals.

Besides, an educated Isneg, and, incidentally, a good many others who can lay no claim to education, very often affect the use of Iloko words and sentences, pronounced as in Iloko (*x* none, glottal catch rare), or at least affect the pronunciation of the gutturals as in Iloko, although using pure Isneg words.

[3] This is the *y* of the Anthropos alphabet. For the sake of uniformity, however, and to avoid confusion (as we use the sign *y* for another consonant), we always write *x* for all texts in M of the O dialect, even for those that originated in Dangla and surrounding villages.

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Apayao OA5
Isneg

THE ISNEG LIFE CYCLE. I. BIRTH, EDUCATION, AND DAILY ROUTINE

By MORICE VANOVERBERGH, C.I.C.M.

Mountain Province, Philippine Islands

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[1] On the habitat of the Isneg of the subprovince of Apayaw, Mountain Province, Northern Luzon, Philippine Islands, see details in M. Vanoverbergh, The Isneg, Publ. Cath. Anthrop. Conf., 1932, v. 3, no. 1, esp. pp. 55–57, map, p. 51: on Isneg language, with phonetic key, ibid., pp. 3–14. [Since writing and forwarding the manuscript of the present paper, Father Vanoverbergh has discovered that what he previously had called the G branch of the O dialect of Isneg is in reality two separate branches which he is now calling the Bayag branch (abbrev. B), spoken in the municipal district of Bayag, and the Abbil (abbrev. A) branch, spoken in the municipal district of Namaltugan. So he is eliminating G and substituting B and A. Detailed data on B and A, received from Father Vanoverbergh since the receipt of this manuscript, will be published shortly.—Ed.] In native words used in the present paper the accent (') is placed over, instead of after, the accented vowel. Accented n (ñ), however, denotes, not accent, but the ng sound in English "bring".

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latter to conduct a similar ceremony or to assist her elders at the same, the only aid she will get from some experienced shaman will be an occasional hint as to what she has to do. In general, however, she will already have learned these things on previous occasions, so that she simply imitates now what she has often seen before. The explanations given previously by the older shamans with reference to the meaning of these ceremonies will of course have helped her the better to impress everything upon her memory.

I have been told very positively that the prayers or formulas, which are recited on certain occasions, especially in cases of sickness, are never the subject of any direct teaching on the part of the shaman. It is true that the number of Isneg prayers is comparatively small, and that, in general, Isneg recitations, whether in prayer or song, are far from being stereotyped. Some of them, however, especially some formulas more or less in verse or rhyme, which are recited by the shamans while they extract the cause of sickness in the form of iron, herbs, etc., from the body of a sick person, are rather complicated, and as far as I know, of a certain stable and less variable nature.

Now how aspirant *dorarákit* are able to learn them without receiving formal instruction, I should say even often repeated instruction, is more or less of a puzzle to me, the more so that these formulas are rarely pronounced distinctly and that many of the terms have become obsolete and are actually meaningless to the natives. Nevertheless, I repeat it, it was told me most positively that they are not taught, that they are simply listened to and picked up. Perhaps what seems very indistinct to outsiders is much less so to the initiated, and probably the rhythm and rhyme help the younger shamans to learn these recitations by heart without too much difficulty. Besides, I know from personal experience that the same regular sequence of sentences or verses is rarely adhered to. Whenever I have tried to write down some of these formulas at the dictation of a shaman, my informant almost invariably inverted the order of the sentences at a second recitation; these women often made me quite nervous, as it was well nigh impossible to write down exactly what they had been reciting. Isneg shamans always talk very quickly when reciting from memory, so I had very often to ask them to repeat a certain part, after I had written down as correctly as possible one or more catch phrases of each verse or sentence; but their second recitation almost never coincided with the first one. Such a state of affairs, of course, makes the task of the recorder doubly difficult, although it may happen to

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SCHEMA II

Passing the mountains between Bayag and Kabugaw

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2. On my own part:

In my dealings with the Isneg I use the Main branch of the O dialect, while in writing I use the K branch for reasons given before.[6] So it may have happened that, in writing down texts, my own ordinary use of M has influenced me to write down a given word as I myself would have pronounced it, or my use of K in writing has caused me to put down K's where they were absent in the informant's pronunciation.

Nevertheless I have always tried to write down texts as faithfully as possible, and now I start publishing them as I have them, without trying to correct anything, even though an occasional guttural that appears in a given term does not belong to the correct language of a given informant.

The above warning is given here once for all, and it refers to all Isneg texts that I shall publish in the future.

TEXT I

This text is a continuous dialogue between a boy and the girl he goes to court for the first time. My informant is Baydan from Tawit (M), and he calls it *maibabbáy*, "courting the girls".

1. *Lalái: iápugnă- man ikáw*[7] *ta adú kanó ya mamámmo a nánda.*
   Babáy: áwan pañalakkánta ka mamá ña ñázan balái.[8]

2. *L.: námmo ăy pagdamadámagda ña nagsiniińde ka mamá.*
   B.: díta mazuńgám no mapooná ńam ăy.

3. *L.: mańuwóa pagká- kiyá atán kammalańín simpapadán.*
   B.: turáńka mańuwá ka ibatáymo ka asitólăymo.

4. *L.: díka mańaluníb kiyá ittó ya nánko.*
   B.: xapó walá xané ta ummánta kiddí ya agdalidélnta ña dadúma.

[6] Op. cit., 14.

[7] *ikáw*, sometimes pronounced *kaw*, which literally means "you", and which I render by 'you', is a little term which is very hard to translate. The Isneg use it all the time, and always in the form *ikáw*, although when it stands for the personal pronoun, those who use the Main branch pronounce *iáw*. Here thus it stands for something like "come on now", "what is the matter", but it changes its shade of meaning with every context.

[8] *balái* is a term used with affectation; the real ordinary word is *babáy*; *balái* is made to look similar to *lalái*, "man".

538 is rather monotonous and at other times becomes excitingly thrilling, according to the drift of the story.

538 In order to follow the tune, the narrator will often
522 draw out the end of some words or maybe add meaningless syllables. There are many repetitions of action and thought, as well as inconsequential happenings. Incongruities of action and sudden transitions of scene often occur. Once in awhile the narrative is broken by some ludicrous incident just as you have clowning in a drama. The greater pleasure is not so much in following the development of the plot of the story as it is in the delightful manner of the telling. Yet the plot is interesting, being often based on some
513 practical joke. Listening to such a story is really a very happy way to spend an otherwise dull time. Sometimes the people stay up all night and listen to them.

126 However, if one wrote down every syllable which the story teller uttered in narrating one story, he would have a book which very few people would care to read. Therefore most of the folk tales in this little collection are written in the short way. With some, the popular dialect used (sometimes ungrammatically) is also given. The English following is a free translation. Sometimes two versions of a story are given.

121 Some students make distinction between myths
538 and folktales. But the people have only one name,
773 *adodit*, for both; and as a matter of fact, there are
776 few folktales which do not have a religious element. In the early days the main distinction between *anitos* and men was that they lived in a different place: the only physical difference being that the female *anitos* had only one breast which was in the center of their

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Isneg

that may occur, as it is the ultimate cause of the anger of the spirits, who are deprived of their usual offerings through the abolition of headhunting.

But let us come back to our original purpose of describing the Isneg life cycle, and leave those digressions about fate and spirits for some other time. I shall first treat birth; second, education and home life; third, marriage; and fourth, death and burial.

I. Birth and Infancy

The birth of a child is as a matter of course a very important event, not only for the individual in question, but also for everybody concerned. Any addition to the household is hailed with delight by each and every member of the family, and children are considered as a very precious asset by all Isneg. Some five years ago, at the very beginning of my residence among the Isneg, while I was chatting one day with the justice of the peace of Kabugaw at the latter's house, an Isneg woman came to see him in order to ask him to allow her to divorce her husband. When the judge remonstrated and tried to convince her not to resort to such a drastic procedure, by describing its bad effects more especially on her own self, the woman merely replied that she could stand anything from now on, as during her short married life she had been given "gain" (she used the Spanish term *ganancia*); and when the judge asked her what kind of gain she meant, she merely showed him her child. While in the eyes of most persons a child would be an obstacle to the easy divorce of its parents, in the eyes of this Isneg mother, the child that had been given to her was considered as a treasure that would compensate all hardships incident on the separation from her husband.

A. Pregnancy and Gestation

In order to promote pregnancy, some married Isneg women buy what some of them call "medicine" either from the Christian Ilokо or from other married people among their own tribe. This "medicine" usually consists of one or more kinds of herbs which are the secret of the seller. The buyer carries them on her body, tying them to her girdle in front, either above the right thigh or above the left one. The *ámanad-*, a herb that grows on trees, is chewed by Isneg women for the same purpose.

A kind of small herb, called *ĉma-dá*, is occasionally used by Isneg women in order to stop bearing children. Somebody goes to the

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for this reason Magellan gave that group of islands the name of Ladrones (Spanish, "thieves"), and to this day the name of Ladrone Islands may be found on the map. According to the same authority, cases of treachery and deceit were also very frequent among the inhabitants of the Philippines.

Now in my opinion, and probably in that of most other men who have resided for a sufficiently long time among more or less primitive peoples, all these concrete instances (and they may be increased by a thousand similar ones) do not shed any light on that part of the moral code of these peoples which refers to their relations with one another, strictly among themselves. They merely prove that they thought or think it quite consonant with right behavior to steal from the white man and to deceive him whenever the occasion presents itself. But this is far from meaning that stealing and lying in general are permitted by their own standard of morality.

In order to proceed with order and clearness, I shall try in the following paragraphs, first to give an idea of the moral code of the Isneg, and then to consider more in particular the motives that are proposed to the child and the methods of training in vogue among them; after that a few comparisons between theory and practice will show in how far such training is usually successful.

1. The Moral Code

I shall begin by making a preliminary remark which I deem to be of supreme importance: the Isneg moral code does not exactly coincide with the Christian one, and so, what is considered good by the Isneg may very often be very bad according to our own principles. Now, in the next few pages, I shall try to see good and bad through Isneg eyes, and I hope that on that account the reader will not credit me, a Catholic missionary, with a pagan standard of morality. I shall put on the garb of an Isneg moralist for a few moments merely to give a better perspective to the whole treatment of this very important subject.

My first talk will be about virtues and acts of virtue and their opposites; afterwards I shall consider some vices and sins more in detail.

"In order to be a good and decent Isneg you should be faithful in complying with all injunctions of the shamans, in offering the regular sacrifices according to tradition and custom, in observing all taboos, in looking for omens and auguries before starting on anything im-

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Apayao OA5
Isneg

the girl in question; as soon as she swallows a part of the juice of this mixture, her love for the other boy will have disappeared in its entirety, and you will have taken his place in her affections.

To complete the account I shall add here the means used by a spurned lover in order to revenge himself on the girl who despises his love. The first thing to do is to obtain another kind of herb or mixture of herbs from the compliant shaman. After that the boy pays a last nocturnal visit to the house of the girl who has definitively refused his advances, and throws a part of this charm, which in this case is not a love charm of course, at the girl in question. If it sticks to her body or to her clothes, the Isneg firmly believe that she will conceive through the sole adherence of the herbs thrown at her; in such a case she will forever be scorned by other young men, and the young man's revenge will be complete. If the charm falls down and does not stick to the girl, she will escape unscathed. Similar [71] beliefs are to be found among other Mountain tribes; in certain Kankanay tales, for instance, there is question of a girl who crosses a brook or takes a bath at a place below the one where a boy has thrown his anklet (Kankanay: *bóyat*) into the water: the latter, having floated down, encircled one of the girl's legs, with the inevitable result, not only that she became pregnant at once, but that her being with child became apparent almost immediately.

All the above information concerning the means used by Isneg lovers to win a girl was given to me by young men who had exactly the required age to know everything about the subject from personal experience. From some of the Isneg boys I have also obtained tests giving typical dialogues between a boy and a girl whom he courts. Owing to their content and length and to the necessity of prefacing them with certain linguistic data of a more general nature, they are given as an appendix to the present paper (pp. 261-80).

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105, 113, 131, 142, 157, 161, 177, 262, 291, 302, 304, 721, Apayao OA5

[For information on location, physical type, personality, population, acculturation, diet, clothing, toilet, tatooing and headhunting, see 58: Barton, OA1 Philippines, category 116, pp. 300-301.]

113, 131

Apayao OA5

[For information on the location of the Apayao of northern Luzon, see 58: Barton, OA1 Philippines, category 116, pp. xx.]

46: Wilson F-3 (no date) 1947 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5

APAYAO LIFE AND LEGENDS

THE PEOPLE OF APAYAO

WHEN you travel in the Philippines to the northwesterly end of Luzon Island as far as Abulog; and then take a banca up the clear, warm waters of the Apayao River, as it meanders through dark tropical forests and amidst gorgeous mountains, you come into the lovely land of the Apayaos.

These virile people came here uncounted thousands of years ago in two main migration waves; one-the Indonesian-by way of Southeastern Asia; and the other-the Mongolian-by way of Central Asia. Here, in the northerly end of the Cordillera Central Mountains, these two waves converged, finding a new home with which they have ever since been well content. Their cultures amalgamated into a new one. Physically, the Indonesian strain dominated; but Mongoloid features of all the three short types are present, especially the short Mongol. According to the last census they number 11,000.

You will like these people; for they are kindly, hospitable, generous mountain lovers. They are highly aesthetic in temperament, self-reliant, and honest. If perchance, you drop something, even money, on the trail, the finder will return it to you. They say that if a man steals, his wife will leave him: or, if they

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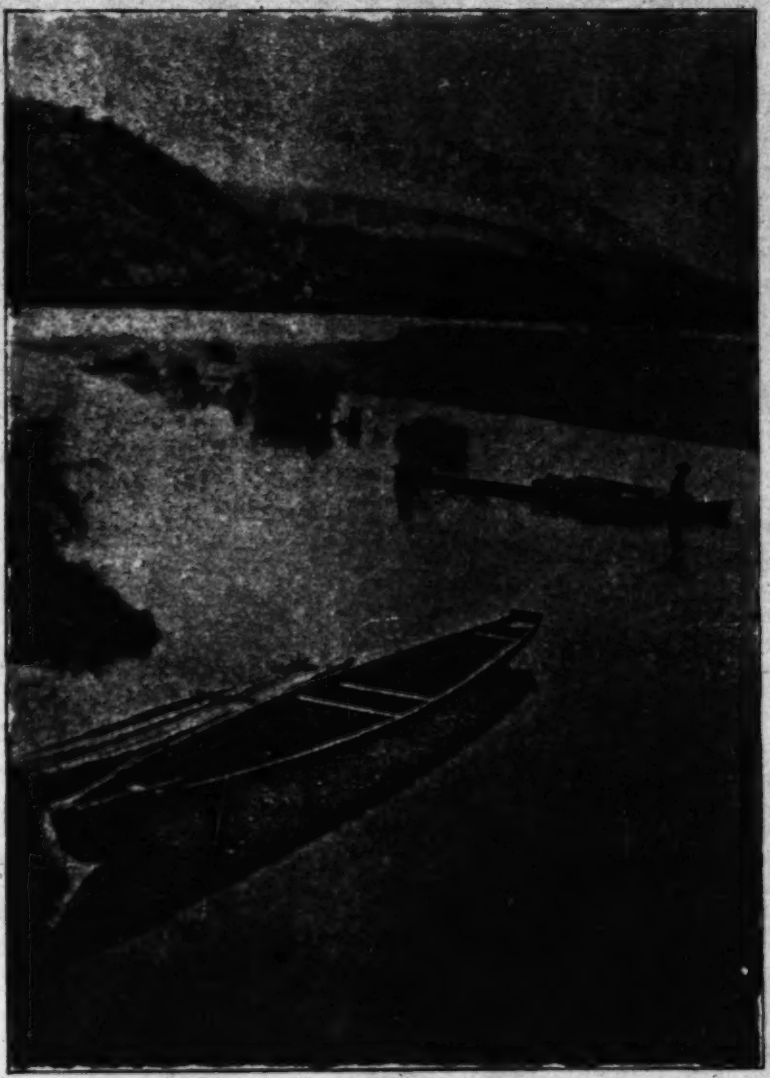
Isneg

postponed for a considerable time. Others again say that *Kútaw* robs it of its garments and dons them himself, to the great dismay and shame of the poor *kadudúwá*, who from now on is obliged to wear either no clothes or at least only such as are not cared for any more by its companions at the other side of the grave. The latter informants usually add that *Kútaw* refuses to ferry this *kadudúwá* over the pond, unless it gives its brand-new clothes to him; some of them say that it may happen that *Kútaw* takes to himself not only the clothes, but also the whole *kadudúwá* (as a kind of servant). One more detail was given me by a Bayag informant: if the dead person has only one of his forearms tattooed (not both of them), *Kútaw* cuts off this tattooed limb and keeps it to himself.

To resume: some informants state that all *kadudúwá* are always ferried over the pond by *Kútaw*, but that those whose *inndt* wears no new clothes, remain like that at least for some time to come, or are left to their own devices as soon as they reach the other side, without being able to find their relatives, at least immediately, while those whose *inndt* wear new clothes without rent are either despoiled by *Kútaw* or kept back for at least a considerable time from the enjoyment that is their due. Other informants state that some *kadudúwá* are simply scorned by *Kútaw* and left on this side of the pond: either those whose *inndt* wear old clothes, or those whose new garments have not been torn. On the other hand, when asked what *kadudúwá* are living in the realm of the dead, even these last informants generally affirm that they all do.

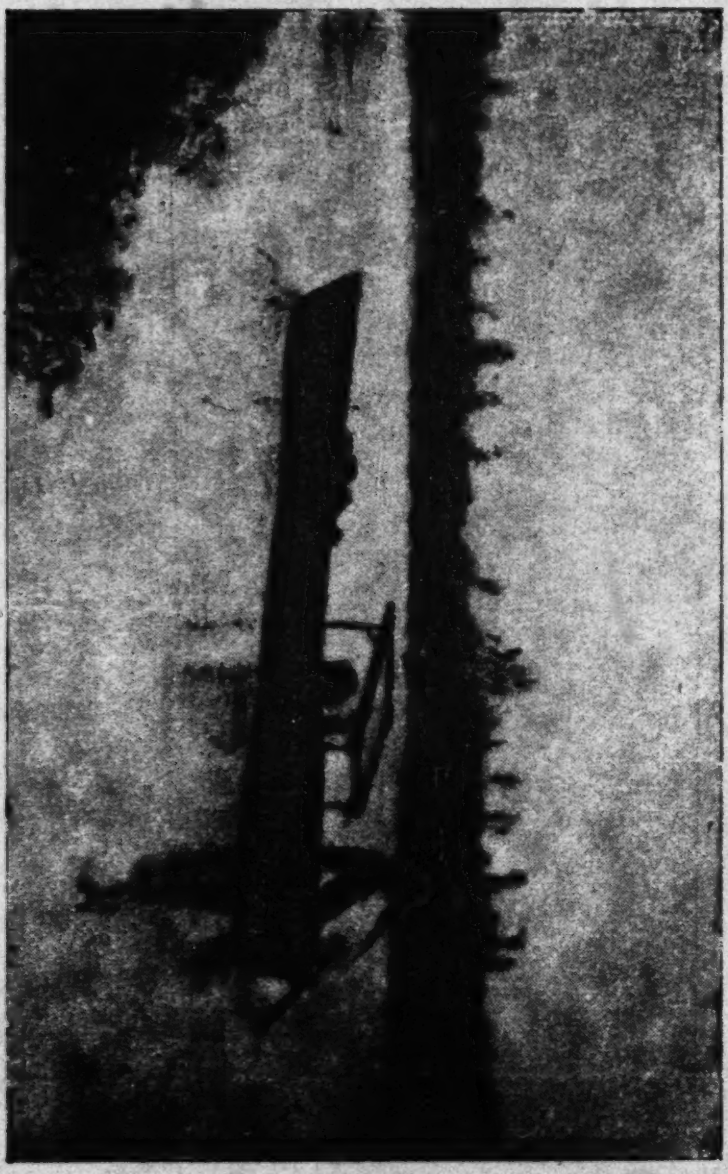
A *labbáń* is a kind of lagoon or pool of stagnant water, of a type found in abundance all along the northern coast of Luzon, between Sanchez Mira and Aparri, and even farther east. At Nagbabalayan there is also a *labbáń*, which consists of a pool of water separated from the Apayaw river by a small elevation of land; at every large rise of the Apayaw river, however, it forms one with the latter. This Nagbabalayan *labbáń* is the regular abode of crocodiles, to whom the Nagbabalayan people offer gifts at every sacrifice. But the name *lablabbáń* belongs exclusively to the pond that separates our abode from that of the dead. Such a reduplication as occurs here usually hints at something similar to what the simple stem implies. Thus *lablabbáń* would mean a *labbáń* that is not an ordinary one, and, considering its place and use, no further proof is needed to convince everybody that it is a very peculiar pool indeed. The following mysterious fact adds to its differentiation from any other *labbáń*:

133
501



Apayao River in the dry season
This boat, or banca, and bamboo raft are typical.

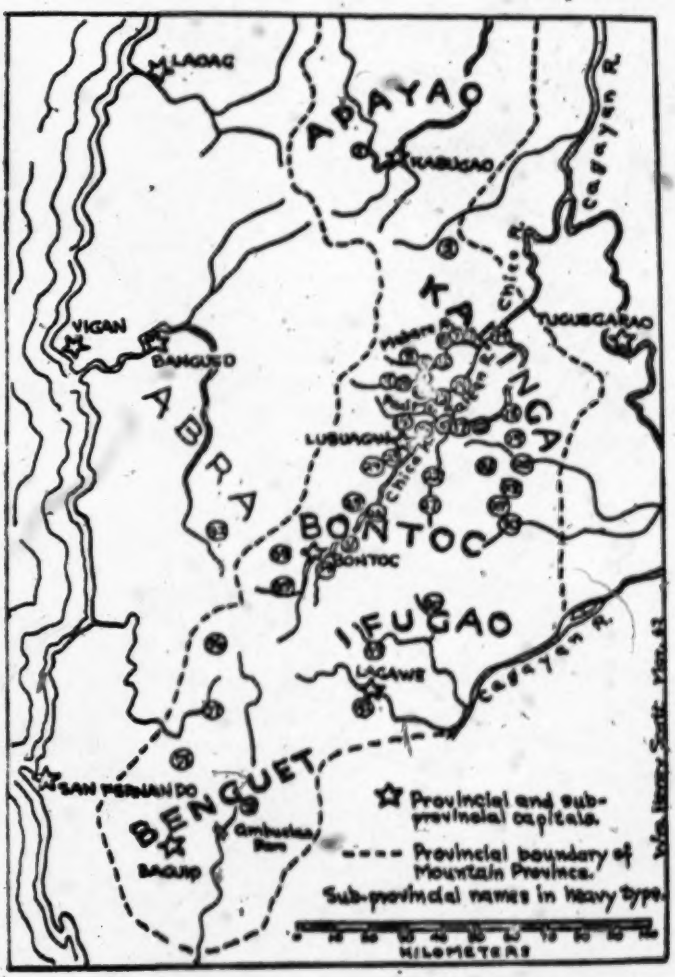
133
501
487



Apayao River is the highway of Apayao.

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao OA19
Apayao OA5
Kalinga OA24
Bontok OA12
Igorot OA20
Benguet

IAK
Ig
B
102
103
631
133
101



Map of the Mountain Province and Cordillera Central Region of Northern Luzon in the Philippines.

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868 and ordinary work, to which his parents even now introduce him as early as possible,—were those he needed at the time of taking a head or of defending his own: and here again, the best means for acquiring them was practice by imitation or necessity. Even the use of the spear, the headax and the shield was never formally taught: a young man saw his elders at work, and did as they did. After all, a real attack, openly and face to face, has always been rather the exception; to fall unawares on an unsuspecting enemy, to kill a defenceless woman or child, and similar exploits, were usually much more in the line of the Isneg. If nevertheless some of them have been real braves, practice, not formal teaching, has made them such. But nowadays these happy times seem to be gone forever: every Isneg man cultivates his fields in peace and sits undisturbed under his coconut tree, the latter eventuality being usually the more frequent

857 Isneg boys and girls are found of play, this is only natural; but
524 their choice is very limited. Indeed, except for the sport of *bisnág*, most of the time these types of play merely consist in running and wrestling, at least as far as active sports that may serve to develop bodily strength are concerned. A group of Isneg boys, whether inside or outside the house, rarely keep quiet for a long time, and very soon playful fighting, which for the most part consists in slapping and kicking one another, is indulged in. This romping, which the Isneg call by the comprehensive term of *maxaúrdd*, after a time becomes so noisy that other people present cannot hear one another's voices, until some old fellow cries: "*Páxai*" (no special meaning), at which the infernal noise stops on the spot, to begin again, of course, at the first opportunity. Isneg girls, although usually less rough and noisy, are not loath to follow the example of the members of the ruder sex; this is generally, but not always, done among themselves exclusively.

[863] Baths are taken rather frequently by both adults and children:
515 the latter either follow the example of their elders or go to take a splash in the river with their companions. In this case each sex keeps strictly apart almost without exception: indeed an Isneg mother never fails to teach her girls a certain modesty as the best means to prevent regrettable incidents. Baths are always taken in some stream of
[34] running water; ponds of still water besides being very rare in the Isneg country, are usually infested with crocodiles, and no Isneg would think of fetching water from somewhere to take his ablutions at home: his village is always situated near some river or brook, and he would consider it as the acme of absurdity to go to the stream in

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postponed for a considerable time. Others again say that *Kútaw* robs it of its garments and dons them himself, to the great dismay and shame of the poor *kadudúwá*, who from now on is obliged to wear either no clothes or at least only such as are not cared for any more by its companions at the other side of the grave. The latter informants usually add that *Kútaw* refuses to ferry this *kadudúwá* over the pond, unless it gives its brand-new clothes to him; some of them say that it may happen that *Kútaw* takes to himself not only the clothes, but also the whole *kadudúwá* (as a kind of servant). One more detail was given me by a Bayag informant: if the dead person has only one of his forearms tattooed (not both of them), *Kútaw* cuts off this tattooed limb and keeps it to himself.

To resume: some informants state that all *kadudúwá* are always ferried over the pond by *Kútaw*, but that those whose *inndt* wears no new clothes, remain like that at least for some time to come, or are left to their own devices as soon as they reach the other side, without being able to find their relatives, at least immediately, while those whose *inndt* wear new clothes without rent are either despoiled by *Kútaw* or kept back for at least a considerable time from the enjoyment that is their due. Other informants state that some *kadudúwá* are simply scorned by *Kútaw* and left on this side of the pond: either those whose *inndt* wear old clothes, or those whose new garments have not been torn. On the other hand, when asked what *kadudúwá* are living in the realm of the dead, even these last informants generally affirm that they all do.

A *labbáń* is a kind of lagoon or pool of stagnant water, of a type found in abundance all along the northern coast of Luzon, between Sanchez Mira and Aparri, and even farther east. At Nagbabalayan there is also a *labbáń*, which consists of a pool of water separated from the Apayaw river by a small elevation of land; at every large rise of the Apayaw river, however, it forms one with the latter. This Nagbabalayan *labbáń* is the regular abode of crocodiles, to whom the Nagbabalayan people offer gifts at every sacrifice. But the name *lablabbáń* belongs exclusively to the pond that separates our abode from that of the dead. Such a reduplication as occurs here usually hints at something similar to what the simple stem implies. Thus *lablabbáń* would mean a *labbáń* that is not an ordinary one, and, considering its place and use, no further proof is needed to convince everybody that it is a very peculiar pool indeed. The following mysterious fact adds to its differentiation from any other *labbáń*:

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241 Here I shall merely mention those that are of a general nature and liable to attack any kind of plantation.

241 The wild boar (*lamán*) is without doubt the enemy par excellence.
136 The Isneg farmer dreads it more thany any other, and not without reason: it respects absolutely nothing, and its depredations are sometimes very great. Next to it you have the deer (*ugtá*), which devastates rice fields, plantations of sugar cane, and the rest. Both these animals prowl about mostly at night, and this makes them the more dangerous, as darkness is their strong auxiliary, while it leaves the field or garden and its owner almost defenseless. The only thing for the Isneg farmer to do is to be diligent in watching his crops. Now and again he must go and visit (*so-bás*) them, and see if any damage has been wrought by roving animals. Should it happen that a wild boar has attempted to enter or has actually entered his field or garden, he must not fail to go on succeeding evenings to lie in wait (*manákar*) at the place where the animal has left signs of its presence, and kill it or at least badly frighten it at its first appearance.

In the daytime you have the jungle fowl (*ditálon, itálon* or *kasí*), which, although less destructive, may easily bring to nought the work of several days, especially in fields that have been sowed recently or whose plants are still very young.

241 Even domesticated animals sometimes imitate their wild forbears:
231 the hog (*ábuy*) and the barnyard fowl (*aná-*) have to be watched almost as carefully as those just mentioned.

241 Add to these the rats, which are often a pest that should be exter-
189 minated at any price.

More subtle enemies, however, are the *arrád*, a kind of green caterpillar that devour the leaves of young plants. The best and easiest way to get rid of them is to place a *lattón* in the infected field. This *lattón* is a little jar filled with an assortment of small herbs and covered with a red cloth: it causes the *arrád* to decamp at once and to look for safer quarters.

189 Besides these well-known enemies, the fields have a good many others that are not so easily detected. These are your own neighbors who feel jealous of your prosperity, and consequently practise all kinds of incantations in order to destroy (*sagsaggán*, "to impede the growth") [17] the young plants of your field or garden. These malevolent persons are said to *manaddl* (to destroy with the use of herbs, etc.). Paddy affected thereby becomes yellow and dies.

[17] The same term also means "to make a girl pregnant".

137

The wild banana is the legendary ancestor of man.

105, 113, 131, 142, 157, 161, 177, 262, 291, 302, 304, 721, Apayao OA5

[For information on location, physical type, personality, population, acculturation, diet, clothing, toilet, tatooing and headhunting, see 58: Barton, OA1 Philippines, category 116, pp. 300-301.]

009 to be quite a differenc in their customs and dialects.
197 Along the length of the Apayao River there are three
162 separate groups. They can understand each other about the way that a Spaniard understands an Italian.

DRESS

291 The ordinary dress of the people is simple. The
[302] men wear breechcloths or G-strings, *abag*. They keep their hair long and coil it on the head. It is confined with a length of cloth wrapped turban fashion.
[304] The hands and wrists are tattooed in the boat pattern.
[142] The teeth are blackened. Each man has a small, de-
[276] corated bag, *bulsa*, in which he keeps his betel nut,
[293] *buyo*, lime bottle, tobacco, flint, tinder, and other small belongings. This is tucked, either into the G-string or in a belt woven of rattan. The woman, when about
30] her work, wears only a tapis. She has a necklace of
523 ancestral beads, shaped from chalcedony, silver and carved amulet bones. There are also patterned porcelain beads in the string. Many of these were obtained from the Chinese when they were active traders here some five centuries ago. Gold does not appear
[304] to be used. The woman has boat-pattern tattoo marks
[291] on the back of her hands as an aid to beauty. The
[854] small children make their skins do as clothing. Babies are carried about by the mothers in slings passed over one shoulder.

292 When all dressed up and ready to go to a party,
301 the woman wears a dark tapis, *aquen;* a cloth girdle, *bajacat;* a short-waisted, long-sleeved, black, pull-on shirt, *badiyo*, all characteristically embroidered in red; a head cloth with spangles, *laddong* and *saban*, topped

46: Wilson F-3 (no date) 1947 OA1 Philippines
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APAYAO LIFE AND LEGENDS

THE PEOPLE OF APAYAO

WHEN you travel in the Philippines to the 131
northwesterly end of Luzon Island as far as Abulog; and then take a banca up the clear, warm waters of the Apayao River, as it meanders through dark tropical forests and amidst gorgeous mountains, you come into the lovely land of the Apayaos.

These virile people came here uncounted thou- 174
sands of years ago in two main migration waves; one- 144
the Indonesian-by way of Southeastern Asia; and the other-the Mongolian-by way of Central Asia. Here, in the northerly end of the Cordillera Central Mountains, these two waves converged, finding a new home with which they have ever since been well content. Their cultures amalgamated into a new one. Physically, the Indonesian strain dominated; but Mongoloid features of all the three short types are present, especially the short Mongol. According to the last cen- 161
sus they number 11,000.

You will like these people; for they are kindly, 181
hospitable, generous mountain lovers. They are high- 577
ly aesthetic in temperament, self-reliant, and honest. If perchance, you drop something, even money, on the trail, the finder will return it to you. They say that [586]
if a man steals, his wife will leave him: or, if they

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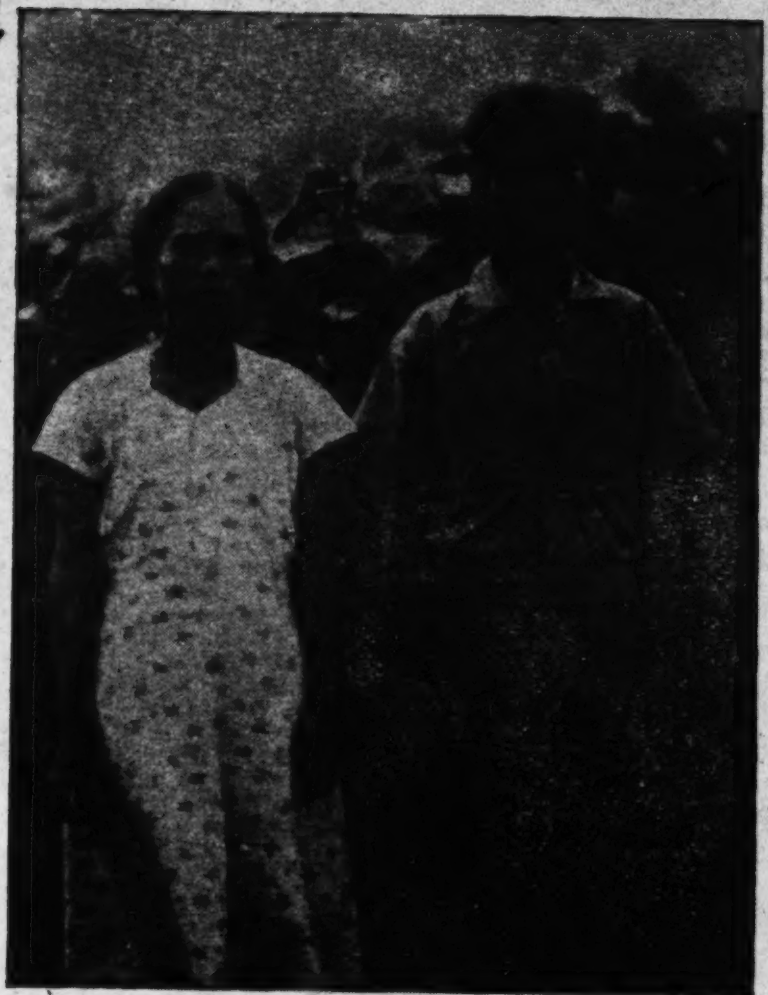
144



Students from Nabuañgan River, at the Trinidad Agricultural High School.

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of the soil that are cultivated among the Isneg. This little treatise on Isneg agriculture might have been written by a native, as I try to put myself as much as possible in the place of the Isneg.

I. Isneg Farming in General

It is freely stated all over Apayaw that, in former times, rice was always abundant in each and every village. Not to have old rice (*kópag*) in store, meaning "rice that had been reaped one or more years previously",[1] was the exception rather than the rule; and there were always in existence a goodly number of granaries where rice was kept that had been harvested up to four years back.

A famine (*dasmág* or *ulát*), under the circumstances, might be called an unknown entity, were it not that *dasmág* and *ulát* are genuine Isneg terms, and so that the thing they refer to must have made its appearance at least occasionally. Actually, however, every few years one hears about a famine devastating the land and bringing in its wake a tremendous amount of distress and misery. The children, of course, are usually the most to be pitied, as they are liable to be permanently affected by the lack of sufficient nourishment.

It might be objected that Apayaw is a rich agricultural country, that it is covered with vegetation throughout the year, that rice is not the only crop that can be raised with advantage, that there is an abundance of tropical forests containing plenty of trees and plants of which one or more parts are edible, and consequently that starvation must be impossible. To this I must answer that the cause is not to be found in the soil or in the climatic conditions of the country, but in the character of its inhabitants. The Isneg is easily dejected, he cannot stand adversity; if his ordinary means of sustenance fail, he is at a loss what to do, he just sits down and moons. Even when remunerative work is offered to him, an Isneg who has not the usual amount of rice at his disposal has rarely the courage to perform it: he is simply down.

Fortunately the average Isneg woman shows herself much more courageous, and, where her husband proves a dismal failure, she it

[1] Rice that has been kept for one or two years, because its owners, being in mourning for a dead child, abstained from eating it, is called *dinúag*. In native words occurring in the present paper the accent (') is placed over the accented vowel. Accented n (ń) denotes the ng sound in English "bring". For full phonetic key, see M. Vanoverbergh. The Isneg, Publ. Cath. Anthrop. Conf., 1932, v. 3, no. 1, pp. 3-4.

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156 truth would have been so patent that it would have thrust itself
184 upon him.

I must confess that I also had my prejudices, when I first came
181 to the Mountain Province of Luzon: I thought that primitives were
114 different, that they were not at all like other people I had met up till then, that you could not very well treat with them as with other normal human beings, that they were very unsophisticated. Well, I had scarcely been a week among the Kankanay, when my superior left me alone and in charge of the mission for a fortnight. He told me to buy all possible timber that the natives might bring for sale, with the help of the cook as interpreter, and, in order to induce them to bring plenty of it, to give them, besides the ordinary payment, a few leaves of tobacco gratis. Very soon two young men came along (probably they also thought that I was something different) and stated that they had timber for sale, that they had left it at the outskirts of the town and that they would bring it in if I wanted them to do so. I told them, of course I did. Then the rascals asked me for tobacco, and I gladly gave them a few leaves each. So they went . . . , and never came back . . . And I knew.

156 Yes, they are human beings just like you and me, and they are as
184 different from one another as you and I. The only thing that might
181 be conceded is that the members of each tribe wear a kind of uniform,
151 that is that they use the same kind or almost the same kind of clothes,
114 that you can usually see at first glance that a certain individual is an Isneg, although he be mixed with a thousand others who are not Isneg. But here the identity stops. I had much more difficulty at first in distinguishing one individual from another. In the beginning of my stay among the Kankanay, the latter looked almost all alike to me; I really thought that they were reduced to a few types and that all the others conformed to these few; and also in this I have been disillusioned. Besides, the same also obtains the other way. Primitives who first come in contact with a limited number of white men, generally experience the same difficulty when trying to distinguish them from one another. Here in Kabugaw I have been asked more than once if my assistant and I were brothers, even when we were sitting side by side, and although we do not resemble each other in the least, not even in the color of the hair, which in our case is very noticeable. Both of us have beards, and while my hair, well, turns grey, that of my assistant rivals the sun's rays in its bright golden color. There is nothing new under the sun.

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In a certain place, not so long ago, they had a teacher whose moral conduct was, to say the least, rather objectionable. When policemen raided the houses of the Isneg in order to hunt up all children of school age, several Isneg parents bluntly told them that they would gladly send their sons, but with reference to their daughters, as long as that teacher remained in charge, never; and they were perfectly right. That man has since been dismissed from the service.

A few defects, which will be recorded in due time, occasionally mar the picture of Isneg family life; but on the whole, it must be said that the Isneg commonly live up to their comparatively high standards with regard to this most important unit of society. Nevertheless the whole life of the Isneg, from the cradle to the grave, is dominated by the fear of the spirits; superstition, magic and spirit worship are inextricably interwoven with their whole life. If a Caucasian or, to take an example from people born, living and dying in the same surroundings, a Negrito had to live under such a continual fear of the supernatural and to comply with such a large number of practices in order to propitiate higher beings or to elude their malevolent intentions, I think his life would be simply miserable. The Isneg, however, do not seem to mind, and although always on the lookout for disagreeable interventions from above, they live a life free of care and are never anxious about the future. They rarely concern themselves with what the next day might bring them, and live happy and content if to-day their immediate wants are provided for: to-morrow will take care of itself.

This seeming contradiction pervades their whole life. On the one hand, they have to take innumerable precautions for the future with regard to superior beings. On the other hand, they do not seem to care a jot for the days to come even with reference to such essential needs as food and raiment. The solution of this apparent puzzle seems to me to be found in the fact that the Isneg do conscientiously every day what they think they have to do and leave the rest to fate. With reference to the supernatural, if they take all possible means to propitiate the spirits, and disregard no taboos, and so on, they feel assured that nothing untoward will happen to them on the part of the spirits. With reference to daily sustenance and the rest, they feel no such assurance, as they know by practical experience that they cannot control the forces of nature, rain, storms, the growth of plants, etc. By strictly observing all injunctions of the shamans and all traditional rites and practices, they believe it possible to control the

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supernatural for the time to come. Nature, however, is not theirs to direct; they know this all too well, and so why bother about the future. Besides, there will always be something to eat, there is no winter in the tropics, vegetation is luxuriant, and the Isneg are not particular. Nature is ruled by the supernatural, not by human beings. All the latter can do is to influence the supernatural. Man has no direct control over rain and sunshine, sickness and death, but the spirits have; and these have to be moved to pity or to be frightened into submission, as the case may be.

An Isneg will say: "What is the use of medicine? If it has been decreed that a person will die, he will do so, medicines or no medicines". But nevertheless he will comply with all possible prescriptions of the shaman, and if the person dies notwithstanding all precautions have been taken to protect him from the spirits, then: "It was his fate", and that ends the matter.

If the locusts are devastating the fields, an Isneg will resign himself to his fate. He has worked diligently, he has observed all possible omens and has broken no taboos; why should he worry, why should he try to destroy these pests. The Government will force him to do so of course, and he will obey as long as he remains under the eagle eye of his rulers, but he will say: "What is the use; if we destroy these, others will take their place, provided it be decreed that way: and if not, it is perfectly useless to tire ourselves for nothing".

Such and similar states of mind are not confined to the Isneg. I remember very well how on a certain occasion, in 1914, I was assisting an Ilоko Christian on his deathbed. Wanting to impress upon him the great necessity of a deep sorrow for his sins, I described to him as vividly as possible the horrors of hell, and told him how anxious he should be to avoid an eternity of such pains and torments; but his only answer was an act of absolute conformity to the Divine Will: "If God wants me to go to hell, I am perfectly willing". And that man was far from wanting to be disrespectful to the Deity; his words simply illustrated how little he cared about what the future had in store for him. Pagan Isneg lay the blame for every untoward happening, either merely on fate, or on the intervention of some ill-intentioned imp, while a happy turn of events is usually considered to be the result either of fate pure and simple, or of some special clever means by which the machinations of the spirits have been counteracted. Nowadays the Government, the Ibanag as they call all Christians, has generally to bear the blame of any public calamity

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that may occur, as it is the ultimate cause of the anger of the spirits, who are deprived of their usual offerings through the abolition of headhunting.

But let us come back to our original purpose of describing the Isneg life cycle, and leave those digressions about fate and spirits for some other time. I shall first treat birth; second, education and home life; third, marriage; and fourth, death and burial.

I. Birth and Infancy

The birth of a child is as a matter of course a very important event, not only for the individual in question, but also for everybody concerned. Any addition to the household is hailed with delight by each and every member of the family, and children are considered as a very precious asset by all Isneg. Some five years ago, at the very beginning of my residence among the Isneg, while I was chatting one day with the justice of the peace of Kabugaw at the latter's house, an Isneg woman came to see him in order to ask him to allow her to divorce her husband. When the judge remonstrated and tried to convince her not to resort to such a drastic procedure, by describing its bad effects more especially on her own self, the woman merely replied that she could stand anything from now on, as during her short married life she had been given "gain" (she used the Spanish term *ganancia*); and when the judge asked her what kind of gain she meant, she merely showed him her child. While in the eyes of most persons a child would be an obstacle to the easy divorce of its parents, in the eyes of this Isneg mother, the child that had been given to her was considered as a treasure that would compensate all hardships incident on the separation from her husband.

A. Pregnancy and Gestation

In order to promote pregnancy, some married Isneg women buy what some of them call "medicine" either from the Christian Ilokó or from other married people among their own tribe. This "medicine" usually consists of one or more kinds of herbs which are the secret of the seller. The buyer carries them on her body, tying them to her girdle in front, either above the right thigh or above the left one. The *ciananá-*, a herb that grows on trees, is chewed by Isneg women for the same purpose.

A kind of small herb, called *ãma-dá*, is occasionally used by Isneg women in order to stop bearing children. Somebody goes to the

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The laziness of the Isneg man has become almost proverbial in Apayaw; he resents it of course, but what can be done about it? The Isneg are living in one of the richest provinces of the Philippines agriculturally, and nevertheless these last years, famine has desolated the land at every turn.

Once while at Alumani, I went to visit a few friends: three of them, the father and his two sturdy sons, the older one a widower, the younger one a bachelor, were living together in a house surrounded by the most fertile fields imaginable; and still they complained and said that they were starving to death, because there were no women to till the soil.

The year 1928 was a lean one almost all over the province, but Karagawan men preferred to squat down in their houses and feed on the flowers of the coconut tree rather than come to Kabugaw and earn a ganta (three liters) of rice a day by doing work that could easily be done by boys of twelve years of age: this work was too hard for them.

About the same time I had to go to Bayag, which is some forty miles distant from Kabugaw, a two days' walk. I sent my carriers one day ahead and gave them rations of rice for two days, in order to preclude any excuse for their not reaching their destination at least at the same time as myself. The next day I met the fellows about noon, sitting in a little hut some ten miles from home and cooking their last meal but one. Having rice they did not care for anything else. They had passed a day and a half walking ten miles, cooking rice, chewing betel nut, and . . . resting.

I could adduce a score of examples like this, all from personal experience. But after all why should we blame the Isneg for it? They were reared in years of plenty, when the smallest amount of work brought the largest possible returns; at the beginning of the lean years they consumed all the rice that had been hoarded up for years; and now the hard times have come: when a tree has been growing in a slanting direction for several years, can you make it lean to the other side in its old age? The Bontok Igorot is industrious and always ready to handle a job that may bring him some money; but he is living among rocks and cliffs, where even weeds and grasses refuse to thrive. The Isneg on the contrary are living in an exceedingly fertile country: up to recent times their district was closed to the outside world for lack of roads, and this prevented them from conducting active trade on any large scale and from selling the surplus

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461 of their products to the members of other tribes living in less favored
251 surroundings. Why should they have worked for things with which
433 they could do nothing? Add to this that their needs have always
487 been so very small that they would not have known what to do with
the money that would have been given them in exchange for their
152 crops.

It may perhaps be hoped that the members of the younger generation will be less deserving of the reputation of laziness rightly affixed to the Isneg name, as they have never seen the fat years of their fathers, and so will more or less become inured to hard work. But when the years of plenty are again at the door, will they resist the temptation of resting from their exertions? Civilization is bringing them new needs, and roads are being opened to allow them to get rid advantageously of their superfluous crops: so there may be change.

461 On one of my first visits to Nagbabalayan, I was sitting one evening
with a large group of Isneg, old and young, on the porch of the
152 teacher's house. It was dark, and the Isneg were asking questions about sun and moon, about light and darkness, etc. So it happened in the course of the conversation that I referred to the protracted darkness of the regions around the poles, where the sun would not rise for months at a time. On hearing this, a young Isneg man, quite exultant at the prospect, exclaimed with enthusiasm: "What a fine thing! Not to have to work for months!" I wish we were living in a place like that". That's the Isneg; how he would curse old Adam, if he could but read the first chapters of Genesis.

152 The Isneg are also very easily dejected in time of sickness, and at the approach of any kind of hardship. The Karagawan case just mentioned would perhaps better have been placed here: it was really a case of utter dejection on account of the terrible famine that desolated their settlement, a thing they had never yet expericneed in their whole life.

A few months ago I went down the Apayaw, and at a certain moment one of my rowers inadvertently cut himself with a headax that was lying on the bottom of the canoe: the wound was not at all serious, but the man lost a good amount of blood. For more than an hour he remained sitting in the boat without moving his oar, his face the picture of utter woe and desolation: you might have thought he was in a dying condition. He arose from his stupor and was his old self again only a long time after the blood had stopped flowing. Avoidance of hardship, not endurance, is a part of the Isneg system; hence their poor resistance to the blows of an adverse fortune.

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the fact that I had used his daughter. Can you beat it?" Needless to say, the conversation was practically a soliloquy on the part of the policeman. I do not believe though that his action was consonant with the Isneg code of morals; but this incident, and especially the answer of the girl's father, shows clearly how different is the state of man and woman among the Isneg, with reference to sex morality.

It should be added here that the father would probably have objected much more strongly to the man who took such liberties with his daughter, if he had not been a policeman. The latter are supposed to be more or less immune and may take liberties not accorded to others, probably on account of their position. Isneg in general resent that: I have heard them say so more than once; but they are afraid to object too strongly, and so policemen mostly do what they like: their reputation is far from clean all over the district, although I do not believe that they are all equally blamable. Later on I heard that, at the time of the above occurrence, the policeman had intended to make the girl his second wife, an engagement which had been broken off at a subsequent date.

It may be noted in this connection that among the Isneg a man, whether single or married, who commits adultery with a married woman (*manalódag*) is thought to be driven to his crime by some evil spirit. In such a case his guilt would be considerably lessened in our point of view; not so, however, in that of the Isneg: in his eyes, it is only the ultimate act that counts, as has been stated before.

"A fit of anger usually makes a man ridiculous in the eyes of the bystanders. It is true that when there is question of a rightful quarrel, you should never fail to sustain it; to be meek and patient under the circumstances would be mere cowardice. Nevertheless everybody is inclined to laugh at the behavior of an angry man: so, although you be strictly in your right, try to control your anger sufficiently not to cause others to laugh at you.

"You know our belief with reference to people who are wont to laugh at the defects of other persons (*magdóla*): if such people are married, they will be punished by having their children suffer the same defect; if they are still young, the children who will be born to them in the future will be misshapen (*pákaŋ*).

"A certain amount of *bási* is not to be despised, but drinking to excess is always bad. Who respects a drunken man? Besides, think about the consequences: quarrels, fights, bloodshed, revenges, etc. As soon as you feel that you have enough, go away and sleep it off, lest you commit regrettable deeds.

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you commit regrettable deeds. Gluttony is contemned by everybody; never keep all the best viands for yourself alone, and be careful not to eat to excess.

"Beware of talking about your neighbor's defects in his absence (*maglibá-*; in Ilоko, *aglibák* means "to hide, to conceal, not to confess, not to manifest"); it may come to his ears; and in such a case, just imagine how he will feel about it. Do you expect him to forgive you without more ado, and to continue his friendly relations with you?

"Do not be a talebearer; such men are the curse of the community: most quarrels take their origin in this vice. Anyone who is known to be addicted to it, at once loses all consideration among decent men, and his company is avoided as much as possible.

"Never boast about your virtues, your possessions, your actions, except on the occasion of a *sāy-ám* sacrifice, when every brave Isneg should recount his glorious deeds for the edification of youth. A man who is puffed up with self-conceit and vainglory is despised by all. The ignorant may perhaps respect him or rather be afraid of him, but the general public scorns him. You know what it means to be called *makiddyaw* (proud) or *napaníláw* (braggart); so never give occasion to anybody to fling such an epithet at your head.

"Beware of being jealous of your neighbor's prosperity or good luck. If fate or the spirits have been less generous to you, that is no reason for being envious of others who are more fortunate than yourself. Ambition is good, jealousy is bad".

2. *Motives Proposed to Young*

Now I shall discard my rôle of Isneg moralist, and say a few words about the motives that are proposed to the youngsters. A good many points have already been hinted at in the preceding treatment of the Isneg moral code, so here I shall merely resume and complete or elucidate my former statements.

It should be said in general that, except when referring to religious, magical or superstitious practices as such, and to the duty of head-hunting, no religious or supernatural motives are proposed to the children in order to get them to obey the moral law, nor are the children ever taught to expect rewards or punishments from supernatural beings. One might perhaps be inclined to accept a few other cases as possible exceptions, for instance that of scoffers referred to above; but it should be remembered that even in such cases, the Isneg never mention directly the intervention of any supernatural beings.

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rice, or if they so preferred, to give it to us with the condition that a similar amount would be given back to them on our return a few days later. The Anayan men denied, however, that they had any rice at all, and even after the soldiers had made our identity known to them, they still persevered in their denial and evidently were lying to us, as several receptacles, in the house of one of them, were found by the soldiers to be full of the requested cereal. This looked to everybody like a tremendous breach of hospitality and an enormous lack of generosity and gratitude, since the Anayan people are practically fed by Apayaw, the more so that on the next day we would have to do without our midday meal, after a march of six hours climbing and descending precipitous mountain sides, completely devoid of all vegetation, with a tropical sun burning over our heads.

Now let us look at this case the other way. At first all of us were complete strangers to the Anayan people (the captain did not wear any of the insignia of his rank); they were Isneg, we were Ibanag: and the latter are not renowned for honesty when dealing with the Isneg. What the Anayan people undoubtedly were thinking about the whole affair was something like this: "They will take our rice and say good-bye, and we shall never see them again", which would indeed very often have been the case under similar circumstances. Add to this that Anayan is a barren country; the people have to get their rice from Dagara, in Apayaw, at the cost of almost superhuman exertions: indeed they have to carry pitch pine and some other heavy commodities of little value over a long and hard mountain path, in order to trade them for that all-important cereal; consequently they rightly believe that rice is not something to be left at the mercy of the first adventurer who happens to come along.

But then, it may be asked, why did they persevere in their denial, even after they had learned about our identity, the more so that they also must have heard about the soldiers' detective work? Well, for no other reason than that they were ashamed: they were ashamed to acknowledge that they had told us a lie. And that this shame was a real excuse for them was afterwards acknowledged even by my companions. If it had been possible for them to find the means of presenting us with rice, without having to admit the deception they had been practising, for instance by going to borrow it from a neighboring settlement, they would most probably have done so. Shame is worse than anything to our people, as everybody here knows by practical experience. And so, after all, the Anayan Isneg did not

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183 act against their own code: they had no duty of hospitality, generosity
574 or gratitude toward the Ibanag; they lied, because to tell the truth
● 152 would have redounded to their disadvantage, nay, to exceeding hard-
ship, which they were completely right, at least in their own eyes,
577 to try to avoid by all possible means; they were excused from acknowl-
edging their deception, even after it had become patent and after
they had learned about the identity of their visitors, on account of
the shame which such an acknowledgment would have entailed.

171 This proves that it is sometimes very hard to understand the native's
577 position, and that one has to be careful not to judge him rashly.
His code is occasionally very different from ours; and so both his and
181 our point of view, although entirely opposite one to the other, may
sometimes be perfectly consistent. In the whole statement of this case
and in its explanation, I have not been trying to propound theories;
I have merely stated the facts and told the truth as it is, not
theoretically, but practically.

461 Isneg teaching with reference to diligence and love of work is
183 usually accepted in its completeness by the fair sex. One meets with
few downright lazy women in all Apayaw. But the males? As long
as they are children, all right, the parents are there to look after
that; but once they have grown up, especially once they are married,
I think that even the few duties imposed upon them by their own
code, are not always and universally complied with. The tropical
climate, prevalent malarial fevers, usual years of plenty, a most fertile
soil, forests abounding with deer, wild boars, bees, etc., besides timber,
rattan, edible fruits, and other vegetable products, the lack of means
of transportation, and so on, are not exactly inducements toward
activity and industriousness. Nevertheless the duties are, I repeat it,
so few, that it would be dangerous to qualify too great a number of
[171] men as transgressors of their own rules. Isneg adult men are usually
lazy, it is undeniable, but they appear so more especially when we
compare their behavior with that of other inhabitants of the Mountain
Province, who are either living in densely populated areas or leading
a precarious existence among rocks and cliffs. And so, even in this,
Isneg teaching might perhaps be said to be fairly successful.

[152] The apathetic character of the generality of the Isneg renders
183 compliance with several points of their moral code comparatively
easy; and so fits of anger and of jealousy, and boasting are not very
577 common. Talking about other people's defects in their absence is
626 almost as common among the Isneg as among other races: it breaks

181 or if they
152 acquire money unfairly and buy rice with it, the rice,
157 when eaten, will give them no strength. As born psy-
[577 chologists, they enjoy working on you so that you will
82] think and act as they desire. They like a practical
[522] joke even when it is on themselves. In fact, even accidents are taken as jokes and the one who has been injured is the one who laughs the hardest. When going through hardship, they show real endurance. Their code is to laugh and joke near the end just as if they had only awakened from a good sleep.

181 The Apayaos are courageous and lovers of free-
175 dom. The Spaniards never did conquer them, and even we Americans had a difficult time establishing our benevolent government. It was necessary to continue the military control for many years; and only in 1923 was civil government established. During the first part of the Japanese occupation, Apayao was a place of refuge for fleeing Americans and, after the fall of Corregidor, Cabugao was made the headquarters of the USAFFE of Northern Luzon. The Japanese did not establish themselves here in these mountain fastnesses until March, 1943. They did not find the people at all willing to collaborate and left in August, 1944. When the Americans returned, the Apayaos volunteered, almost to a man, to assist in defeating the Japanese. Many acted as "bolo men" without pay, and served as cargados, messengers and laborers. Thus they neglected even their farming, so that this year their crops are small.

101 These people call themselves *Isnegs* and are so known by the neighboring *Ibanags*, whose language is related to theirs. Probably they are called Apa-

A CHAPTER FROM THE STORY OF HATAN AND HIS FAMILY

152 893 578 Abbiawan went on an adventure to seek for renown in brave deeds because he envied his brother Ewagan for being a such a famous warrior. Abbiawan set forth to try to kill Ewagan. Then all the brothers, well armed with spears, accompanied Abbiawan, intending to kill their brother, Ewagan. A fight ensued between the brothers. Finding out that that their brother Ewagan could not be killed, they decided to challenge Ewagan one by one, with shield and spear.

578 Abbiawan and Ewagan first faced each other. While the fight was going on between these two brothers, Imlang joined in to help Abbiawan. At the first attack of Ewagan on his two brothers, the shield of Imlang was cut to pieces and Imlang called for help from his other brothers. When he called for help, Haowan volunteered to challenge Ewagan.

Another fight ensued. At the first attack of Ewagan, the shield of Haowan was also cut in pieces. Because Haowan could no longer withstand the attack, he withdrew and cried for help. Hinadolan came to his aid. They fought with spears.

In this fight Ewagan was a bit afraid of Hinadolan because his spear was very big and a shield would not stop it. So Ewagan retreated. All of a sudden, Ewagan fiercely renewed the attack in the

Hatan and Dinawigan, his wife, mourned and 152
almost committed suicide because they could not find their son Ewagan and his sister. When Dipparo saw the pair, he told them to go to their mother, who was looking for them. But they had promised never to return. Instead, they stayed with Dipparo. The parents and other brothers became beside themselves [58] [57] with grief because they could not find Ewagan and Hinalingan, and almost killed anyone whom they met in the way.

Dipparo intoxicated Ewagan with *basi* so that he would talk louder. Hinadolan rode on his horse in the sky. Hearing the voice of his brother, he came down immediately. In order that Ewagan should not be frightened, he hid in the grass and sent his horse ahead to meet Ewagan. Upon seeing the horse, Ewagan recognized at once that it was that of Hinadolan. He asked the horse why it was there. It answered that Hinadolan was fighting their enemies. Upon hearing this, Ewagan was very worried. The horse said that he would bring Hinadolan if Ewagan would promise to follow them. Ewagan agreed; so the horse went to bring Hinadolan to the house of Dipparo where Ewagan was living. When Ewagan saw his brother, he greatly pitied him as his brother had become very thin while looking for him.

Hinadolan persuaded Ewagan to go and visit his mother because she was pining away and nearly dying, longing for Ewagan. But Ewagan renewed his vow not to stay with him; but went on to his own house in Pindayan. Dipparo also followed them. 000
On their way they found Imlang almost dying because

152 When they had come below Dombilan, Ewagan shouted and the whole *barangay* faded away. Upon reaching the river, Ewagan started to take a bath; but the river was ashamed and suddenly all the water disappeared. When Hinadolan saw it, he became angry, and so the river returned and was full of fish swmiming toward. Ewagan. When they saw him, they were ashamed and swam away.

As Ewagan approached his father's house, he cried because he was ashamed to meet Hatan. When Hatan saw his son, at once he announced a big feast.

000

To Guimbangonan

THE COURTSHIP OF EWAGAN

(Nabaungan River Dialect—Tune: *sammelay*)

Wadcano-uen co iyan iya mablang ñga nagan.
Oh! glittering, glorious, a man of extraordinary power:
Kia dinacligan iganam cabalayan ta anadan.
Into his room his sister came to make,
Ket so menot gomayanggang cano ga cabalacyad
By her magical power, her brother Ewagan
Ta mapen can co guiyan ne asang Guimbangonan.
Looks like a brilliant golden being; ready to start for his courtship of Guimbangonan, a lovely-looking girl.
Icao man yo ayayam ippan nacco Dudongan kito guiya nato bongngan.
On his way to Dudongan, his lovely bird (*gattulayan*) brought him side by side to Guimbangonan.

THE PREGNANT WOMAN

000 There were two brothers, Dinkoan and Linadolan; and two sisters, Dommaria and Lananan. While the two sisters were bathing in the river, it happened that they saw a burning bundle of rice. It was like puffed rice; so Lananan ate some. The burnt rice had been thrown into the river by Enoy, who was taking a bath above them in the river.

684 836 [152] When the brothers found out that their sister was pregnant, they were ashamed, and they decided to put her in the thick forest. So they took her to gather bark for G-strings. As Lananan gathered the bark of a tree for the G-string, it became cloth; but the bark which the brothers gathered remained bark. When they saw this, they became jealous and asked her for some cloth. She did not like to share the cloth; so all the rest became angry and ran away from her. She shouted and shouted; but no one answered her. She kept hunting for the way to go home; but could not find it. At night-fall she found a flat stone on which she slept.

789 After sleeping a few hours, she awoke and saw several fine houses nearby and there was a fire burning. When she looked further, she saw a number of granaries full of rice. She entered one of the houses and found a stick of sugar cane. She peeled it, cut it into pieces, threw them out the door, and prayed: "May each of these pieces become a pig." They did so. Thus Lananan become a rich woman.

000 Her brothers became very anxious to see her, as they missed her. They asked their cousins, Ewagan

000 for those old dishes?" he said. The men began to think that probably the puppy was not really a puppy. They noticed that when it sat down, it always sat beside Enoy, who was his father. He said his name was Magnac. The men divided the meat of the wild pig and went home. But Ewagan, uncle of the boy, stayed behind in order, he said, to help the puppy to carry his share of the meat. Then the puppy changed back into a boy. Ewagan asked: "Where is your share?" The boy said: "Maybe the dogs ate it." Instead he had taken it into the magic house which the men could not see. The boy persuaded Ewagan to go to his house. He followed his nephew and found a wonderful house in the place where they had caught the wild pig. He was ashamed to enter it; but the boy finally persuaded him to go in and told him all about who he was.

The next day Dinkoan and Linadolan and Enoy went hunting for the third time in the same place. The dogs again caught a pig there, and Ewagan came out of the house and explained to Enoy that the puppy was his son. Enoy did not go home that day. Ewagan went home with his cousins. Enoy slept with his
842 son in the house. Ewagan had explained to him how Lananan had eaten the bundle of rice which Enoy had used while bathing and so became pregnant. He advised Enoy to stay there and work and help Lananan and the boy; because they were truly his wife and son.
[152] Enoy was ashamed because the son had not come in the regular way. The woman said that her brothers did not like that way either and wanted a ceremony to be held so that the marriage would be regular. She

ETKAN AND HIS ROAD TO THE SKY

(In the Nabuangan River Dialect)

000 *"Negyan da cano dea ñga telay. Yanna kan ya bakbaket, ey Etkan kan yaanac na, ñga lalaki. Etkan mangñgoa ka ko kalsada mapan ko Lañgit. Kingoa na ñgamin y aaggemañgan...Issa ñga algao nebaga na kan kia Inana ñga dinacan pikam kajan ombet. Ngem medama kan no Etkan magangua itto inombet can ne Inanā manugan. Naluksao kan ne Etkan maganwa itto inombet can ne Inana Manugan. Naluksao kan ne Etkan a ta awan na ababag ñga sinukal ya imma. Nekuyat na kan ya bato ñga dinyan na nepoltog da kan ko Makaltog, awe kan daddumn ke Nabuañngan ay nawe kan dadduma ko Katablañgan. Yanna kian logedin addi nabalim ya kalsada ni Etkan ñga mapan ke Lañgit.*

There was a woman and her son who lived together in a happy life. When the son grew to be a young man he was very strong. He planned to build a road going to the sky. The name of the son was Etkan. He was so strong that he was able to carry great, huge stones for the construction of his road leading to the sky. Etkan worked enough days to complete three rest houses. He planted betel leaf and betel-nut for the people to chew when they should go trading to the sky. One morning, the son told his mother not to bring his food until he had finished two more rest houses. After he had been working hardly three hours, the mother came with his food. But the son had not yet completed what he had told his mother.
[152] Then he became angry and kicked away the erected stones leading to the sky...
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000 back to their home and pounded up tobacco. After pounding it, they returned and put the powdered tobacco in the brook. Thus the fish was poisoned. So they could go home now, with the fish and the earrings. Mora took the earrings and wore them. On account of obtaining the earrings, Sodac and his wife came to think that they should hold a big *sayam*. So they began to call the *anitos* for the fish. First they spread a good blanket on the floor by the door-side and laid the fish on it. They invited many people from far and near. When the guests were all in the house, Sodac and Mora related their fish story.

845 So all the women held an *anito* till midnight. As they were enjoying their *say-am*, the hill behind the house burst open and flowed down and covered the house. Only Mora was not killed, as she was thrown out through the window. Early in the morning Mora miraculously gave birth. The miraculous thing about it was that the babies were twins: one was a small female pig and the other one was a normal male baby.

152 When the two babies were children the pig went
845 to the forest forever; and the boy went also to the forest and joined the other *anitos*. Mora did not know why her babies disappeared: so she kept looking for them; but she could not find them anymore. At last Mora became crazy.

THE MADATAG JUMP

103 Hundreds of years ago there were few inhabitants of Apayao. Madatag *barangay* was the only *barangay* which had many people. At that time they

726 584 weapons also; for it was the custom for a man always to carry his spear, shield and *gaod* with him.

He returned to the house of Bandiyang bringing his trophies with him. All the people joyfully came to celebrate the valor of Angyoban, and the marriage took place soon after.

THE FEUD BETWEEN THE PEOPLES OF ALISIT AND KUMAO

608 Many times the peoples of Alisit went to fight the Bulo people. They found no one at home. One time when on their way to Bulo, they became very hungry [476] and stopped in Kumao. It happened that at that time, the people of Kumao were gathering posts for a house. There were many people there to help. They had *basi* [517] to drink. So they offered some to the Alisit people. While sitting on the ground, they talked and had oratorical contests, each contestant telling of their cus- [519] toms. The *maingel of* Kumao was Lindo. They became drunk and got into an angry quarrel. Lindo said [152] to Baliwan, "You are good only for hunting women and not for hunting men." Baliwan became very angry and answered back and struck Lindo with his *gaod*. When Bayao, the son of Lindo, saw Baliwan strike his father, he snatched up his *gaod* to help his father. Then all the warriors were drawn into the fight, and five of the Alisit men were killed. None of the Kumao people were killed.

628 484 Later on, twelve Kumao people were taking a trip to Sulsuna in Ilocos for trading purposes. They

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156 truth would have been so patent that it would have thrust itself
184 upon him.

I must confess that I also had my prejudices, when I first came
181 to the Mountain Province of Luzon: I thought that primitives were
114 different, that they were not at all like other people I had met up till then, that you could not very well treat with them as with other normal human beings, that they were very unsophisticated. Well, I had scarcely been a week among the Kankanay, when my superior left me alone and in charge of the mission for a fortnight. He told me to buy all possible timber that the natives might bring for sale, with the help of the cook as interpreter, and, in order to induce them to bring plenty of it, to give them, besides the ordinary payment, a few leaves of tobacco gratis. Very soon two young men came along (probably they also thought that I was something different) and stated that they had timber for sale, that they had left it at the outskirts of the town and that they would bring it in if I wanted them to do so. I told them, of course I did. Then the rascals asked me for tobacco, and I gladly gave them a few leaves each. So they went . . . , and never came back . . . And I knew.

156 Yes, they are human beings just like you and me, and they are as
184 different from one another as you and I. The only thing that might
181 be conceded is that the members of each tribe wear a kind of uniform,
151 that is that they use the same kind or almost the same kind of clothes,
114 that you can usually see at first glance that a certain individual is an Isneg, although he be mixed with a thousand others who are not Isneg. But here the identity stops. I had much more difficulty at first in distinguishing one individual from another. In the beginning of my stay among the Kankanay, the latter looked almost all alike to me; I really thought that they were reduced to a few types and that all the others conformed to these few; and also in this I have been disillusioned. Besides, the same also obtains the other way. Primitives who first come in contact with a limited number of white men, generally experience the same difficulty when trying to distinguish them from one another. Here in Kabugaw I have been asked more than once if my assistant and I were brothers, even when we were sitting side by side, and although we do not resemble each other in the least, not even in the color of the hair, which in our case is very noticeable. Both of us have beards, and while my hair, well, turns grey, that of my assistant rivals the sun's rays in its bright golden color. There is nothing new under the sun.

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at night and that the owners had allowed him to do so. He immediately set out for Kabugaw, firmly intent in claiming his daughter back, and he only desisted from his purpose after he had been convinced that the rumor was entirely unfounded. On the other hand another Baliwanan girl was allowed to follow a Kagayan into another village and to live maritally with him for a certain period of time, after which she came back home.

Go to another near-by settlement: some parents object to their daughters going to school for reasons given in the introduction of this paper, while others allow them not only to go to school but even to live at the house of the teacher.

Let us pass over to Talifugu. A girl becomes pregnant, and the case is dropped. The same man, a Kagayan, deflowers another girl with the same result, and he is left no peace until he marries her.

At Dagara: a girl has the reputation, which I understand to be deserved, of being of very loose morals; she is left all liberty by her parents; while the generality of the Dagara girls behave as decently as anywhere else.

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I twice assisted at a small Isneg sacrifice, once at Ampaw and once at Abbil. In the former place, everything went on as if it were the most serious and most important act that could be performed by an Isneg: all details were attended to with the utmost earnestness and accuracy; while at Abbil, the whole ceremony seemed rather to be considered as an irksome duty: it looked like a joke when compared with the Ampaw case. It must be conceded that the Abbil people were more or less ill at ease on account of my presence; but I was equally present at Ampaw, and in the latter place I was even sitting much nearer the shaman than at Abbil, nevertheless the shaman and her helpers never flinched.

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I have little chance to read books on anthropology, but I understand it has been stated in some of them that primitives think in common, that among primitives every community has something like one mind for all individuals; how exactly the books express it I do not know, but I am sure that my readers who know about it, understand what I mean. Now, I know nothing at all from personal experience about primitives living in other parts of the world, but with reference to our Mountain people, whether Negritos or Malays, Kankanay or Isneg, I dare say that anybody who would pass a few weeks among them, would not have to take the trouble any more to form an opinion on the subject or to try to frame some theory, the

105, 113, 131, 142, 157, 161, 177, 262, 291, 302, 304, 721, Apayao OA5

[For information on location, physical type, personality, population, acculturation, diet, clothing, toilet, tatooing and headhunting, see 58: Barton, OA1 Philippines, category 116, pp. 300-301.]

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The laziness of the Isneg man has become almost proverbial in Apayaw; he resents it of course, but what can be done about it? The Isneg are living in one of the richest provinces of the Philippines agriculturally, and nevertheless these last years, famine has desolated the land at every turn.

Once while at Alumani, I went to visit a few friends: three of them, the father and his two sturdy sons, the older one a widower, the younger one a bachelor, were living together in a house surrounded by the most fertile fields imaginable; and still they complained and said that they were starving to death, because there were no women to till the soil.

The year 1928 was a lean one almost all over the province, but Karagawan men preferred to squat down in their houses and feed on the flowers of the coconut tree rather than come to Kabugaw and earn a ganta (three liters) of rice a day by doing work that could easily be done by boys of twelve years of age: this work was too hard for them.

About the same time I had to go to Bayag, which is some forty miles distant from Kabugaw, a two days' walk. I sent my carriers one day ahead and gave them rations of rice for two days, in order to preclude any excuse for their not reaching their destination at least at the same time as myself. The next day I met the fellows about noon, sitting in a little hut some ten miles from home and cooking their last meal but one. Having rice they did not care for anything else. They had passed a day and a half walking ten miles, cooking rice, chewing betel nut, and . . . resting.

I could adduce a score of examples like this, all from personal experience. But after all why should we blame the Isneg for it? They were reared in years of plenty, when the smallest amount of work brought the largest possible returns; at the beginning of the lean years they consumed all the rice that had been hoarded up for years; and now the hard times have come: when a tree has been growing in a slanting direction for several years, can you make it lean to the other side in its old age? The Bontok Igorot is industrious and always ready to handle a job that may bring him some money; but he is living among rocks and cliffs, where even weeds and grasses refuse to thrive. The Isneg on the contrary are living in an exceedingly fertile country: up to recent times their district was closed to the outside world for lack of roads, and this prevented them from conducting active trade on any large scale and from selling the surplus

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The children are usually afraid of the spirits, who are legion, and some of whom might be called bugaboos of one kind or another, but threats of these beings or of ghosts are never resorted to in order to frighten the youngsters into good conduct, except again in the first two cases just mentioned.

To the Isneg future life is simply a continuation of the present one, except for a few differentiating details, as living in a silver house and so on. A man, whether good or bad, continues his daily life, like in a dream, at the other side of the tomb, just as if nothing had happened. The difference that exists between the interred body of a good man and that of a bad one, which will be explained in due time, can have only very little influence on the conduct of men here on earth; and besides, there also the question of shame is of paramount importance, no less than among the living, as will be seen later on.

Consequently practically every article of the socio-moral code gets its sanction from non-religious or natural motives. Shame is the most often resorted to, shame that results from the known violation of any point of the moral code, shame that affects not only the delinquent, but also his parents. "Do not do that lest your parents be shamed" is a phrase very commonly used in order to persuade the child to conduct itself well. The terms "shame (*aliyáw*)", "shameful (*nakal-aliyáw*)", "ashamed (*maliyáw*)", are almost continually on the Isneg's lips; they serve both as an excuse for negligence in complying with one's duties, and as a motive for good behavior. Nothing is more powerful than the fear of being shamed in order to cause an Isneg either to live honorably or to commit a dastardly crime. An Isneg is exceedingly sensitive to shameful and opprobrious epithets; he will do anything to avoid any of them being thrown at his head, and he resents it very much if he is accused undeservedly. Lest he be called a coward, an Isneg will sustain a quarrel indefinitely, whether he be on the right side or not. Shame is the biggest incentive for young people to behave and to keep themselves from indulging in all too flagrant transgressions of the moral code, especially with reference to sex morality. An Isneg child will be taught to be obedient and respectful toward its parents, lest the latter be shamed on account of its unruly conduct. Honesty and truthfulness have to be practised lest a man be branded as a thief or a liar, which are exceedingly opprobrious terms in the mouth of a native. In short, the fear of shame keeps the Isneg on the right path in a thousand instances; and any kind of privation or hardship will be suffered patiently, the

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of the soil that are cultivated among the Isneg. This little treatise on Isneg agriculture might have been written by a native, as I try to put myself as much as possible in the place of the Isneg.

I. Isneg Farming in General

It is freely stated all over Apayaw that, in former times, rice was always abundant in each and every village. Not to have old rice (*kópag*) in store, meaning "rice that had been reaped one or more years previously",[1] was the exception rather than the rule; and there were always in existence a goodly number of granaries where rice was kept that had been harvested up to four years back.

A famine (*dasmág* or *uldt*), under the circumstances, might be called an unknown entity, were it not that *dasmág* and *uldt* are genuine Isneg terms, and so that the thing they refer to must have made its appearance at least occasionally. Actually, however, every few years one hears about a famine devastating the land and bringing in its wake a tremendous amount of distress and misery. The children, of course, are usually the most to be pitied, as they are liable to be permanently affected by the lack of sufficient nourishment.

It might be objected that Apayaw is a rich agricultural country, that it is covered with vegetation throughout the year, that rice is not the only crop that can be raised with advantage, that there is an abundance of tropical forests containing plenty of trees and plants of which one or more parts are edible, and consequently that starvation must be impossible. To this I must answer that the cause is not to be found in the soil or in the climatic conditions of the country, but in the character of its inhabitants. The Isneg is easily dejected, he cannot stand adversity; if his ordinary means of sustenance fail, he is at a loss what to do, he just sits down and moons. Even when remunerative work is offered to him, an Isneg who has not the usual amount of rice at his disposal has rarely the courage to perform it: he is simply down.

Fortunately the average Isneg woman shows herself much more courageous, and, where her husband proves a dismal failure, she it

[1] Rice that has been kept for one or two years, because its owners, being in mourning for a dead child, abstained from eating it, is called *disínag*. In native words occurring in the present paper the accent (') is placed over the accented vowel. Accented n (ń) denotes the ng sound in English "bring". For full phonetic key, see M. Vanoverbergh. The Isneg, Publ. Cath. Anthrop. Conf., 1932, v. 3, no. 1, pp. 3-4.

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is who finds a means to keep the wolf from the door. On occasions like these, it is clearly apparent how training and experience have rendered the Isneg girl fit for meeting almost any kind of emergency, while the customary indolence of the male makes him an easy prey to downheartedness, so much so that he becomes utterly unable to save himself and his family from the pangs of hunger.

If we come to consider the situation from the point of view of the Isneg, it is not to be wondered at that nowadays famines are of rather frequent occurrence in Apayaw. Indeed, foreign authorities have invaded the land: not understanding the position of the Isneg with reference to the tutelary spirits of the country, they have all but extirpated headhunting. What can be expected after this? Being denied their usual offerings, the spirits stop protecting the crops. It is true that the Isneg does not cease to propitiate them by all possible means, but the great sacrifice has been rendered almost impossible, and so the fields have become a prey to evil imps, while the protectors of the rice, the purveyors of the Isneg, have become either powerless or indifferent.

Nevertheless, under ordinary circumstances, the average Isneg raises enough rice to last him and his family for a year. He may not be able to store it up for future consumption, but what he has usually keeps him alive from one harvest to the next, and besides almost always allows him to offer an occasional sacrifice to the spirits and to invite his relatives and neighbors to the ceremony. Such is the normal state of affairs with the great majority of the people.

Now in almost every agglomeration one will find at least one man who is styled "rich" (*ba-nán*), a man who raises rice in abundance (*aragammáy*) and consequently is able to offer one or more solemn sacrifices every year and to provide food to the inhabitants of several villages for days at a time. However, these so-called rich people do not fare any better than the average citizen, as their surplus is easily consumed at their *sáy-ám* or solemn sacrifices.

On the other hand, there are always a few who may be called poor (*nakimrút*): their rice, if they raise any at all, never lasts them the whole year round, and, in the meanwhile, they have to content themselves with Indian corn, yams, taro and the rest; but only in times of famine, are they obliged to feed on coconut flowers and other outlandish foods. Others again seem never to be able to make both ends meet: these are the *síbud*; their rice, which should be sufficient for ordinary persons, is usually gone almost before they are aware of it,

181 or if they
152 acquire money unfairly and buy rice with it, the rice,
157 when eaten, will give them no strength. As born psy-
[577 chologists, they enjoy working on you so that you will
827] think and act as they desire. They like a practical
[522] joke even when it is on themselves. In fact, even accidents are taken as jokes and the one who has been injured is the one who laughs the hardest. When going through hardship, they show real endurance. Their code is to laugh and joke near the end just as if they had only awakened from a good sleep.

181 The Apayaos are courageous and lovers of free-
175 dom. The Spaniards never did conquer them, and even we Americans had a difficult time establishing our benevolent government. It was necessary to continue the military control for many years; and only in 1923 was civil government established. During the first part of the Japanese occupation, Apayao was a place of refuge for fleeing Americans and, after the fall of Corregidor, Cabugao was made the headquarters of the USAFFE of Northern Luzon. The Japanese did not establish themselves here in these mountain fastnesses until March, 1943. They did not find the people at all willing to collaborate and left in August, 1944. When the Americans returned, the Apayaos volunteered, almost to a man, to assist in defeating the Japanese. Many acted as "bolo men" without pay, and served as cargados, messengers and laborers. Thus they neglected even their farming, so that this year their crops are small.

101 These people call themselves *Isnegs* and are so known by the neighboring *Ibanags*, whose language is related to theirs. Probably they are called Apa-

226 Sometimes the fish are poisoned with tobacco
[827] or the juice derived from the berries of the *tuba* bush. Also several types of fish traps are used.

224 Deer and wild pigs are hunted with dogs. Wild pigs are also trapped in their runways. The meat thus obtained is divided with fellow hunters and among neighbors. The hunting technique is quite communistic.

SOCIETY

621 The government of the Apayaos is simple. In
622 each family the man rules supreme and orders his wo-
[595] man what to do. This is the unit.

[361] A group of from 15 to 30 families build their houses near each other, *babalay*, being joined together for mutual aid and protection under one head man,
[557] *maingel*, who holds his position because he is the na-
[554] tural leader, is wealthy, and is the stongest and fiercest
622 warrior. The *maingel* wears a red turban on his head
624 and his arms are tattooed to the shoulders. He is absolute ruler; but has several advisory assistants, *pangmarwan*, who likewise have won their position through ability. The next best man to the *maingel*, is his number one assistant and so on. The common man may advise a *pangmarwan*. Upon the death of the *maingel* the number one *pangmarwan* takes his place.
627 The *maingel* and *pangmarwans* sit as a court to judge
692 any one who has broken the common law. Disputes between individuals are settled by intermediary peace
681 makers. It is notable that the fines are not paid to the government, but to the injured party, who receives the suitable indemnity. This may be in the form of jars, beads, animals, and other valuables.

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183 vogue here now tends to retard marriage; but its introduction is still
178 too recent and it is still too much the privilege of the few, to be able
177 sensibly to affect the standard of morality among our Isneg.

As to conjugal fidelity, it may be said that an unfaithful wife is
837 the exception among the Isneg; but with reference to the men, the
183 situation is not so bright. Even polygyny is not always sufficient
184 to put a curb to the husband's license: indeed only the rich can afford to take more than one wife, and these at the same time usually enjoy the greatest freedom on account of their wealth and social influence.

577 To sum up the situation, it may be said that open immorality and
183 indecency is much less frequent among the Isneg than among several
171 other Mountain tribes, but, although more or less well concealed, loose
836 morals are rather the rule than the exception among young unmarried people, and among married people the state of affairs leaves much to be desired. "Doing that which may make a girl pregnant" is not what the Isneg abhors, but "making a girl actually pregnant".

577 With reference to honesty, the Isneg generally observes the rules
183 laid down by his own code, and transgressions are rare. Isneg thieves
685 are not at all common, and downright robbery, even from the Ibanag or the *idammán* (enemies of his own tribe), is a rare occurrence. This
858 is true of children as well as of adults, although the former may
867 occasionally try to pilfer fruits or other eatables, in which, nevertheless, they are never encouraged by their elders, who rarely fail to scold them and even to punish them.

577 Truthfulness also is quite ordinary among adult Isneg, but many
867 youngsters need frequent correction on the subject. In this connec-
158 tion, however, we should bear in mind the existence of two inveterate habits not only among the Isneg, but also among the generality of
183 Malays with whom I have come in contact. And first, whenever he is caught at something that might elicit from you even the smallest
811 reprimand, he has always an excuse ready at the tip of his tongue, and any excuse will do, however preposterous it may be; he never reasons about it, the truth is not what he aims at, but the plain presentation of an excuse, be it real or imaginary. These people are certainly experts in that line.

577 Just to give a few examples. One day I was very much astonished
158 to find that all my bananas had disappeared, although they were care-
183 fully stored away in a closed press, so I suspected, and not without reason, that one of my Isneg boys had found them to his taste. At the first occasion I bluntly asked the fellow what had happened to
811

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my bananas, hoping in this way to catch him unaware, but as quick as lightning he retorted: "*Kinalbáw náyá áto* (the dog ate them)". Now the poor boy never thought of the impossibility of that press being opened by a dog, and even in case it could have been done, of the improbability of a dog leaving the meat aside and choosing the bananas instead.

On another occasion I had observed that a kind Iloko lady had missed Mass on two consecutive Sundays; and so at our first meeting I made a little remark about the matter, but she was as quick as my Isneg boy in retorting: "I had my menses". This I merely answered with another question: "Twice a month?"

It may be hard indeed for any innocent person not to defend himself when he has been accused unjustly, but for an Isneg I think it would be simply heroic to keep silent after a reproof, even though it be slight and most amply deserved. And even when the unreasonableness of his excuse has been demonstrated to him, he must be a very dull fellow indeed if he will not immediately try another one, without even stopping to think whether it may not be as little acceptable as the one just rejected.

Another custom which very often makes abstraction of truth or error as we understand it is their manner of answering a question. No conscientious inquirer should ever forget that these people are in the habit of answering a question, not according to truth, but according to what they believe you except to hear from them. I would be the last to accuse them of wilful lying under the circumstances, and would much prefer to put the blame on their inborn desire to please you. This goes to show that one has to be very careful in proffering judgment on our Isneg, not only with reference to questions that may have been answered the wrong way, but also with reference to obedience in general to those precepts of their moral code that have to do with truthfulness and lying. The blame of the whole affair is very often to be laid, either on the inquirer himself who should know something about the mentality of this people, or on the courtesy of the latter: in this case they should be credited, not with the vice of lying, but with the social virtue of politeness.

A few Isneg expressions with a direct or indirect bearing on the education and home life of the child may here be appended:

Aydyam: Toy.

Lallupítan: Said of a child who cries for the smallest reason.

Dumdúm: Dull, unhandy at work. Also: dull at learning.

Hatan and Dinawigan, his wife, mourned and 152
almost committed suicide because they could not find their son Ewagan and his sister. When Dipparo saw the pair, he told them to go to their mother, who was looking for them. But they had promised never to return. Instead, they stayed with Dipparo. The pa- [58] ●
rents and other brothers became beside themselves [57]
with grief because they could not find Ewagan and Hinalingan, and almost killed anyone whom they met in the way.

Dipparo intoxicated Ewagan with *basi* so that he would talk louder. Hinadolan rode on his horse in the sky. Hearing the voice of his brother, he came down immediately. In order that Ewagan should not be frightened, he hid in the grass and sent his horse ahead to meet Ewagan. Upon seeing the horse, Ewagan recognized at once that it was that of Hinadolan. He asked the horse why it was there. It answered that Hinadolan was fighting their enemies. Upon hearing this, Ewagan was very worried. The horse said that he would bring Hinadolan if Ewagan would promise to follow them. Ewagan agreed; so the horse went to bring Hinadolan to the house of Dipparo where Ewagan was living. When Ewagan saw his brother, he greatly pitied him as his brother had become very thin while looking for him.

Hinadolan persuaded Ewagan to go and visit his mother because she was pining away and nearly dying, longing for Ewagan. But Ewagan renewed his vow not to stay with him; but went on to his own house in Pindayan. Dipparo also followed them. 000
On their way they found Imlang almost dying because

105, 113, 131, 142, 157, 161, 177, 262, 291, 302, 304, 721, Apayao OA5

[For information on location, physical type, personality, population, acculturation, diet, clothing, toilet, tatooing and headhunting, see 58: Barton, OA1 Philippines, category 116, pp. 300-301.]

46: Wilson F-3 (no date) 1947 OA1 Philippines
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APAYAO LIFE AND LEGENDS

THE PEOPLE OF APAYAO

WHEN you travel in the Philippines to the 131
northwesterly end of Luzon Island as far as Abulog; and then take a banca up the clear, warm waters of the Apayao River, as it meanders through dark tropical forests and amidst gorgeous mountains, you come into the lovely land of the Apayaos.

These virile people came here uncounted thou- 174
sands of years ago in two main migration waves; one- 144
the Indonesian-by way of Southeastern Asia; and the other-the Mongolian-by way of Central Asia. Here, in the northerly end of the Cordillera Central Mountains, these two waves converged, finding a new home with which they have ever since been well content. Their cultures amalgamated into a new one. Physically, the Indonesian strain dominated; but Mongoloid features of all the three short types are present, especially the short Mongol. According to the last cen- 161
sus they number 11,000.

You will like these people; for they are kindly, 181
hospitable, generous mountain lovers. They are high- 577
ly aesthetic in temperament, self-reliant, and honest. If perchance, you drop something, even money, on the trail, the finder will return it to you. They say that [586]
if a man steals, his wife will leave him: or, if they

yaos after the principal river in their country. Some 101
say the word Apayao was originated in their fierce [726]
battle cry *"Ma-ap-ay-ao."* During this call the hand [198]
is clapped rapidly over the mouth so that the cry sounds
much like the American Indian war-whoop. This cry [574]
is also used at a feast: when a new visitor comes,
when the basi is brought in, and when a pig is killed.

I will endeavor to describe, from personal obser- 121
vation of its still numerous cultural remains, some-
thing of the life of the Apayaos as it no doubt existed
little changed during the long centuries during which
their folktales were formed.

The life of these people has much to do with the 361
streams of the country along which most of them live.
They do not live on the river flats, but on the mountain
sides for safety. Many of their communities are [103]
named after the streams near which they are located.
A considerable part of the food is obtained from the
streams; and they are used for washing, bathing and
swimming, as well as for scenery. Much of the trans- 505
portation is on the streams, and the men are expert 502
boatma nand raftsmen. During the heavy rainy sea- [487]
son transportation on swollen rivers is perilous; but, [221]
it is carried on somewhat. The result is that many
a banca has over-turned in the roaring rapids; much
valuable merchandidse still lies in the deep pools at the
feet of those rapids; and many of family mourns the
loss of a loved one. Therefore stories of the streams [538]
oftem occur in the legends of the people.

The people on each stream were isolated from 184
each other for many centuries so that there has come 174
to be quite a difference in their customs and dialects. 361
197
162

000 to be quite a differenc in their customs and dialects.
197 Along the length of the Apayao River there are three
162 separate groups. They can understand each other about the way that a Spaniard understands an Italian.

DRESS

291 The ordinary dress of the people is simple. The
[302] men wear breechcloths or G-strings, *abag*. They keep their hair long and coil it on the head. It is confined with a length of cloth wrapped turban fashion.
[304] The hands and wrists are tattooed in the boat pattern.
[142] The teeth are blackened. Each man has a small, de-
[276] corated bag, *bulsa*, in which he keeps his betel nut,
[293] *buyo*, lime bottle, tobacco, flint, tinder, and other small belongings. This is tucked, either into the G-string or in a belt woven of rattan. The woman, when about
301 her work, wears only a tapis. She has a necklace of
523 ancestral beads, shaped from chalcedony, silver and carved amulet bones. There are also patterned porcelain beads in the string. Many of these were obtained from the Chinese when they were active traders here some five centuries ago. Gold does not appear
[304] to be used. The woman has boat-pattern tattoo marks
[291] on the back of her hands as an aid to beauty. The
[854] small children make their skins do as clothing. Babies are carried about by the mothers in slings passed over one shoulder.

292 When all dressed up and ready to go to a party,
301 the woman wears a dark tapis, *aquen;* a cloth girdle, *bajacat;* a short-waisted, long-sleeved, black, pull-on shirt, *badiyo*, all characteristically embroidered in red; a head cloth with spangles, *laddong* and *saban*, topped

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of the girl's parents, or if he is a married man, both husband and wife remain where they are after the *lablabág* ceremony, namely in the house of the husband or in that of his parents.

C. FAMILY LIFE

It is not rare to find two or more Isneg families living in one and the same house, as these are usually very roomy. And so it may take a long time before any of the married sons attempt to live elsewhere. This is also a boon to the old people, of course, as in this way they always find a home for their old age with one of their married children.

From now on the young wife will have little time for pleasure, and, although it would be wrong to call her a slave, in our eyes at least she will be leading the life of a drudge. She will be the first to begin work and the last to finish it. Every day she will have to prepare the meals and to clean the dishes; most of her mornings, if not her entire days, will be passed in the field; and when coming back home in the afternoon, she will have to comply with her usual household duties: pound the rice or grind the corn, and feed the hogs. Most of the time she will have to nurse a baby while attending to her other work, not that the little ones come in such quick succession, as usually at least a year and a half elapses between the birth of two children, and very often one or more of them die in infancy, but because the time of nursing is not confined to the first year of her babe: even children two and three years old may be found occasionally partaking of their mother's milk and using it as a supplementary food.

The husband on the contrary will find his married life to be very little different from what he had been used to before. His life may perhaps even appear lighter to him now than it was before he contracted marriage, as he will be mostly his own master, and he will not pass so many sleepless nights as when, as a young man, he was assiduously courting the girls, a custom that plays havoc with the health of a good many Isneg boys.

1. Domestic Relationships

The Isneg husband is the head of the family, and ultimate decisions are always taken by him; nevertheless the woman is no unimportant entity in the government of the house. An Isneg man rarely transacts any important business without the consent of the women folk, and he is usually humble and obedient at the smallest hint of his wife.

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4. *Actual Moral Behavior*

And now I come to the consideration of Isneg practice as compared with theory. I always promise to be brief, but I rarely live up to my promises; so I shall see what I can do about it now.

The Isneg are far less fanatical in matters religious than, for instance, the Kankanay. Their religious practices are also comparatively few and far between, and the women usually play the most important rôle. A person who disobeys (*saûren*) any injunction of the shaman is not considered as being a traitor; he is mostly left to his own devices, although his disobedience is not exactly lauded as an act of virtue. Nevertheless not only the old women, but also the old men are usually very punctual in complying with all directions of the shaman and in observing whatever their religious convictions impose upon them. I purposely say "old" men and women, as among the younger generation, this respect for the heathen practices of their tribe seems to be on the wane. The influence of the schools which are supposed to be neutral, is a decided factor in this matter. The teachers, being Christians, have no sympathy with what they call the superstitions and ridiculous practices of the Isneg. Although perhaps they keep these sentiments to themselves during school hours, the sparseness of the population in a district where schoolboys and schoolgirls very often live far from the schoolhouse, forces many of the latter to remain in the immediate neighborhood of the teacher's house for five consecutive days every week, which necessarily allows the influence of the Christian schoolmaster to be very far-reaching.

Besides, Christians are entering Apayaw in large numbers every year, some to stay, others as transient guests. Since the country is practically pacified, nothing keeps them back any more, and so they also exert an undermining influence on all matters that relate to Isneg religion as such. This inmigration coupled with Isneg temporary emigration, tends to teach the people the futility and even the error of their beliefs. Indeed an Isneg who enters the Iloko or Kagayan country, and stays there for a certain time, cannot fail to bring back a spirit of indifference with reference to his native religion.

It may be the place here to say a few words anent the relations of the Isneg with the Catholic missionary. In general it must be said that all over the Mountain Province the priest has usually met with the sympathy of the natives. During the Philippine Revolution against Spain, when Spanish friars were taken into custody by the

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the ginger at the foot of the ladder. If necessary, other herbs and ginger are always available to take the place of the abandoned ones.

At other places: the young mother goes to the river and takes a bath. Nothing is changed with reference to herbs and ginger, which she took along at the time of her ceremonial bath and which she continues to carry on her person afterwards.

With reference to the meaning of *mamáwa*: originally it may have been applied to any kind of ceremonial ablution; later on, it may have been restricted either to the bath of a woman after her delivery (Bayag), or to the ceremony performed after the death of a married woman (Abbil).

While the mother stays inside the house, the other inmates, men not excepted if necessary, take over her ordinary duties, such as fetching water, gathering vegetables, and so on. Bayag is the only place where the husband is forbidden to leave the house for a definite number of days, as has been explained before.

The husband does not sleep with his wife for from two to five months after the birth of a child; everything depends on the state of the mother and the strength of the baby.

Should it happen that Christian Iloko merchants from the lowlands come along to sell their wares, which usually consist of clothes, at the time there is a newborn babe in the house, the Isneg father will never fail to get a few strips of cloth as soon as his Iloko friends open their packs, and to burn these rags under the nose of the little one. This ceremony is called *rumidméd*, and not to comply with it is said to be *kannáw* (bad, taboo). Such burning of cloth for magical and similar purposes is an almost universal custom all over northern Luzon. The Kankanay burn a piece of cloth and throw it outside through the door, at the same time mumbling a prayer, whenever one of their children is addicted to continual crying. The Iloko (Christians) burn cotton or rags not only at the birth of a child, but whenever somebody is sick in the house: they say that the smoke strengthens the breathing of mother and child or of the sick person, as the case may be. When bringing the little one to church for baptism, one of the attending group usually has a burning sliver of cotton in the hand and constantly keeps it as near as possible to the infant that has to be christened, at least if the priest does not object. If they know him to forbid such practices, they try to hide their diminutive torch in time before his coming, somewhere outside the building: the very offensive smell, however, rarely fails to betray them.

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ment, so that as far as I understand the Isneg mind, a living child will result more to the satisfaction of everybody concerned than a dead one.

I just stated that to the Isneg all children were welcome; this should, however, be understood of children who come into the world unaccompanied: twins (*sinin*; also called *nagdappilan*, from *dappil*, "being pressed against one another face to face") are a different matter. Except in the case of the Negritos, I have not met with a single Filipino tribe who had not one or more superstitious beliefs connected with the birth of twins, and in case of pagan tribes worse than that.

While I was living among the Iloko, who have been Christians for many centuries, I heard them say more than once that a woman would not eat a double banana (two in one skin), lest she bear twins; and it often became a matter of jest when a double banana appeared either at the table or otherwise, whenever some young woman, whether married or single, was present. All this goes to show that the Iloko consider that the birth of twins is, to say the least, not a thing to be desired. This is nothing else but the remnant of a former belief, as will be proved presently in the case of the pagan tribes

In general among the pagan tribes all over the Mountain Province, the natives kill one of twins, and to this rule the Isneg are no exception It is only natural that in many instances this custom tends to disappear, as the natives have to reckon with the vigilance of the authorities, but nevertheless the custom is still there, and it is a very deep-rooted one. I know of only two cases of living twins among the Isneg and they came to my notice only very recently, whereas I know positively that the custom of killing one of twins exists at least in the municipal district of Conner and in that of Kabugaw, while there is no reason to believe that it does not exist actually, or at least did not exist originally and until recently, among the inhabitants of the other municipal districts.

In the municipal district of Conner, pagan girls who had received a superior education told us freely that in case they gave birth to twins they would never allow both children to live. In the municipal district of Kabugaw not so long ago a male child, one of twins, was killed at Alumani, and I know of a similar case in another locality.

As far as I have been able to ascertain, the infant is buried alive immediately after birth; this was told me by my informants, and so it happened in the Alumani case. Either of the two may be chosen

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Insiso (M), at Lukab: after Mr. Enciso, a municipal treasurer.
Kóner (M), at Nagbabalayan, at Ripang and at Tawit: after Mr. Norman G. Connor, the second lieutenant-governor of Apayaw.
Liñan (M), at Bolo: a soldier.
Makánas (M), at Bolo: a nurse.
Mina (M), a Bolo: formerly connected with the Bureau of Public Works.
Siddáyáw (M), at Nagbabalayan: soldier.
Tagubá (M), at Bolo and at Tawit: a nurse.

Titles:

Bakonadór (M), at Nagsimbanan: vaccinator (Spanish: *vacunador*).
Pórman (M), at Bubulayan: the title by which the chief inspector of roads is known all over the district
Kábo (M), at Nagbabalayan: corporal (Spanish: *cabo*)
Meistará (F), at Abbil, at Maduang and at Kabetayan (Kabugaw): lady teacher (Spanish: *maestra*).

Just to show how little the Isneg sometimes care for the kind of name that is given to their offspring, I merely mention here the name *Sentávo* (Spanish *centavo*, a copper coin worth one half cent), which is most certainly not a very precious one. You can meet a Mr. *Sentávo* at Madatag and one at Ampaw.

In general it must be said that a definite set of names is the exclusive property of boys, and that another set is particular to girls. Nevertheless it may happen that a certain name is given to boys in some localities, while in others the same one is given to girls.

So we have *Asáp*, which is the name of three girls I know, one at Nagilian (Namaltugan), one at Madatag, and one at Alumani, while a Baliwanan boy is called by the same name.

Bañón: two girls: one at Magapta and one at Waga; a boy at Talifugu.

Éba: a girl at Lukab; a boy at Karagawan.

Luwé-: a girl at Nagbabalayan; a boy at Lako.

Ósañ: a girl at Nagilian (Namaltugan); a boy at Lukab.

Pílí: a girl at Nagbabalayan; boy at Maduang.

At Nagbabalayan there is a man called *Báñan*, which is the name of the most popular heroine of Kankanay tales.

But such coincidences are of comparatively rare occurrence.

And now I come to the question of changing the name given at birth. All over northern Luzon, among Christians as well as among pagans,

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553 among Iloko and Kagayan who have been Christians for centuries, as well as among the tribes that inhabit the Mountain Province and some 171 of whom have started embracing Christianity only comparatively recently, the Negritos alone excepted, the custom of changing the name of a person at the time of prolonged or dangerous sickness is almost universal, to the dismay of Government officials and Church dignitaries, as such a practice brings nothing but confusion in the records, especially among pagan tribes, who have not yet adopted family names and continue to give each individual his own special personal name. I have discussed sufficiently the ideas of the Isneg about the matter, at the beginning of my treatment about Isneg names, without having to explain them any further, but some other points should be considered here.

553 Some Isneg keep their original name all through life, others have 551 it changed once or twice, rarely more often. The change usually takes place in infancy, more rarely in youth, and no ceremonies seem to be connected with the same: everything happens as in the case of the giving of the first name immediately after birth. It may happen also, in a few isolated cases, that a man or a woman of mature age gets or takes another name. So, at Kumaw, a girl called *Uńáy* gave the name of her father as *Bélan*, at the time of her baptism, a few years ago, while that same man is known all over the municipal district as *Okkóń*. Although it seems that the fellow must already have been called *Okkóń* at the time of the baptism of his daughter, who was married recently, his old name *Bélan* must have clung to him for a long time, otherwise his daughter would not have known it.

The most important reason for changing a name is, as has been stated repeatedly, the sickness of the child (*séno mowí ya takít*, "so that sickness go away") A few Isneg have their name changed once or twice merely through caprice, whether it be a whim of their own or one of their parents (in case they are still small): a certain name comes to their mind, for one reason or another that name catches their fancy and ends by pleasing them, and away goes the old name; the new name will be adopted from now on as the distinctive appellation of the girl or boy in question.

551 At least in the municipal district of Conner, and perhaps also 768 elsewhere, a very serious reason for changing the name of a baby is the death of one of its parents. As will be seen in a subsequent chapter, the Isneg have a certain fear of the dead and usually prefer that they stay where they are: they do not want them to interfere

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were firmly convinced that I knew at least as much as they did. Fortunately my persistent efforts in that direction were finally crowned with success, and I came to learn that famous name, which was supposed to be known to all priests, but could not be pronounced by them except at the deathbed of one of their charges, and which was considered as the appellation of our Lady's mother: an old Iloko woman whispered it to me after I had promised her very solemnly that I took all responsibility upon myself, and after I had assured her most emphatically that no harm would accrue to her on account of her indiscretion.

Now that name was, as she pronounced it, *Adúnay*, nothing else but a Hebrew name for God, correctly Adonai. The next Sunday I announced from the pulpit that the whole story was humbug pure and simple, and to prove it I pronounced the name and explained it. All the time I could observe several old women in the congregation who did nothing but cross themselves whenever I pronounced that "sacred" name: they were probably very much concerned about my safety and thought perhaps that I should fall dead at any moment. But had I been able to eradicate this absurd superstition once for all, at least among my own people? Not a bit. The women were ready at once with explanations of their own: my case was a special one; anybody else of course who dared pronounce that name would die a certain death. Maybe they thought that I carried some famous amulet on my person, something which was known only to me and which would preserve me from all harm. Such an explanation on their part should not be wondered at, as I have been credited with bilocation, with the power of passing roaring torrents at a jump, and other nonsense.

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But to return to our Isneg: might it not be possible that there is some connection between the two beliefs? Indeed in both cases the penalty of death is supposed to follow in the wake of the pronunciation of a certain name: in the case of the Isneg, the pronunciation of the name of the father-in-law or the mother-in-law entails the death of the offender's offspring; in that of the Iloko, the person who dares pronounce out of season the name of the mother of our Lady is punished by death. It goes without saying that the latter belief cannot be justified by anything and is nothing else but gross superstition, as the Iloko have been Christians for centuries, and besides the belief in question could not have evolved into its present state except among a Christianized people.

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many details as possible, although I am far from claiming that my study about Isneg religion and morality has so far been exhaustive or that my knowledge of these subjects cannot be improved upon. A whole lifetime would scarcely be sufficient to disentagle all the intricate knots, the more so that, especially as regards religion, the Isneg are sometimes far from logical in their reasoning.

In religious instruction the *dorarákit* or shaman plays the dominant rôle, as it is she who conducts religious ceremonies, and it is she through whom the spirits and the souls of the dead are supposed to communicate with man. Now let us see in how far the shaman imparts formal instruction, and in how far young people have to learn by merely looking on.

The *dorarákit* directly teaches her pupils by explaining to them the meaning of the rites and ceremonies, at the time of some *sây-ám* or other sacrifice accompanied by *maxanito*, and almost exclusively on such occasions. Her pupils at the time are first of all the young *dorarákit*, who have been chosen and consecrated mostly when still in their infancy, and secondly all members of the younger generation who are willing to listen. Consequently this kind of teaching is done while the ceremonies in question are under way and it is illustrated by their performance. It is not the place here to enter into details about the ceremonies just referred to; it will suffice to say that the *sây-ám* is a kind of public sacrifice in which dogs and pigs are offered to the spirits, and that *maxanito* refers to the action of the shaman at the time she is supposed to be possessed either by a spirit or by the soul of a deceased person, who speaks through her mouth. In this the Isneg shaman differs from the Kankanay one; the latter is usually supposed merely to communicate with beings of the other world, to talk to them, while in the case of the Isneg the spirit is supposed to talk through the shaman. Besides, a Kankanay shaman plays a very secondary rôle: she is mostly of use only at the time of sickness, when she has altercations with the spirits who are supposed to cause the disease or when she goes around to look for the *ab-abiik* (Kankanay) or soul, which a sick person is supposed to have lost; while sacrifices, whether public or private, are presided over by men. Let this be enough for the time being.

I just stated that the Isneg shaman explains the meaning of religious rites and ceremonies to her puipls. The manner of conducting these ceremonies, however, is not formally taught: in this respect a young *dorarákit* is a mere looker-on. When the time comes for the

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771 insurgents, the Hapaw people (Ifugaw) hid their priest in the forest
177 for a considerable time; and I am sure that our Negritos and Isneg
797 would do the same to us if necessary. They are supposed to be inferior to the Christians in many respects, they themselves believe so, and the Christians do not fail to impress it upon their mind through word and deed: an Iloko or Kagayan has not respect for an Isneg, and again Iloko, Kagayan and Isneg oppress the Negrito whenever they can.

Now comes along a man who sympathizes with these pariahs, a man who understands them, a man who, although teaching a different religion, never ridicules them, a man who always puts them on the same level with other human beings, a man who is willing to live with them, to share their food and their mat, a man who learns their language and their customs, a man who takes their side even against the Christians when the latter are wrong: what can they feel but respect and even love for such an extraordinary being? Then add to this, in the case of the Isneg, their frequent intercourse with Christians and the patent superiority of the latter's civilization, which excites the ambition of the former, and it will not be wondered at that the priest and his religion are respected, that Isneg mothers bring their children for baptism just as the Christians do, that the Isneg youth wants to be instructed in Christian doctrine, and that Christianity is considered as the ultimate goal of a great number of Isneg young men and women.

Here among the Isneg I have never yet met with that strong
183 opposition to baptism, which formerly was so very common among
788 pagan Kankanay fathers and mothers in several of their villages,
● 171 and if the inborn indolence of the Isneg could be done away with, all
177 youngsters would be Christians within a very short time. In the
797 case of old men and women, although they rarely object to Christian-
771 ity as such, still they usually hold rather tenaciously to their tradi-
178 tional practices, which, however, does not prevent them at the same
184 time from giving complete freedom to their offspring.

Last year at Namaltugan, two Christian Isneg intended to get
585 married; when the groom firmly refused to have anything to do with
583 native pagan customs, the relatives on both sides agreed to everything,
177 except on the question of the payment that had to be given to the
178 parents of the bride: on this they strongly insisted; it had nothing to do with religion, and so it had to be observed.
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183 act against their own code: they had no duty of hospitality, generosity
574 or gratitude toward the Ibanag; they lied, because to tell the truth
152 would have redounded to their disadvantage, nay, to exceeding hard-
577 ship, which they were completely right, at least in their own eyes, to try to avoid by all possible means; they were excused from acknowledging their deception, even after it had become patent and after they had learned about the identity of their visitors, on account of the shame which such an acknowledgment would have entailed.

171 This proves that it is sometimes very hard to understand the native's
577 position, and that one has to be careful not to judge him rashly. His code is occasionally very different from ours; and so both his and
181 our point of view, although entirely opposite one to the other, may sometimes be perfectly consistent. In the whole statement of this case and in its explanation, I have not been trying to propound theories; I have merely stated the facts and told the truth as it is, not theoretically, but practically.

461 Isneg teaching with reference and love of work is
183 usually accepted in its completeness by the fair sex. One meets with few downright lazy women in all Apayaw. But the males? As long as they are children, all right, the parents are there to look after that; but once they have grown up, especially once they are married, I think that even the few duties imposed upon them by their own code, are not always and universally complied with. The tropical climate, prevalent malarial fevers, usual years of plenty, a most fertile soil, forests abounding with deer, wild boar, bees, etc., besides timber, rattan, edible fruits, and other vegetable products, the lack of means of transportation, and so on, are not exactly inducements toward activity and industriousness. Nevertheless the duties are, I repeat it, so few, that it would be dangerous to qualify too great a number of
[171] men as transgressors of their own rules. Isneg adult men are usually lazy, it is undeniable, but they appear so more especially when we compare their behavior with that of other inhabitants of the Mountain Province, who are either living in densely populated areas or leading a precarious existence among rocks and cliffs. And so, even in this, Isneg teaching might perhaps be said to be fairly successful.

[152] The apathetic character of the generality of the Isneg renders
183 compliance with several points of their moral code comparatively
577 easy; and so fits of anger and of jealousy, and boasting are not very common. Talking about other people's defects in their absence is almost as common among the Isneg as among other races: it breaks
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183 178 177 vogue here now tends to retard marriage; but its introduction is still too recent and it is still too much the privilege of the few, to be able sensibly to affect the standard of morality among our Isneg.

837 183 184 As to conjugal fidelity, it may be said that an unfaithful wife is the exception among the Isneg; but with reference to the men, the situation is not so bright. Even polygyny is not always sufficient to put a curb to the husband's license: indeed only the rich can afford to take more than one wife, and these at the same time usually enjoy the greatest freedom on account of their wealth and social influence.

577 183 171 836 To sum up the situation, it may be said that open immorality and indecency is much less frequent among the Isneg than among several other Mountain tribes, but, although more or less well concealed, loose morals are rather the rule than the exception among young unmarried people, and among married people the state of affairs leaves much to be desired. "Doing that which may make a girl pregnant" is not what the Isneg abhors, but "making a girl actually pregnant".

577 183 685 858 867 With reference to honesty, the Isneg generally observes the rules laid down by his own code, and transgressions are rare. Isneg thieves are not at all common, and downright robbery, even from the Ibanag or the *idammân* (enemies of his own tribe), is a rare occurrence. This is true of children as well as of adults, although the former may occasionally try to pilfer fruits or other eatables, in which, nevertheless, they are never encouraged by their elders, who rarely fail to scold them and even to punish them.

577 867 158 183 811 Truthfulness also is quite ordinary among adult Isneg, but many youngsters need frequent correction on the subject. In this connection, however, we should bear in mind the existence of two inveterate habits not only among the Isneg, but also among the generality of Malays with whom I have come in contact. And first, whenever he is caught at something that might elicit from you even the smallest reprimand, he has always an excuse ready at the tip of his tongue, and any excuse will do, however preposterous it may be; he never reasons about it, the truth is not what he aims at, but the plain presentation of an excuse, be it real or imaginary. These people are certainly experts in that line.

577 158 183 811 Just to give a few examples. One day I was very much astonished to find that all my bananas had disappeared, although they were carefully stored away in a closed press, so I suspected, and not without reason, that one of my Isneg boys had found them to his taste. At the first occasion I bluntly asked the fellow what had happened to

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1. Incentives to Marriage

581 And now let us inquire as to the reasons why Isneg young people want to marry. I shall leave out of consideration the mutual attraction of the sexes, which is certainly a potent inducement, if not the strongest of all, especially when one considers that according to the Isneg code men and women have no other legitimate way of gratifying themselves than by marrying. I shall confine myself to what I might call social reasons.

And first, with reference to the girls. Why does a girl want to marry? For one reason, it is the custom to do so. What is the use of a girl except to be at the disposition of a young man? Who would ever dream of refusing to comply with such a universal custom? Could it be possible for any girl not to enter the state of matrimony? Everybody does it, why not she? Another reason for her marrying is, I think, the craving for children, the desire of having a child of her own. Protection on the part of her husband may perhaps have been a strong factor in bygone times, when head-hunting was the rule, but at present such protection is hardly necessary and, I believe, rarely thought of. An Isneg girl marries because everybody does, because it is the custom, and I think this settles the matter as far as the fair sex is concerned. This state of mind is also well illustrated by the fact that many Isneg widows, at least if they are of a more or less advanced age, never remarry, especially when they have children of their own.

581 171 But with a man, the case is different. Indeed he has two very important reasons for wanting to take a wife, namely: the desire of begetting children, and the necessity of a woman to provide him with his livelihood. These two reasons, however, are not of equal weight, and besides, what is of paramount importance to the generality of the other tribes that inhabit the Mountain Province, as the Kankanay, the Bontok Igorot, and so on, takes only second rank among the Isneg. To these other peoples the longing for children is the strongest motive for obtaining a wife, while the Isneg marry first of all in order to get somebody to provide the necessities of life for them. Leaving aside the daily conversation with natives, which have forcibly convinced me of the truth of the above statement, there are two social institutions which in the manner of their existence in Apayaw and taken together clearly prove it: these are polygamy and divorce.

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Among the other tribes polygamy, in the form of polygyny of course, is very rare and almost entirely unknown, while among the Isneg it has become an integral part of their social organization. Although far from universal, it is still frequent enough to allow us to call it an institution, the more so that in the unwritten law of the Isneg we find actually a definite set of rules that govern the contracting of a subsequent marriage before the first one has been dissolved by death or divorce, the inheritance of children born to people living in polygamy, and so on. Expressions like the following, which may be heard very frequently all over Apayaw, go far to show that the Isneg wants the woman more than anything else: "We are poor . . . , we are to be pitied . . . , we are starving . . . , we have no food . . ." (and almost always) "because there are no women in the house . . . , because there is not a sufficient number of women around".

When at the same time we consider that the principal reason for divorce among the other Mountain tribes does not obtain in Apayaw, it becomes more patent that among the Isneg the question of children is only of secondary importance. Indeed among the Kankanay and others it is an almost universal custom for childless couples to separate and try their luck with somebody else, while among the Isneg the absence of children is no reason for divorce: this has been told me consistently by all my informants, and the facts are there to prove it. It is true that sterile marriages are comparatively few, but still they are numerous enough to allow us to see that the lack of children is not necessarily a sufficient reason for divorce. A Bolo man and his wife *Bannáw* have been married for over ten years and still no children are forthcoming. *Tabtábal* and his wife (also called *Bannáw*) at Lettuakan, *Tóriya* and his wife at Turatok, have been married for a long time without having had the pleasure of seeing children born to them. These places are all far apart from one another, and in no case is there even the hint of a possibility of divorce. The other Mountain tribes want the children first of all; to the Isneg, however, the women are more important than the offspring.

And so polygamy or rather polygyny has become an institution among the Isneg, not so much through the desire of the men to satisfy their sexual appetite, as through the absolute necessity of women in the household for economic reasons. As it is not my intention to make a survey of the whole subprovince of Apayaw, I shall

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584 me by the girl herself, and she did not seem to take the whole affair as at all serious; she did not look as if she was inclined to allow the boy to take possession of her heart, let alone of her whole body.

Marriages between grown-up boys and girls that are arranged by the parents without consulting the interested parties, or at least without the said youngsters having taken the first steps in that direction, are much more frequent, and in many cases the young people readily agree, either because they are not so particular about the qualities of their future partner, provided there be one, or because they are otherwise loath to go against the wishes of their elders. But as in the case of infant marriages, objections on the part of either of the two may be sufficient to prevent either the first proposal or all further developments.

The usual way, however, among our Isneg, is that the young man looks for the girl of his choice, wins her consent, and then informs his parents about the matter. After that the elders of both boy and girl take upon themselves the responsibility of all further transactions and ceremonies.

581 Now what qualities are supposed to make the perfect girl in the
832 eyes of an Isneg boy, or at least what is the boy looking for in the
826 girl to whom he will give his heart? She should be handsome (*napiyd*)
461 of course, which means that her skin should be clean, smooth and light-colored; the darker the uglier, the whiter the prettier, is a common Isneg criterion. If possible she should be fat and plump; in the eyes of an Isneg, lean girls are not the acme of beauty. But all this is only of secondary importance; she should be *nalaggát*, "diligent, active", and that is more necessary than anything else: all other qualities are subordinate to this one, and the most handsome flirt will be discarded at once for a diligent girl, be she ever so ugly and as thin as a bean stalk.

And so also in the eyes of a girl, a boy be he ever so handsome (*natáram*),—a quality which however is never despised, provided it goes together with the most important one,—will never make a desirable husband if he is not *nalaggát*. He must not necessarily be a *mčúal*, a brave, but he should love work: that is what counts.

581 It might be wondered why the question of diligence is by far more
171 important among the Isneg than among other tribes, to whom other
461 qualities look much more valuable. Indeed in Bontok, for instance, at least formerly, a boy would rarely win a girl, if he had not yet shown some sign of courage, either by taking the head of an enemy

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or by some other brave deed. Why is love of work an almost necessary requisite in Apayaw, where the natives are renowned for their laziness? Or is this almost proverbial love of idleness the reason why future partners look for the contrary virtue in their mates? Is the boy perhaps convinced that he will never be able to earn a decent livelihood, if he is not assisted by a woman who is active and industrious? Does he perhaps know all too well that his hatred of exertion and hard work will never lead to anything, if the girl of his choice does not make up for his deficiencies? And does the Isneg girl perhaps look for an active husband as for a jewel of great price, knowing that the scarcer an object is, the costlier it becomes? I do not think so. The Isneg certainly lack all means of comparison between themselves and members of other tribes, and besides they rarely believe that they are lovers of leisure and idleness, as they usually resent very much hearing outsiders say so. I think that the whole question fits in with the social reason for marriage as given above. Boys marry in order to be helped by a woman, and so they necessarily look for an active one first of all; and girls know that they will carry a heavy burden, so they prefer somebody upon whom they can rely in time of need, somebody who will lend them a helping hand and do his full share as far as custom allows. This I believe to be the explanation of the whole situation.

As soon as a boy has attained the age at which marriage may be contemplated in the not too distant future, he passes most of his evenings at the house of marriageable girls, and he usually has little difficulty in knowing more or less intimately any girls that might possibly be conquered by him. He sees them at home, chats with them, sometimes plays with them, and, except when the parents of a girl definitely object to his suitability as a future partner for their daughter, even passes the night sleeping at their houses.

A few girls are real flirts (*aŋkár*); they are, as the Isneg puts it, fond of men, and if such a situation continues for a considerable time, without any prospect of marriage in the near future, they may become broken-hearted and even lose their minds. Nevertheless such cases are the exception, and active courtship (*mamabdy*, from the stem *babdy*, "woman") is generally the exclusive occupation of boys, while the girls, at least outwardly, usually seem to be very hard to please. But a boy has many ways of attracting the attention of the girls. Just to enumerate a few of them:

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832 789 171 with her body. Or he may resort to a stratagem very often used in magic, namely, he may place a drop of the oil in question on one of the girl's footprints. Belief in the efficacy of such actions is not confined to the Isneg. Many Iloko, all of whom were converted to Christianity in Spanish times, believe that the caudal spine (*burôbur*, in Iloko) of the sting ray thrust into the footprint of a person or in the place made wet by the latter's urine, invariably causes the death of the person in question.

832 Sometimes, instead of this ordinary love charm prepared by a shaman, the boy uses one of his own choice: he tears off a diminutive section of a thread from one of the fringes at the hind part of his G-string, and mixes it with the betel (betel nut, leaf of the betel pepper. and lime) which he prepares for his girl to chew.

832 824 278 I have also been able to obtain the names of a few herbs, used for love charms, which were known to the boys who gave me this information. It goes without saying that the shaman is completely left out in such cases. These herbs, none of which I have been able to identify as yet, are:

sagúbăy: a small herb, the leaves of which are used to win a girl's love;

tagalomá- and *tañnó-:* small herbs, to be mixed with oil, as explained above;

añimud: a small herb, to be mixed with the betel given to the girl;

oñam-ámo: a small herb, placed either on the girl's mat or under her nose so that she can smell it;

danórăn, tagiámo and *pa-paámo:* small herbs, the first two growing on trees. The boy does nothing else but put one or more of them in his pouch when he goes to court the girls: they merely serve him as an amulet in order to win his girl's love. *Amo* in the last two of these three names, and in the preceding one, means "taming";

dalúpa-: a small herb, to be put secretly in the pouch of a girl who is "wild" to you.

The use I give for each of the above herbs is simply the one that was given to me by my informants, and I repeat it exactly as I heard it, without any addition or explanation on my part.

A Tawit boy gave me the following recipe, which works both ways: If you want to win the love of a girl who is engaged to some other boy, gather a few *tuma-dáy* herbs (a creeping herb growing in the forest), and mix some part of them with the betel nut you hand to

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the girl in question; as soon as she swallows a part of the juice of this mixture, her love for the other boy will have disappeared in its entirety, and you will have taken his place in her affections.

To complete the account I shall add here the means used by a spurned lover in order to revenge himself on the girl who despises his love. The first thing to do is to obtain another kind of herb or mixture of herbs from the compliant shaman. After that the boy pays a last nocturnal visit to the house of the girl who has definitively refused his advances, and throws a part of this charm, which in this case is not a love charm of course, at the girl in question. If it sticks to her body or to her clothes, the Isneg firmly believe that she will conceive through the sole adherence of the herbs thrown at her; in such a case she will forever be scorned by other young men, and the young man's revenge will be complete. If the charm falls down and does not stick to the girl, she will escape unscathed. Similar beliefs are to be found among other Mountain tribes; in certain Kankanay tales, for instance, there is question of a girl who crosses a brook or takes a bath at a place below the one where a boy has thrown his anklet (Kankanay: *bóyat*) into the water: the latter, having floated down, encircled one of the girl's legs, with the inevitable result, not only that she became pregnant at once, but that her being with child became apparent almost immediately.

All the above information concerning the means used by Isneg lovers to win a girl was given to me by young men who had exactly the required age to know everything about the subject from personal experience. From some of the Isneg boys I have also obtained tests giving typical dialogues between a boy and a girl whom he courts. Owing to their content and length and to the necessity of prefacing them with certain linguistic data of a more general nature, they are given as an appendix to the present paper (pp. 261-80).

The Isneg believe that, if the betel (nut, leaf and lime) which a girl prepares for her lover to chew, causes a burning sensation in the latter's mouth, it is a favorable omen for him. In such a case the boy may hope to find his sweetheart ready to accept his suit. So also, if the betel prepared by a lover for his sweetheart burns in the latter's mouth, the girl understands that the boy is really in love with her.

An Isneg lover generally looks for a good omen before going to court the girls, at least when the affair has become serious or when he takes the necessary steps to know definitively whether his feelings

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and the knees. Consequently the *maúlakkát* wears neither *badiyó* (jacket) nor *bazákat* (girdle), and the *laddóñ* or headband has been replaced by the *sarikaw*, so that her hair hangs loose down her back. All this is done, according to the Isneg, lest the bride experience difficulty in giving birth to her children; the loose attire of the *maúlakkát* is supposed to have a magical influence on the deliveries of the future mother, so that they be accomplished with the utmost ease.

In some places the *maúlakkát* carries the bride on her back, not on her hip, all the way from the latter's house to that of the groom; Nevertheless if the distance is too great, she only carries the girl down the ladder of the house, and then puts her down, not to take her up again until they arrive at the boy's house, where she carries her up the ladder. When mounting the ladder, the *maúlakkát* has to skip one of the rungs, all the while carrying her burden. In most places she contents herself with carrying the bride up the ladder of the groom's house, skipping one of the rungs as usual. According to the Isneg, the reason of this action is the same as that given for the looseness of the *maúlakkát*'s apparel. In Kankanay folklore one occasionally hears a husband invite his wife, who experiences difficulty in giving birth to her child, to climb his back. In other places, however, at least at present, the *maúlakkát* merely escorts the bride, without carrying her even for a single moment; but her attire always remains the same scanty outfit just referred to, and she never carries any of the baskets filled with sweets.

This custom of carrying the bride all the way through is very generally observed at Bayag (*G* branch of *Ó* dialect), while at Baliwanan and Danglá (Main branch of *Ó* dialect), and at Musimut (K branch of *Ó* dialect), she is merely carried up the ladder of the boy's house. The latter eventuality is remembered by the Isneg to have happened once at Alumani (near Kabugaw; Main branch). This does not obtain, at least in every case, at Kumaw and Bolo (Main branch); at Abbil and Dibagat (*G* branch), and at Talifugu (*Bô* dialect).

As soon as the procession arrives at the house of the groom, where in the meanwhile the latter's relatives and many other people invited as guests have been gathering, a few important ceremonies take place. If some members of the girl's party are living near the house of the boy, and in this case only, they *magtalunáb*, which means that they stop before the ladder of the house and forbid the bride to enter until the boy's parents have given them a present, which usually consists of a *rúsi* jar or of a few beads. After that the bride is

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Ineg

587 888 887 171 Among the Isneg, widowers rarely remain in that state for any length of time, and they never fail to find somebody to share their home for the rest of their days. The same may be said in general with reference to young widows. An elderly widow, on the contrary, is not always so anxious to contract again the bonds of matrimony, but she will not be the less respected for that. Among the Bontok Igorot, a miserable hut, much poorer even than their ordinary dwellings, is built apart from the rest for a childless old widow, and there she lives practically abandoned by everybody. Such things do not happen in the Isneg country: the old women never fail to find somebody who is willing to give them shelter; they are as much respected as anybody else, and if they happen to be shamanesses, even more than the rest. Divorced persons are in the same condition as widows and widowers as far as the question of remarriage is concerned.

765 587 Widows and widowers, or polygamous husbands who mourn the death of one of their wives, are forbidden to remarry as long as they wear their mourning weeds, and it is only after the ceremony connected with their change of garments that they are again free in this respect.

3. Divorce

586 684 Much has been said already about questions related to divorce, and I shall not repeat it here. The statement has also been made and the evidence therefor given that, among the Isneg, the absence of children is not a reason for divorce, while the contrary is true with almost all other natives of the Mountain Province, among whom the lack of children is the chief reason for permanent separation with subsequent freedom to marry somebody else.

Among the Isneg the general rule is that people marry and live together maritally until the end of their days; nevertheless divorce is far from being infrequent. The following are the most important reasons for dissolution of the marriage relation:

By the husband:

586 684 837 1. Adultery of the woman. Among the Isneg an unfaithful wife is not readily forgiven, and a young husband rarely fails to watch his wife if he has some solid ground for suspecting her fidelity.

586 684 461 2. Habitual laziness. At the time of his marriage, an Isneg man is far from expecting to have to do most of the work himself, as the division of labor is ruled by custom, and the share of the women is very considerable, as has been stated in the preceding pages. Be-

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

nawán. The privation, however, seems to be only temporary, as the Isneg are, so far as I know, unanimous in declaring that all *kaduduwá* finally reach the *Aglalannawán* country. It might be called eternal, or rather indefinite in time, only in case the *kaduduwá* would have either always to remain unclothed or clothed with old garments, or to continue to live separated from its relatives for lack of a guide to the abode of the latter: but I never heard anything explicit about that. I am of the opinion, that, according to Isneg belief, all *kaduduwá* in the end attain perfect bliss. I shall have to add a few points to the Isneg belief in a double retribution, when speaking about the *balañóbañ*.

Anyhow Isneg doctrine in this respect is very different from either Christian or Northern Luzon Negrito belief:

A Christian believes in heaven, happiness, for the good, and hell, privation and actual punishment, for the bad.

A Negrito believes in life above with the deity, happiness, for the good; and, for the bad, living somewhere on earth, privation without actual punishment, or, according to some informants, being thrown into the water, being unable to move, etc., thus privation with actual punishment.

An Isneg believes in a happy life in the *Aglalannawán*, at the other side of the *lablabbáñ* pond, happiness, for those whose *innát* or corpse has been duly prepared; and staying at this side of the *lablabbáñ* pond or living in partial poverty, at least temporarily, privation apparently without actual punishment, for those whose *innát* has been neglected in some way. Good and bad in man, according to the Isneg, seem to affect only the state of the body after death, as will be explained in detail when referring to the *balañóbañ*, and not that of the *kaduduwá* or immortal spirit.

Here should be noted a curious belief which I found only among the Isneg living in and around Awan (municipal district of Bayag). Not far from Awan is a place called *Nagsiñgowán*. The *kaduduwá* of anybody who dies in the neighborhood is supposed to pass at this place, dressed in full regalia, and if it is a man, carrying shield and spear. In case that *kaduduwá* asks for food at somebody's house, one of the inmates immediately accedes to its request, but as it is only a ghost, the food is not put into its mouth, but merely pushed against its chin. The *kaduduwá* always seems quite pleased anyhow, and continues its journey, but has barely gone along for a short while, when it invariably disappears.

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Ineg

they are fatalists to a large extent, but I have assisted at many death-beds, and, although the shouting and lamenting that goes on after a person's demise are certainly a part of what might be called a customary rite, I am bound to disagree with the statement regarding the supposed absence or shallowness of grief. As evidence, I shall merely adduce two concrete examples. 763 201

In August 1930 a little Iloko (Christian) girl of from four to five years old died in the house where I was receiving hospitality at the time. The mother lamented as usual as soon as the child had breathed its last. But for hours before, she had been squatting near her little daughter, weeping silently most of the time, and occasionally giving vent to her feelings in a subdued voice through expressions like these: "Ah, my child . . . my little Udiang (Claudia) is gone . . . . would that I might die instead . . . . why do you leave your mother? . . . ." Who would dare assert that there was no real and profound grief in that mother's heart?

In May 1924 I happened to enter the house of a Kalinga (pagan) who had just died. A score of women were making a frightful scene, squatting around the dead body and yelling to their utmost; but in a corner of the hut the wife of the dead man was standing all alone and by herself, weeping and sobbing almost inaudibly. Who would believe that the widow's grief was only superficial and that her whole behavior was part of a make-believe?

The question is that under such circumstances a casual looker-on may be led to view only one part of the scene, the one that strikes his eyes and ears the most powerfully; but an unbiased observer must not forget to note even unobtrusive details, and only then will he be able to judge rightly about the matter.

With some tribes it is customary for those who assist a dying person repeatedly to press the latter's throat with their fingers, just as if they wanted to help him choke to death. This, however, is not practised by the Isneg. 763 171

It should be noted in this connection that an Isneg husband or wife, while lamenting his or her partner, always uses the term *kokóboń* (Bolo, Musimut, etc.) or *óboń* (Dangla, etc.), "partner", not the usual term *atáwa*, "husband, wife". 763 195

If it should happen that a person dies in the absence of his parents, in case these are still living, the latter are said to be *malibdân*. The stem *libât* means "leaving unawares, without notice". 763

42: Vanoverbergh E-2 (no date) 1236-1 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Imeg

766 inside its lower half, a certain amount of clothes being pushed between the sides of the jar and the *isndt* in order to keep the latter straight and to prevent it from falling forwards or backwards and from leaning to either side.

But these are exceptional cases and happen only to the very rich (Musimut, Nagbabalayan, etc.) or to persons that stand very high in the estimation of their people (Lettuakan, Bayag, etc.). At Musimut and so on, very rich people may be kept two days like that before they are finally interred. At Lettuakan, a few years ago, *Antón*, who does not seem to have been either rich or influential, was kept in a sitting posture for three days. At Bayag also, three days usually elapse before the jar is buried with its contents. I believe, however, that formerly such bodies would have been kept from burial for a much longer time. This opinion is based, not only on analogy with similar customs that obtain among other tribes, but also on information received in Apayaw with reference to the time that elapses between death and burial, all of which will be mentioned later on.

764 171 Among the Isneg there is no question of preservation of the body either by mummification or by the use of any other means. Abandonment of the coffined body under some large rock in the neighborhood of the settlement, which obtains among the Kankanay and the Bontok Igorot, burial in elaborate monuments, as is customary among the rich Kalinga, cremation, etc., are all unknown in Apayaw. The body is simply interred, as will be explained presently.

764 After the death of a person, one of his relatives (all of whom are called *matáydn*) goes to announce (*magba-ba-ndn*) the sad news to the absent members of his kindred. As long as the body remains unburied, friends and neighbors come and go, men and women showing in their own way their participation in the sorrow of the bereaved relatives. Women who go to the house of the deceased, usually take along with them some *anúlut* (a kind of herb) as a precaution, lest the *balańóbáń* of the person they go to mourn for be following them in the future. The *bási* that is abundantly distributed on such occasions proves a very strong attraction to some of the [illegible], and, in case the deceased was a man of means, the pigs that are slaughtered are also a powerful incentive and inevitably induce our Isneg to flock to the house of the dead (*makisónat* or *meparinnatáy*) and 764 participate in the ceremonies connected with mourning. No real sacrifices (*pildáp*, etc.), however, are offered, and no *manonito* is per- 782

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

whenever possible the dead body of an adult is forcibly confined to the grave after one or two nights (night of burial always included). Occasionally in some but-of-the-way places, the Isneg may stick to their old custom or at least to the modified one, but this becomes rarer and rarer every day. Children are usually interred after one or two nights according to age and size (Abbil, Musimut, Bolo, etc.), so that in many cases a child who dies in the morning is buried in the evening of the same day.

And now we come to the digging of the grave. The grave consists of a hole in the ground, large enough to contain the coffined body, but usually not as deep as is actually required by law (1½ meters). This is always begun by a woman (*mañusim*) who may be a shamaness or not. This operation, however, is rather ceremonial than practical, as immediately afterwards men do the real work. If jars have to be buried together with the coffined body, a special round hole is dug near the ordinary grave, in such a way as to have the buried jars situated at the right of the dead man's body, near the place of his head if the body is lying down. When digging a hole in the ground, the Isneg use the *sáwit* or blunt point at the back of a headax, or any other instrument, to loosen the earth, and an old basket or a coconut shell (in the case of digging a grave, usually the former), to extract the loose earth and throw it out. For the rest, no definite orientation of grave or body is required, and anybody is allowed to dig the grave, as well as to carry the body and to cover it with earth: there are no persons specifically designated for these purposes. In no case are children allowed to stay near a tomb in which a body has been buried recently (*lábûg*).

Among the Kankanay, young men vie with each other to carry the body of a rich person to its last resting place, as they believe that, if the matter which exudes from the decomposed body (*deñ* in Kankanay, pronounced like English "dung") trickles upon their own, they also will be blessed by this world's goods. No such belief exists among the Isneg.

Formerly the grave was always dug under the house, and if the gravediggers happened to open a *lúbo-*, a grave already occupied, the lately deceased person was simply interred over the remains of the one in possession. This particular selection of the site for a grave gave rise, as was told me by the natives themselves, to the custom of the Isneg, which obtains to this day, of definitively stopping their work at a new house, and of going to choose some other place for the erec-

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao OA19
Apayao OA5
Isneg

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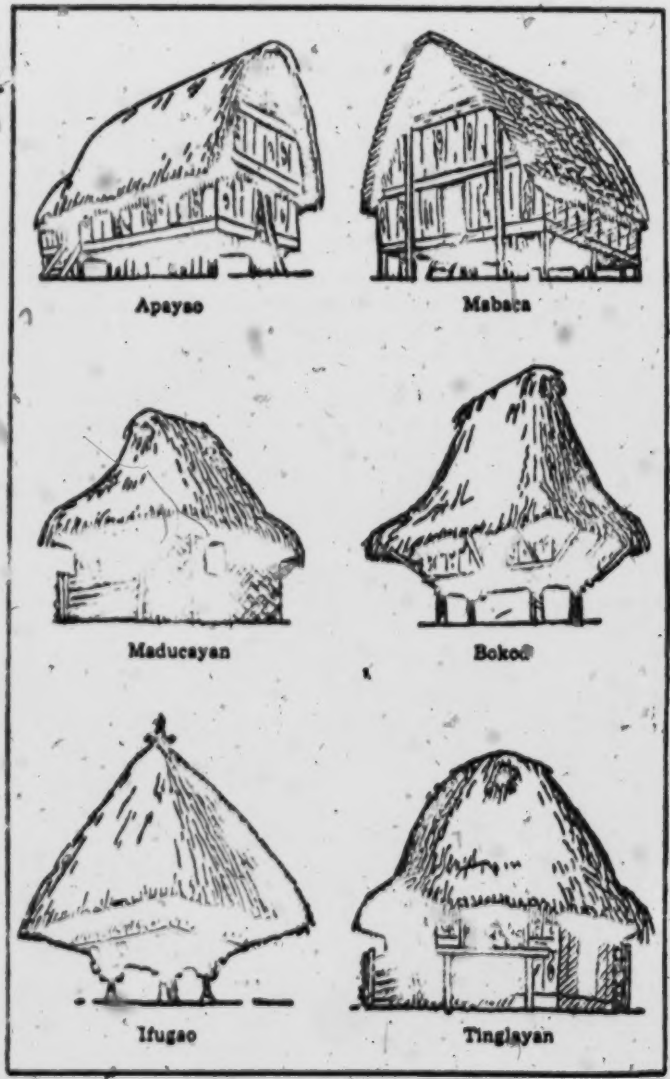

Fig. 1. — Representative houses of the Mountain Province.

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

Isneg expressions referring to names and worthy of notice are the following:

kalōbaxán: a name that has the same ending as another one. *Magkalóbān*: to bear each a name with the same ending. For instance: *Balás, Kolás*; *Éba, Xawwá*; *Basán, Dawwán*; *Antóniyo, Ásiyo*, etc.

isán and *ébăy*: familiar diminutive names for girls in general. Similar names are: in Iloko, *iníń*; in Ibanag, *néne-* (probably from the Spanish *nene*, "baby, whether boy or girl").

Nicknames, as applied to one particular person, are used very sparingly among the Isneg. I know of only one case: a Lettuakan boy, called *Ásiyo* and baptized Pedro, is very generally called *Paláli* even by his own relatives. *Paláli* is the name of a tree, and also of its fruits, which are edible, but very sour.

The Isneg are not very good genealogists. It very often happens that a young man or an adult girl does not even know the name of one or more of their grandparents, especially if the latter died before their grandchild was born. When asked about such names, the Isneg who happens not to know them usually excuses his ignorance by saying: "*Akkáńko nasińán* (I did not see him or her)".

II. Education

It might be thought at first sight that the Isneg leads a very unhappy and miserable life, a life full of drudgery, a life devoid of all comforts and possessing only a minimum of pleasure. But when you come to consider him more intimately, to enter more deeply into the matter, it does not take long for you to be convinced of the contrary. Indeed, he has very few needs; it is comparatively easy, to quote Jerome K. Jerome in "Three Men in a Boat", for an Isneg "to have enough to eat and enough to wear, and a little more than enough to drink", and he has little work to do. Besides, look at the fine family life he is living: if he has a good diligent wife, and most Isneg women are like that, and plenty of children around, really his bliss exceeds all understanding, I mean the understanding of a Caucasian with his manifold cares and innumerable wants.

Again at first sight, it might seem that the children's education is reduced to the very minimum, or rather that the youngsters get no education at all, as everybody, not excepting the children, seems to shift for himself and to do as he pleases. One would be the more inclined to think so when comparing the Isneg with other primitive

their child. The people at that time[1] were wearing
[173] the bark of trees for clothing.

The father planned for a trip to Ilocos, taking with him dried fish to barter for some cloth for his son. He told his wife to take good care of their child while he was gone. Then the next day he started for Ilocos with the dried fish. It took him six days to barter his fish for cloth. One day, after he had left his home, his child became sick and, after two days
[173] of illness died. There were no means of communication during those days. So his wife decided not to bury the child until the father arrived. When the dead child had been in the house for two days, the mother could not stand the bad odor which came from the child. At last they decided to bury the child. The mother saved a jar of fluid from the child to prove to her husband that their only child had passed away.

The next day after the burial of the child, Boquet returned home. He at once inquired where their child was; and the grieving wife told him that their child had been buried the day before. To prove it she brought the jar of fluid from the child and the jar of *basi* that they had used during the day when the child was still in the house.

The father was filled with deep sadness and promptly took the two jars and drank their contents. He told his wife that she would never see him any more. He ran out and climbed up a betel-nut tree and came down again. He turned to his wife again and said, "Never look for me any more. I shall eat all dead human people." He ran away to the forest and became an *anito* named Bowa. From that time

[1] [i.e., long ago--Analyst]

46: Wilson ●
538, 539, 773, 173

OA5 Apayao OA5

[For the texts of various Apayao myths and folktales, see category 116, pp. 44-170. --Analyst]

77 their child. The people at that time[1] were wearing
[173] the bark of trees for clothing.

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[1 i.e., long ago -- Analyst]

46: Wilson F-3 (no date) 1947 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5

APAYAO LIFE AND LEGENDS

THE PEOPLE OF APAYAO

WHEN you travel in the Philippines to the 131
northwesterly end of Luzon Island as far as Abulog; and then take a banca up the clear, warm waters of the Apayao River, as it meanders through dark tropical forests and amidst gorgeous mountains, you come into the lovely land of the Apayaos.

These virile people came here uncounted thou- 174
sands of years ago in two main migration waves; one- 144
the Indonesian-by way of Southeastern Asia; and the other-the Mongolian-by way of Central Asia. Here, in the northerly end of the Cordillera Central Mountains, these two waves converged, finding a new home with which they have ever since been well content. Their cultures amalgamated into a new one. Physically, the Indonesian strain dominated; but Mongoloid features of all the three short types are present, especially the short Mongol. According to the last cen- 161
sus they number 11,000.

You will like these people; for they are kindly, 181
hospitable, generous mountain lovers. They are high- 577
ly aesthetic in temperament, self-reliant, and honest. If perchance, you drop something, even money, on the trail, the finder will return it to you. They say that [586]
if a man steals, his wife will leave him: or, if they

yaos after the principal river in their country. Some say the word Apayao was originated in their fierce battle cry *"Ma-ap-ay-ao."* During this call the hand is clapped rapidly over the mouth so that the cry sounds much like the American Indian war-whoop. This cry is also used at a feast: when a new visitor comes, when the basi is brought in, and when a pig is killed.

I will endeavor to describe, from personal observation of its still numerous cultural remains, something of the life of the Apayaos as it no doubt existed little changed during the long centuries during which their folktales were formed.

The life of these people has much to do with the streams of the country along which most of them live. They do not live on the river flats, but on the mountain sides for safety. Many of their communities are named after the streams near which they are located. A considerable part of the food is obtained from the streams; and they are used for washing, bathing and swimming, as well as for scenery. Much of the transportation is on the streams, and the men are expert boatma nand raftsmen. During the heavy rainy season transportation on swollen rivers is perilous; but it is carried on somewhat. The result is that many a banca has over-turned in the roaring rapids; much valuable merchandidse still lies in the deep pools at the feet of those rapids; and many of family mourns the loss of a loved one. Therefore stories of the streams often occur in the legends of the people.

The people on each stream were isolated from each other for many centuries so that there has come to be quite a difference in their customs and dialects.

181 or if they
152 acquire money unfairly and buy rice with it, the rice,
157 when eaten, will give them no strength. As born psy-
[577 chologists, they enjoy working on you so that you will
827] think and act as they desire. They like a practical
[522] joke even when it is on themselves. In fact, even accidents are taken as jokes and the one who has been injured is the one who laughs the hardest. When going through hardship, they show real endurance. Their code is to laugh and joke near the end just as if they had only awakened from a good sleep.

181 The Apayaos are courageous and lovers of free-
●175 dom. The Spaniards never did conquer them, and even we Americans had a difficult time establishing our benevolent government. It was necessary to continue the military control for many years; and only in 1923 was civil government established. During the first part of the Japanese occupation, Apayao was a place of refuge for fleeing Americans and, after the fall of Corregidor, Cabugao was made the headquarters of the USAFFE of Northern Luzon. The Japanese did not establish themselves here in these mountain fastnesses until March, 1943. They did not find the people at all willing to collaborate and left in August, 1944. When the Americans returned, the Apayaos volunteered, almost to a man, to assist in defeating the Japanese. Many acted as "bolo men" without pay, and served as cargados, messengers and laborers. Thus they neglected even their farming, so that this year their crops are small.

101 These people call themselves *Isnegs* and are so known by the neighboring *Ibanags*, whose language is related to theirs. Probably they are called Apa-

105, 113, 131, 142, 157, 161, 177, 262, 291, 302, 304, 721, Apayao OA5

[For information on location, physical type, personality, population, acculturation, diet, clothing, toilet, tatooing and headhunting, see 58: Barton, OA1 Philippines, category 116, pp. 300-301.]

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

593 The family is a very important entity among the Isneg, and their family life is comparatively intense. There is no question of man and wife associating only for the duties incident to the procreation of children. All members of the household keep rather close together until the young people are able to form a new family, and even in this case the latter usually remain with their elders for a considerable period of their married life. To establish a family, if possible with plenty of children around, is the ultimate goal of every Isneg boy and [671] girl. In principle the rights of the individual are subordinate to those of the family, while state paternalism cannot be thought of.

• 177 It is true that actually the Government often interferes with the native customs of the Isneg, and in many cases it could not very well 593 do otherwise, but the latter consider it as alien and regard its ways as entirely contrary to their traditions; they would most certainly like to get rid of it at the first opportunity. The Isneg submit of course, as the constabulary is supposed to be mostly wide awake, but they generally do so very reluctantly and often under protest; occasionally they even disobey, and sometimes not without reason, especially in cases of interference with their traditional family life.

177 Just to give a couple of examples. The local authorities force the parents to send their children to school; anybody who disregards this 871 rule is punished by being obliged to furnish free labor to the Gov- 582 ernment. Now the wisdom of this regulation cannot always reason- 593 ably be doubted, because, if no strict measures were taken, nobody would go to school. But even children of marriageable age very often fall under this rule, as Apayaw is sparsely populated and the officials are anxious to present decent reports to their superiors; and so Isneg parents who allow their children to marry, face a very disagreeable dilemma: they have either to continue to send to school, in this way breaking up the home as they understand it, or to disobey and be liable to be taken into custody by policemen. It should be noted here that the law of the land recognizes such marriages as valid, but local officials sometimes have little regard for them. By this [797] time, however, the Isneg have found a way out, namely by becoming Christians and contracting marriage before the priest. Such marriages are always duly recorded of course, and so the young people escape forced attendance at school, and the parents avoid trouble with the Government. After all it is the Church that helps the Isneg to keep to his original traditions about the essentials of marriage and home life.

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

In a certain place, not so long ago, they had a teacher whose moral conduct was, to say the least, rather objectionable. When policemen raided the houses of the Isneg in order to hunt up all children of school age, several Isneg parents bluntly told them that they would gladly send their sons, but with reference to their daughters, as long as that teacher remained in charge, never; and they were perfectly right. That man has since been dismissed from the service.

A few defects, which will be recorded in due time, occasionally mar the picture of Isneg family life; but on the whole, it must be said that the Isneg commonly live up to their comparatively high standards with regard to this most important unit of society. Nevertheless the whole life of the Isneg, from the cradle to the grave, is dominated by the fear of the spirits; superstition, magic and spirit worship are inextricably interwoven with their whole life. If a Caucasian or, to take an example from people born, living and dying in the same surroundings, a Negrito had to live under such a continual fear of the supernatural and to comply with such a large number of practices in order to propitiate higher beings or to elude their malevolent intentions, I think his life would be simply miserable. The Isneg, however, do not seem to mind, and although always on the lookout for disagreeable interventions from above, they live a life free of care and are never anxious about the future. They rarely concern themselves with what the next day might bring them, and live happy and content if to-day their immediate wants are provided for: to-morrow will take care of itself.

This seeming contradiction pervades their whole life. On the one hand, they have to take innumerable precautions for the future with regard to superior beings. On the other hand, they do not seem to care a jot for the days to come even with reference to such essential needs as food and raiment. The solution of this apparent puzzle seems to me to be found in the fact that the Isneg do conscientiously every day what they think they have to do and leave the rest to fate. With reference to the supernatural, if they take all possible means to propitiate the spirits, and disregard no taboos, and so on, they feel assured that nothing untoward will happen to them on the part of the spirits. With reference to daily sustenance and the rest, they feel no such assurance, as they know by practical experience that they cannot control the forces of nature, rain, storms, the growth of plants, etc. By strictly observing all injunctions of the shamans and all traditional rites and practices, they believe it possible to control the

42. Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

181 supernatural for the time to come. Nature, however, is not theirs
771 to direct; they know this all too well, and so why bother about the
789 future. Besides, there will always be something to eat, there is no
152 winter in the tropics, vegetation is luxuriant, and the Isneg are not
777 particular. Nature is ruled by the supernatural, not by human beings. All the latter can do is to influence the supernatural. Man has no direct control over rain and sunshine, sickness and death, but the spirits have; and these have to be moved to pity or to be frightened into submission, as the case may be.

753 An Isneg will say: "What is the use of medicine? If it has been
181 decreed that a person will die, he will do so, medicines or no medi-
777 cines". But nevertheless he will comply with all possible prescrip-
152 tions of the shaman, and if the person dies notwithstanding all
771 precautions have been taken to protect him from the spirits, then: "It was his fate", and that ends the matter.

777 If the locusts are devastating the fields, an Isneg will resign himself
181 to his fate. He has worked diligently, he has observed all possible
152 omens and has broken no taboos; why should he worry, why should
731 he try to destroy these pests. The Government will force him to do so of course, and he will obey as long as he remains under the eagle
• 177 eye of his rulers, but he will say: "What is the use; if we destroy these, others will take their place, provided it be decreed that way; and if not, it is perfectly useless to tire ourselves for nothing".

777 Such and similar states of mind are not confined to the Isneg. I
181 remember very well how on a certain occasion, in 1914, I was assisting
152 an Ifugao Christian on his deathbed. Wanting to impress upon him
771 the great necessity of a deep sorrow for his sins, I described to him
177 as vividly as possible the horrors of hell, and told him how anxious he should be to avoid an eternity of such pains and torments; but his
781 only answer was an act of absolute conformity to the Divine Will: "If God wants me to go to hell, I am perfectly willing". And that man was far from wanting to be disrespectful to the Deity; his words simply illustrated how little he cared about what the future had in store for him. Pagan Isneg lay the blame for every untoward happening, either merely on fate, or on the intervention of some ill-intentioned imp, while a happy turn of events is usually considered to be the result either of fate pure and simple, or of some special clever means by which the machinations of the spirits have been counteracted. Nowadays the Government, the Ibanag as they call all Christians, has generally to bear the blame of any public calamity

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that may occur, as it is the ultimate cause of the anger of the spirits, who are deprived of their usual offerings through the abolition of headhunting.

But let us come back to our original purpose of describing the Isneg life cycle, and leave those digressions about fate and spirits for some other time. I shall first treat birth; second, education and home life; third, marriage; and fourth, death and burial.

I. Birth and Infancy

The birth of a child is as a matter of course a very important event, not only for the individual in question, but also for everybody concerned. Any addition to the household is hailed with delight by each and every member of the family, and children are considered as a very precious asset by all Isneg. Some five years ago, at the very beginning of my residence among the Isneg, while I was chatting one day with the justice of the peace of Kabugaw at the latter's house, an Isneg woman came to see him in order to ask him to allow her to divorce her husband. When the judge remonstrated and tried to convince her not to resort to such a drastic procedure, by describing its bad effects more especially on her own self, the woman merely replied that she could stand anything from now on, as during her short married life she had been given "gain" (she used the Spanish term *ganancia*); and when the judge asked her what kind of gain she meant, she merely showed him her child. While in the eyes of most persons a child would be an obstacle to the easy divorce of its parents, in the eyes of this Isneg mother, the child that had been given to her was considered as a treasure that would compensate all hardships incident on the separation from her husband.

A. Pregnancy and Gestation

In order to promote pregnancy, some married Isneg women buy what some of them call "medicine" either from the Christian Ilokano or from other married people among their own tribe. This "medicine" usually consists of one or more kinds of herbs which are the secret of the seller. The buyer carries them on her body, tying them to her girdle in front, either above the right thigh or above the left one. The *ciamandá*, a herb that grows on trees, is chewed by Isneg women for the same purpose.

A kind of small herb, called *âma-dá*, is occasionally used by Isneg women in order to stop bearing children. Somebody goes to the

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553 whoever be the person who suggested it. It is very clear though that the relatives, especially the old women, the more so if a shaman is among the latter, have a deciding vote in the matter, and that, in case of disagreement, an Isneg shaman or other old woman decides the question. But such occurrences must be rare, as the Isneg do not mind so much by what name their children are called provided [856] they have one at the earliest opportunity. The parents, however, usually refrain from giving their child its name, as they believe that in such a case the baby would not grow up or at least would grow very slowly.

553 When baptizing an Isneg baby, we always give him some Christian name of course, and I know of very few cases in which I myself was 177 not called upon to choose the name in question. Sometimes I had to 551 suggest several names, as some of them did not prove acceptable, but 795 for this there was usually no other reason than that they were too hard for the Isneg either to pronounce or to remember. This new name is generally faithfully adhered to, although the original Isneg name is rarely forgotten and sometimes even remains preponderant; indeed a name is something much too important not to be taken into consideration. Actually many Isneg babies get a Christian name as their proper name from the outset, and so all difficulties and equivocations are eliminated at once.

That this indifference exists not only with reference to the name of a child that has to be baptized, but even with reference to the first name of any newborn babe, is evident from the fact that Christian Iloko or Kagayan school teachers are often called upon to suggest a name for the little one. So, at Ampaw for instance, which is a small agglomeration not so far from Nagbabalayan, we find a little boy called *Mabíni*, a name proposed by the teacher of the last-mentioned place at the suggestion of the father; now, even without knowing the person who gave the name, it is patent that such a name could not have been given by Isneg, as it is the family name of Mr. Apolinario Mabini, a Filipino hero of revolutionary war fame, of whom our Isneg know nothing at all. To complete the matter, I called the boy Apolinario at baptism.

551 It may be seen even from the above that any name will do. Nevertheless the Isneg also have their preference, and this especially in regard to three classes of names:

1. Names that have become traditional among the Isneg, "old names" as they call them. For instance *Súzây*, which has no known

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551 *Xídam* (F): evening
104 *Múmaw* (F): a kind of herb used in magical practices.
192 *Pariyá* (F): a vine of the squash family with edible fruits, Momordica ovata. Cogn.

551 For the rest any name will do, provided it pleases everybody concerned. This was repeatedly told me all over Apayaw, although the preferences referred to above, either all three or only one or two of them, were usually mentioned, and occasionally the question of some circumstance connected with the time or place of birth.

551 Actually one finds more and more Isneg youngsters who bear a
177 Christian name, not only the one given them at baptism or in school, but the original name given at birth. So at Nagsimbanan and at Magapta we find a *Delfín* (M); at Musimut, *Xosé* (José) (M); at Baliwanan, *Kolás* (Nicolás) (M); at Nagilian (Namaltugan), *Román* (M); at Butaw, *Siyón* (Concepción) (M); at Bayag, *Donáta* (F); at Bayag, *Faustína* (F); at Musimut, *Leónsiya* (Leoncia) (F); at Lako, *Máriya* (María) (F); at Musimut, *Méri* (Mary) (F); at Kabugaw, *Néli* (Nellie) (F); at Abbil, *Rufína* (F); at Bayag, *Simóna* (F); at Nagsimbanan, *Verón* (Verónica) (F).

Such names occur even among those of older people; in this case they were probably brought in from the lowlands, from the Christian provinces, whither the Isneg frequently went either on headhunting expeditions or with the purpose of bartering their wares for clothes and so on. Thus at Musimut there is a *Sáriyo* (Cesario) (M); at Genned, an *Isabél* (F). At Lettuakan there was a man, now dead, called *Antón* (Antonio), the father of a young man called *Asiyo* (Nicasio, Engracio, or some other name with a similar ending). Another *Antón* still lives at Bolo.

[554] Some Isneg names are nothing but the family name or the title of public servants.

551 Family names:

Bawánen (M), at Bayag; after Mr. Bawanen, a sanitary inspector.
Bunnáw (M), at Karagawan: a soldier.
Dison (M), at Mayaw: after Lt. Dixon of the Constabulary.
Dukúsen (M), at Musimut: after Mr. Ducusin, a former lieutenant-governor.
Galiyárdo (M), at Maduang: after Mr. Gallardo, a teacher.
Gársiya (M), at Lukab: after Lt. Garcia of the Constabulary.
Xárma (M), at Musimut: after Mr. Garma, a teacher.

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with the affairs of the living. Now in this case the Isneg deem it very probable that the dead parent will continue to be fond of his child, and perhaps try to approach it and fondle it, as he was wont to do before his death; but this must inevitably be exceedingly detrimental to the well-being of the little one, so the best way to prevent all such dangerous trifling is to change the name of the infant in question, in order to force the soul of the dead parent to forget all about his offspring. He will be looking for the babe under its old name, but here the living will have got the better of him: the new name, the new personality of the little one, will completely baffle the all-too-fond parent, and the living will be rid of the annoying interference of the dead. *Séno maligpandn náyá kaduduwána ya ńázan náyá abubbíń*, "So that his soul forget the name of the child": this was the reason for the custom given me by the Isneg themselves. What would be the use of making the dead forget the name of the child if "name" was not more or less synonymous with "personality"?

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Formerly a stranger travelling in Apayaw must forcibly have been struck by the reluctance of the Isneg to tell his name. I say "formerly", as nowadays the Isneg has been obliged to tell his name on so many different occasions, for instance at school, in the judgment hall, and so on, that this reluctance is fast disappearing. However, it is still to be found in many remote corners, and more especially with grown-up and old men and women: when you ask their name they invariably tell some companion to answer you in their stead. Just exactly what is the reason of this I have not yet been able to ascertain; when questioned about it, the Isneg either deny the custom altogether, if they are not very familiar with you, or else say that they are ignorant of the reason of its existence.

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The same reticence takes place with reference to the names of the dead: this has been touched upon before, and the reason, as explained by the Isneg, has been given at the same time. The prohibition of telling the name of a dead person does not last indefinitely, nor does it equally affect all persons. When some time has elapsed since the death of a certain Isneg whose name you would like to know, your informant will usually say: "*Natdyyin* (he is dead already)", with a look of wonder on his face, as if to say: "What is the use of wanting to know his name, he is dead already, he has lost his name together with his life"; but if you insist, he will give it seemingly without difficulty. So also unrelated persons are much less reluctant than near relatives, when there is question of telling the name of the dead. Be-

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peoples, who have regular initiation ceremonies or puberty rites or both: in his case these are entirely absent, and so his offspring lacks a very important factor in the education of the young, as all formal instruction that usually accompanies such rites and ceremonies is entirely denied him. Nevertheless there is some kind of education given to Isneg youth, and this I am going to consider presently.

At the beginning it should be noted once for all that the Isneg is not used to divide his life into very definite periods. Possessing no puberty rites of any kind, he is ignorant of any violent transition between any two periods of his earthly existence, and so an Isneg child grows up into a young man (*bagbaxó*, plural *babbáxo*) or a young girl (*balbalásań*, plural *babbalásań*), marries at the first opportunity, is occasionally widowed (*bálo*, *búkud*) and perhaps remarries, and finally dies, whether comparatively young or after having reached a ripe old age (old man: *la-lakáy*, plural *lala-lákay*; old woman: *ba-bakát*, plural *baba-bákat*). If one would insist on looking for a kind of classification, perhaps the best way would be to divide the life of an ordinary Isneg into three periods: the first one, from his birth till he has attained the age at which any decent boy begins to wear a G-string, a little before the age of reason; the second, from the time of that important change in his dress till his marriage; and the last one, from his first marriage till his death. Here I shall consider only the first two periods, and I shall treat them both simultaneously and indistinctively. That some details refer exclusively to one of these two periods will be clear without the necessity of saying so: an Isneg evidently does not teach one of his marriageable girls the name of the mosquito, nor does he point out to a boy three years old the penalties which he is likely to incur if he renders a girl pregnant and refuses to marry her.

Formal education as we understand it, whether in schools or otherwise, through appointed teachers, is totally unknown to the Isneg, except of course instruction in Government public schools, which all Isneg children are compelled to attend; but the generality of the people are not the least convinced of the benefits, and much less of the necessity, of the sort of education they get there, especially with reference to girls.

I shall try now to trace as faithfully and as clearly as possible the process of education as followed by the Isneg, or, if such an expression seems to be too definite, the way in which Isneg boys and girls get the education they need.

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question and bring the water home, when without such trouble, the same, and even a much better, result can be obtained by using the water where it is found

The Isneg wash their hands before meals, or, to speak correctly, dip one of their hands in water with a semblance of washing it: they occasionally tell their offspring to do the same.

In order to satisfy the wants of nature, they always retire far away from the presence of other human beings lest they offend the latters' sense of smell: an Isneg resents nothing more than the disregard of this elementary courtesy, and children receive a severe scolding and sometimes a sound thrashing, if they fail to imitate their elders in this respect. Special closets for the purpose were entirely unknown here until Government officials introduced them by force: there is no lack of space in Apayaw.

Isneg women sweep the house, not only daily, but whenever there is a reason for doing so, and they clean the yard very often. Small girls are regularly told to help their mother or their elder sisters, and sometimes to do the sweeping in their stead, so that they also may learn how to perform the duties of a good housewife.

Let us now pass to the noble sport of *bisnág*. *Bisnág* is very popular all over the northern part of the Mountain Province, while Ibaloy and Kankanay seem not even to know it. Among the Isneg, not only boys and young men, but also men of mature age, frequently indulge in it; nay, at stated times, adults take part in it as in a kind of religious rite or ceremony; but more of this later. Isneg youngsters usually practice *bisnág* in imitation of their elders, merely as a kind of play, whenever it takes their fancy to do so. Although this sport is not formally taught, older people often urge boys to take part in it, and they rarely fail to break out into vociferous applause, whenever one of the young braves has performed his part befittingly, in this way encouraging the whole group to do better and better.

Bisnág certainly inures the partakers to hardship and develops their bodily strength, although, to use a minimum of words, one might say that it merely consists in slapping one another's thigh. But such a statement is all too simple; in reality the sport is much more complicated. There must be at least two men in order to play *bisnág* (Figures 1 and 2), and strictly speaking, two men are sufficient: the one who slaps, whom I shall call the agent for short, and the one who is slapped, the patient.

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577 771 portant and whenever it is customary to do so; in a word, you should lead a good religious life. Indeed what can you expect from a man who does not live according to his convictions, or rather to the convictions of the generality of his tribesmen? Do you think that the spirits will leave you at rest if you do not do what is necessary, either to propitiate them or to put them to flight? Do you think you will be fortunate in your enterprises if you fail to observe, either the usual signs that will prevent you from entering upon dangerous enterprises, or the taboos which custom has told you not to transgress? It would be considered as the acme of bad behavior to live as a freethinker in matters religious. You may say you do so to a stranger, you may appear not to believe our laws any more, when in the presence of an Ibanag,[2] otherwise, he might laugh at you; but among us these things are very serious and they should be observed by all means. If you are a true Isneg, believe as an Isneg and practise your religion".

577 177 771 The Isneg, however, seem to be much less fanatical in matters religious than the Kankanay, the Bontok Igorot, and others. I have known Kankanay men to whip their Christian children for refusing to attend heathen sacrifices; such things would rarely, if ever, happen here. I shall come back to this again when comparing theory with practice.

577 829 721 "Headhunting is a glorious practice. If you are a real Isneg, you should take a few heads during your lifetime or at least help your companions in doing so. Never forego the occasion of participating in a raid planned by your friends, whether into the lowlands among Christian Iloko and Kagayan, or among Negritos, Kalinga and other Isneg at enmity with your people. If you have the opportunity to take the head of an enemy unawares, be it that of a woman or child, there you have a splendid occasion of becoming a *mánal*, a brave, without too much trouble and with very little danger. Not everybody has that chance, not everybody will become a brave, but you should at least try your very best to be one. What a glory

101 192 104 [2] Ibanag is the language of the Kagayan, but in an Isneg mouth the term means "anybody who is not an Isneg". What we express by saying "to become a Christian" is translated by the Isneg as "to become an Ibanag". It is almost impossible to convince them that an Isneg can become a Christian and remain an Isneg. Similar ideas obtain among the Christian tribes: they call themselves *Christiano* whatever tribe they belong to, and all pagans in their eyes are Igorot, Kalinga, Itneg or Isneg; once baptized the latter have ceased to be anything like that; they have become Christians pure and simple.

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for you if you can show the girls an *andôri* tattooed on your arm; will they not be eager to get the attentions of such a warrior? Will they not vie with one another in making themselves attractive and pleasing to him? Such a man will be renowned all over the country, and at every public *sây-ám* sacrifice he will recount his brave deeds. Even when he is tottering with old age, people will respect him as they will nobody else, and after he has long been dead, his name will still be pronounced with reverence and given to children as a remembrance of his great deeds, so that his spirit will continue to live on earth in the members of the younger generation who are called by his name. In the realm of the dead his soul will live encircled by the same aureole of a glorious and immortal fame. It is true that actually you can hardly aspire to such great glory: strangers have taken possession of the land, people who know nothing about Isneg heroism and justice, people who would punish you for such an act of courage, people who do not understand that an enemy has no rights, that his head is acceptable to the spirits. But we of the older generation, we at least should not abandon our glorious traditions; and if it might please the spirits or an all-powerful fate to return to us our lost freedom and rid us of constabulary and judges, then, yes, you should not forget that you are an Isneg, that a head is the most precious offering that you can make to the spirits, that taking the head of an enemy, whoever he be, whether dead or alive, will give you a crown not to be equalled by anything else. You know how often these last years we have been visited by locusts and famine. Whose fault is it? Nobody else's but the cursed Ibanags': they forbid us to propitiate the spirits who are craving for human heads, and what can the *anito* do but punish us for our negligence?"

A couple of years ago, a poor Negrito, Kalisto by name, who had just escaped from jail, from which he would have been released very soon as he was innocent of the crime imputed to him, was killed at Tawit by an Isneg, who gave the pygmy's threatening attitude as a pretext for killing him. But after the body had been disinterred and examined, it was found out that a part of the skull was lacking and that it had been severed from the rest by a cutting instrument: this proved to everybody's satisfaction that the case was a headhunting affair and nothing else.

"Every Isneg child should be obedient to its parents. As long as you are unmarried, you have the bounden duty to comply with the wishes of your parents, and not only with those of your parents, but

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factor should never remain unpunished, even though he be of your own kindred; although in the latter case the sacking of his house and properties will usually be sufficient, without having to resort to bloodshed; and then also there will necessarily be no solidarity, except perhaps in the case of his near relatives. An Isneg who allows an injury to pass unpunished has not the blood of the *méial* (brave) flowing in his veins. Actually of course we cannot always take the law in our own hands, and so we have to resort to the tribunal of the Ibanag. Now you should never fail to do so, whenever there are no other means available for revenging yourself with impunity".

A couple of years ago, an Isneg from Tawit, whose father was supposed to have been killed at Ripang years ago, murdered a Ripang woman at Kabugaw, under the eyes of the constabulary, on the occasion of a garden day celebration. The murder occurred in the evening, when the woman,—who even then was still too young to have had any knowledge of the murder of the Tawit man's father except perhaps from hearsay, and who consequently could not have had the least participation in it,—was sitting as a guest in the house of one of her people, a policeman, who at the time resided at Kabugaw. She was leaning with her back against the wall of the house, when the Tawit man, who stood outside in the dark, pushed a sharpened bamboo rod through the interstices and pierced the woman's side, with the inevitable result that the victim died after a few hours.

Not so long ago our friend *Kadáw* of Lettuakan, who had been badly injured by *Kinagúrān* of Talifugu in the heroic times now seemingly gone forever, one of his hands having been almost totally disabled, came to pay me a visit. He had a few eatables for sale and wanted to get a comparatively large share of the white man's money. At a certain moment our conversation ran in the following vein:

I: *Kinagúrān* is your friend, is he not?

Kadáw: Yes, indeed, we are good friends now.

I: But suppose the soldiers would leave the district.

I had barely finished my sentence when the old headhunter sprang up, his face beaming, his eyes radiant with a fiendish joy, and, swinging his arms, his hands fingering invisible weapons, he exclaimed: "Oh, then you would see some fighting indeed".

"Never pick a quarrel with a friend: such things should be avoided; but in case of somebody wanting to quarrel with you, go ahead. Nobody will keep his peace if he thinks he is right. Would it not be utter cowardice to keep quiet and let the thing go by? No, shut the

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577 particular, although it would certainly be utterly immodest for any
834 grown-up woman purposelessly to take off her tapis completely, even
291 though seen only from behind; and going around half-naked is not to be recommended, even to a married woman, when in the presence of outsiders."

In 1927, while on my way to Karagawan, I followed the course of the river which I had to cross at every turn; so my Isneg carrier took off his G-string at the first crossing and did not put it on again, except on a certain occasion, when we were approaching a house. "Wait a moment", he said, "I shall put on my G-string, as who knows but there may be some women at home there espying me".

At the teachers' house I had a talk with the mother of one of the Iloko teachers, and, in the course of the conversation, she related to me how astonished the Isneg women of that place had been, when she had told them that she wore no G-string. "But suppose your saya came off, would not your genitalia be exposed to view?" they had exclaimed, with horror painted all over their faces. The Isneg have a special qualifying term for an Isneg woman who wears no G-string: she is called *paññáw*.

577 Several years ago, there came an order, I believe from the Bureau
834 of Education, that all school children should pass a physical examin-
291 ation before the physician of the district; but very soon the order had
● 177 to be revoked, as otherwise it was feared that an uprising would occur among our Mountain people. The Isneg in particular could find no plausible reason for any man causing a girl to take off her garments in his presence.

836 "All Isneg boys should be careful not to render a girl pregnant:
577 this is one of the delinquencies that are abhorred more than anything
684 else among the Isneg. You may be inclined to sow your wild oats; that is but natural, but here you have to look out. You should never under any pretext impregnate a girl whom you could not marry afterwards, and even though you could make her your wife, it would still be a dangerous thing to do; suppose some obstacle comes in the way, you know the consequences; you know very well that the relatives of the offended girl will get the *awát*: they will raid your house and carry away your precious jars, your beads and all that is valuable. There is no mercy for a boy who has committed a crime like that; so do not be rash: fornication is a dangerous thing. When you go to court the girls (*mamabáy*) in the evening, use love charms and try to win the girl you love; to force her against

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tunate if it stopped at that, as the whole affair usually became a *casus belli*.

This whole state of affairs tends very much to make one believe that solitary vice is considered as lawful and not at all forbidden to young men. One day while listening to a conversation among Isneg boys, I heard them talk about flashlights, which at the time had a very great vogue and were very much sought after. The youngsters in question wanted such a light in order to find their way when going to have sexual intercourse with girls in the evening: this was literally what they said. But would they really dare do it so often as they seemed to imply? In many cases would it not be rather to indulge themselves in company with the girls, without always taking the risk of making them pregnant?

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On a similar occasion I saw a young man stretch himself out upon a heap of sand and mimick the conjugal act in the presence of several other young men who merely smiled at his behavior.

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Would it be possible for young men to live chastely on such a principle namely, that the only crime in that line is making a girl pregnant? And this seems to be the Isneg view about the matter. With girls, I repeat it, the code is much stricter: they are allowed nothing. They should conserve their body pure and undefiled, even from the mere contact of young men. It is true that the only punishment, in case of pregnancy, would be a severe scolding, but their conduct is censured whenever something untoward happens, and besides the ultimate result, that of being rejected as a prospective bride by any decent young man, must certainly serve as a powerful deterrent.

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"Honesty is an imperative virtue for every Isneg. 'Stealing should be loathed by all right-minded people. Never touch the property of others, do not take what does not belong to you. Why should you covet your neighbor's goods? Did you work in order to obtain them? Would you like others to rob you of the fruit of your labor? Another man's property should always be safe in your hands. Never allow anybody to suspect you of being dishonest; a thief is branded with an indelible mark that will make people distrust him at his mere approach. Never destroy the property of your neighbor; you have no right to do so: revenge would quickly follow your rash deed. If you find something that does not belong to you, give it back to the owner, it is still his, unless of course you know positively that it has been abandoned. Should the owner find his lost goods hidden in your

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577 possession, he will rightfully suppose you to be a thief. Anything
421 that can be found in the forest is the property of the first man who
685 can lay hands upon it: so if you locate bees on a tree and see that the latter has been marked, leave them, they are not yours to take any more, the person who marked the tree will sooner or later come to claim
577 his property. Pay your debts faithfully, never forget about them.
426 The heirs of a deceased person inherit his debts as well as his prop-
686 erty, and the creditor will appear some day to ask payment from their hands. In case of a raid upon the house of a culprit,—for instance, when a girl has been made pregnant, or when a married woman has returned to her parents whether against the will of her husband or because the latter rightfully divorced her for adultery, etc., and her parents refuse to give back to the offended husband what he gave them at the time of his marriage, or when somebody has been killed among people who are on friendly terms with one another,—then of course, if you are a relative of the offended party, you are free to rob the house of all its valuables: this is not stealing, it is simple justice.

577 "You should not be so strict, however, with reference to the Ibanag:
609 almost anything is allowed when you deal with them. Plain stealing
421 of course should be avoided, but for the rest it would be hard to qualify anything by the name of injustice, when the Ibanag are in ques-
426 tion. Here, nevertheless, you should make a distinction: you may
437 have good friends among them or they may be your guests, and then of course strictly respect them and keep away from their property.
686 But, deceit in transactions, escaping the payment of a debt, and so
685 on, which would be downright dishonesty if done among ourselves, are just a sign of cleverness on your part, when the Ibanag are concerned. A good Isneg is strictly just with all his friends, with all the people of every village at peace with his own; enemies have no rights in the eyes of an Isneg, and the rights of the Ibanag are far from having the same sacredness as those of your own people".

685 Two years ago a Tubungan (near Abbil) man had been robbed of
628 a few of his valuables, while he was away on a trading expedition into Ilocos. After much investigating and lying in wait near the
[694] house of the suspected thief, the owner had become convinced of the latter's guilt, and immediately brought in a complaint, as the ac-
177 cused denied any participation in the theft. I met the plaintiff and his father, on their way to Kabugaw, in the municipal building of Namaltugan. Talking about the matter, I asked them what would

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have happened in the glorious times before the arrival of the soldiery. They quickly retorted that it would have been a case of killing the thief without more ado, from which of course an interminable series of blood feuds would have ensued. I then asked them what they thought the best way to settle such differences, the old or the new one. Both agreed that the actual way of deciding the matter was far superior to the other one. Then, I said this, seemingly as an afterthought: "But among us, to tell the truth, the old days were happy ones, weren't they?" "Of course they were", both exclaimed at once, "see how things would have been done formerly", and both of them picked up a shield and a headax, and started a mock fight. They were so enthusiastic about it that we, the onlookers, had to make room for our two warriors, in order to escape getting a cut from the axes they were brandishing; the old Isneg spirit was seen to have been revived at once; and this was merely for show, there was nothing serious about it of course.

"Truthfulness is a virtue that an Isneg should never lack. You will never amount to anything if you are known as a liar; people will always distrust you. Is there anything more shameful than being known as a man whose word can never be relied upon? Especially when talking about a third person, beware of being a slanderer: this would lead to quarrels, and quarrels would lead to blows or worse, and you would be in the wrong all the time. A little lie in order to make mirth and bring joy to the company, never mind; but be careful to truthfully inform anybody who might take the thing seriously, lest harmful consequences follow. It is perfectly right of course to save yourself or your friend from a bad predicament, even through lying, if that is the surest way; but for the rest cling to truth, and you will be respected all your life. You know very well how much you would resent being told to your face: "*Busídmo* (you lie)"; so never give anybody an occasion to throw such an insult at your head. With your enemies of course, and especially with the Ibanag, it is different, you may do anything to them; and they know very well that they cannot rely upon you. Why should you have any duties toward these people? They have no rights among us, not even that of being told the truth. A friendly Ibanag may be helped, no doubt about that, but then it will be done, not because you are obliged to tell him the truth, but because you want to be faithful to a friend. Do not mislead a wayfarer though, except in case you have the intention of securing his head or taking some

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Not only the absence of initiation ceremonies, but even that of any customs that might aim to teach or mold moral conduct, as dieting, fasting and so on, is a great drawback to the efficient training of Isneg youth. I repeat it, young people are taught to avoid hardship much more than to get inured to it, and this seemingly has much to do with keeping our Isneg in habitual indolence, and rendering them easily dejected at the smallest difficulty or the slightest pain.

Here now I shall enumerate the virtues and acts of virtue that are formally taught according to the Isneg moral code, and those that are less formally taught, and shall give a few supplementary details. It should be stated once for all that all, or almost all, training in this line is done directly; I mean that the Isneg rarely, if ever, use stories or fables in order to inculcate the principles that regulate moral conduct. Some of their tales might perhaps have such a very desirable effect, but the generality have not, and I really wonder if, even in the case of those that have a kind of moral attached to them, the Isneg really use them for the purpose of teaching right behavior. The tales seem to be much more a means of teaching the youngsters the traditions of the race, especially with reference to spirits and kindred subjects, and very often also they are simply a pastime for people who have few means of diversion and amusement.

The teaching of religious practices has been explained at length in a preceding paragraph, and here I have nothing to add on that subject. Headhunting as a duty has rarely been taught ex professo: all the traditions of the people and the paramount importance of this custom in the life of an Isneg tended formerly to impress it very strongly upon the mind of the child. Actually of course the taking of heads, which is fast disappearing, has no more the same appeal to the members of the younger generation; so this part of the Isneg moral code is bound to lapse sooner or later, provided the Government can keep the people in control for a sufficiently long period of time. This is what happened with the Ibaloy, among whom by this time headhunting is an unknown quantity, and with the Kankanay, among whom the same custom is almost completely rooted out.

Obedience and respect for their elders is very formally taught to the children, not only by father and mother, but also by other members of the older generation. Besides small boys and girls learn by practical experience the necessity of obeying and respecting their elders, as it is not a rare occurrence to see a whipping follow in the wake of a transgression of this most important duty of a child.

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4. *Actual Moral Behavior*

And now I come to the consideration of Isneg practice as compared with theory. I always promise to be brief, but I rarely live up to my promises; so I shall see what I can do about it now.

The Isneg are far less fanatical in matters religious than, for instance, the Kankanay. Their religious practices are also comparatively few and far between, and the women usually play the most important rôle. A person who disobeys (*saûran*) any injunction of the shaman is not considered as being a traitor; he is mostly left to his own devices, although his disobedience is not exactly lauded as an act of virtue. Nevertheless not only the old women, but also the old men are usually very punctual in complying with all directions of the shaman and in observing whatever their religious convictions impose upon them. I purposely say "old" men and women, as among the younger generation, this respect for the heathen practices of their tribe seems to be on the wane. The influence of the schools which are supposed to be neutral, is a decided factor in this matter. The teachers, being Christians, have no sympathy with what they call the superstitions and ridiculous practices of the Isneg. Although perhaps they keep these sentiments to themselves during school hours, the sparseness of the population in a district where schoolboys and schoolgirls very often live far from the schoolhouse, forces many of the latter to remain in the immediate neighborhood of the teacher's house for five consecutive days every week, which necessarily allows the influence of the Christian schoolmaster to be very far-reaching.

Besides, Christians are entering Apayaw in large numbers every year, some to stay, others as transient guests. Since the country is practically pacified, nothing keeps them back any more, and so they also exert an undermining influence on all matters that relate to Isneg religion as such. This immigration coupled with Isneg temporary emigration, tends to teach the people the futility and even the error of their beliefs. Indeed an Isneg who enters the Iloko or Kagayan country, and stays there for a certain time, cannot fail to bring back a spirit of indifference with reference to his native religion.

It may be the place here to say a few words anent the relations of the Isneg with the Catholic missionary. In general it must be said that all over the Mountain Province the priest has usually met with the sympathy of the natives. During the Philippine Revolution against Spain, when Spanish friars were taken into custody by the

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insurgents, the Hapaw people (Ifugaw) hid their priest in the forest for a considerable time; and I am sure that our Negritos and Isneg would do the same to us if necessary. They are supposed to be inferior to the Christians in many respects, they themselves believe so, and the Christians do not fail to impress it upon their mind through word and deed: an Iloko or Kagayan has not respect for an Isneg, and again Iloko, Kagayan and Isneg oppress the Negrito whenever they can.

Now comes along a man who sympathizes with these pariahs, a man who understands them, a man who, although teaching a different religion, never ridicules them, a man who always puts them on the same level with other human beings, a man who is willing to live with them, to share their food and their mat, a man who learns their language and their customs, a man who takes their side even against the Christians when the latter are wrong: what can they feel but respect and even love for such an extraordinary being? Then add to this, in the case of the Isneg, their frequent intercourse with Christians and the patent superiority of the latter's civilization, which excites the ambition of the former, and it will not be wondered at that the priest and his religion are respected, that Isneg mothers bring their children for baptism just as the Christians do, that the Isneg youth wants to be instructed in Christian doctrine, and that Christianity is considered as the ultimate goal of a great number of Isneg young men and women.

Here among the Isneg I have never yet met with that strong opposition to baptism, which formerly was so very common among pagan Kankanay fathers and mothers in several of their villages, and if the inborn indolence of the Isneg could be done away with, all youngsters would be Christians within a very short time. In the case of old men and women, although they rarely object to Christianity as such, still they usually hold rather tenaciously to their traditional practices, which, however, does not prevent them at the same time from giving complete freedom to their offspring.

Last year at Namaltugan, two Christian Isneg intended to get married; when the groom firmly refused to have anything to do with native pagan customs, the relatives on both sides agreed to everything, except on the question of the payment that had to be given to the parents of the bride: on this they strongly insisted; it had nothing to do with religion, and so it had to be observed.

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In short, Isneg religious and magical practices are still firmly adhered to by the generality of old men and women, while with the younger set they tend to be considered as mere superstitions, that are observed more through fear than through conviction, just as among the Christian Iloko, many remnants of the old native religion are still to be found scattered all over the country in the form of superstitious practices. There can be no doubt about the fact that in Apayaw the way is open for the Christian religion to supplant the old native one: the former is considered as a step forward by almost every Isneg, and practically nobody objects to the young people embracing it; in fact, most of the old people themselves insist on having their children baptized and even instructed in the doctrine of the Christians.

The duty of headhunting has perforce to fall into desuetude, as the vigilance of the authorities prevents it from being practised, at least on a large scale. With reference to isolated cases, which do not fail at times to appear sporadically, the guilty parties rarely escape due punishment, as the Isneg live too much in very small scattered communities to be able to hide them successfully. The older people still foster the desire of freedom in their hearts of course, but the younger generation will little by little forget all about it, and the usual ceremonies, although persevering in the form of superstitions, will very soon have lost their significance. Enough already has been said about this, and it is needless to repeat it all over again.

In the question of obedience and respect due to parents and elders, the Isneg usually conform with their teaching on the subject, and the same may be said with reference to loyalty either to friends or to people who are not at enmity with them. Downright disobedience is really very rare, even in the case of grown-up boys and girls, and respect for older people perseveres all through life. A few isolated cases may be encountered occasionally, but they are certainly the exception. Actually of course the same loyalty cannot always be observed as before, namely participation in headhunting expeditions and so on, and now and then a few members of the younger generation will even stand by the Government against malefactors of their own people; but in general it may be said that respect for the law has not yet attained such an ascendency as to cause an Isneg to be a traitor to his friends.

The practice of revenge has also necessarily suffered an important transformation. The duty of revenge remains intact though, and it

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Not so long ago I opened two dormitories for High School students, one for boys and one for girls. These young people came here directly from their villages, for the most part without having received as yet any serious Christian instruction. Since that time I have been inclined more than once to stop the whole affair; at any rate I shall certainly never again accept them indiscriminately. If I had to watch them strictly only on one side, it would not be so bad; but when even some of the girls have to be kept under close surveillance, the situation becomes almost intolerable. The dormitories had barely been started, when I had to expel one boy and one girl: it was not simply a matter of the boy writing love letters, with the girl answering them; but he openly proposed in writing to sleep with her, and the girl consented, also in writing, and gave a date for their future meeting.

Recently one of the girls from the girls' dormitory told me that, at the time she was still studying in her home village, a few of her classmates had absolutely refused to study the prayers (to prepare for baptism), and this for the following reason: "If we were Christians we should not be allowed any more to sleep with the boys at night [using each other's arm for a pillow; not: performing coitus], and this we cannot endure". The last part of this sentence is here put down textually, just as I heard it.

Coeducation which obtains in the public schools helps not a little to take away the small restraint that native Isneg teaching may have produced, and the example of persons who should show them better ways is sometimes far from being an aid to our frail young people on the arduous path of purity and chastity.

Nevertheless children born out of wedlock are the exception. How can we explain this? There is no question of contraceptive measures or voluntary abortion as far as I know, so the reason has to be found elsewhere. This state of affairs may be explained either by the practice of solitary vice or by marriage subsequent on the pregnancy of the girl in every case. Now the latter explanation is in my opinion more often concordant with the actual facts than the former. The boys go to *mamabóy* (court the girls) early in life, and they may have had sex relations very often before the dreaded result occurred. Besides Isneg boys and girls marry very early, and they are allowed to sleep together as soon as they are engaged, so that it is an easy matter to arrange everything in such a way as not to cause the child to be considered as born out of wedlock. Public education as it is in

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vogue here now tends to retard marriage; but its introduction is still too recent and it is still too much the privilege of the few, to be able sensibly to affect the standard of morality among our Isneg.

As to conjugal fidelity, it may be said that an unfaithful wife is the exception among the Isneg; but with reference to the men, the situation is not so bright. Even polygyny is not always sufficient to put a curb to the husband's license: indeed only the rich can afford to take more than one wife, and these at the same time usually enjoy the greatest freedom on account of their wealth and social influence.

To sum up the situation, it may be said that open immorality and indecency is much less frequent among the Isneg than among several other Mountain tribes, but, although more or less well concealed, loose morals are rather the rule than the exception among young unmarried people, and among married people the state of affairs leaves much to be desired. "Doing that which may make a girl pregnant" is not what the Isneg abhors, but "making a girl actually pregnant".

With reference to honesty, the Isneg generally observes the rules laid down by his own code, and transgressions are rare. Isneg thieves are not at all common, and downright robbery, even from the Ibanag or the *idammán* (enemies of his own tribe), is a rare occurrence. This is true of children as well as of adults, although the former may occasionally try to pilfer fruits or other eatables, in which, nevertheless, they are never encouraged by their elders, who rarely fail to scold them and even to punish them.

Truthfulness also is quite ordinary among adult Isneg, but many youngsters need frequent correction on the subject. In this connection, however, we should bear in mind the existence of two inveterate habits not only among the Isneg, but also among the generality of Malays with whom I have come in contact. And first, whenever he is caught [illegible] something that might elicit from you even the smallest reprimand, he has always an excuse ready at the tip of his tongue, and any excuse will do, however preposterous it may be; he never reasons about it, the truth is not what he aims at, but the plain presentation of an excuse, be it real or imaginary. These people are certainly experts in that line.

Just to give a few examples. One day I was very much astonished to find that all my bananas had disappeared, although they were carefully stored away in a closed press, so I suspected, and not without reason, that one of my Isneg boys had found them to his taste. At the first occasion I bluntly asked the fellow what had happened to

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cock, in order to prepare breakfast, which early preparation is called *magsira*.

Actually children who attend school continue to follow the general Isneg rule, and leave home early in the morning, before having taken any breakfast. As they have to wait until noon before partaking of their first meal, it is needless to say that such conditions will hardly improve the health of the next generation.

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Divisions of day and night as known to the Isneg:

Mawarnit: Immediately before sunrise.

Pagmakát: Morning, from sunrise till about ten o'clock a. m.

Alxáw: Day.

Xídam: Evening, from about five o'clock p. m. till darkness sets in.

Xabí: Night.

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must have intervened. With reference to the former class of ailments, some of them never cause death, except if they are coupled with further complications, while in the rest the symptoms (as passing of blood in dysentery, general swelling of the body in beriberi) are considered as the visible effect of the work initiated by a spirit inside the body.

In the same way, whenever some dangerous sickness fails to prove fatal and is overcome either by the strong constitution of the patient, or by some medicine, the Isneg attribute the cure, not to its real cause, but to the superior force of some spirit in league with the shaman, or to magic, all of which has subdued for the time being or completely driven away the terrible kidney-eater, who on that account has been unable to finish the work he began.

After what has been said here, it should not be wondered at that doctors and nurses have a very difficult time with these people, who have little or no faith in their ministrations and consider medicines as either operating through magic (in case of a cure) or entirely useless. Most of the time, however, medicines are given no credit at all, and the cure is merely attributed to the work of the shaman, whose help is always invoked, even in those rare cases in which recourse has been had to natural means.

Suicide (*magbanól*, "to commit suicide") must be listed in the second class: its victims are supposed to die through the action of a kidney-hunter. Suicide, however, by hanging oneself (*magpattól*) or otherwise, not by jumping into the water (*malimát*, "to be drowned"), is rare among the Isneg. I know of only one case in recent times: a few years ago a person hanged himself at Utul, but I have not been able to discover the reason. Drowning oneself would certainly be shunned by Isneg, on account of the probability of the *innát* being lost and deprived of its necessary preparation for the acceptance of the *kadudúwá* by *Kútaw*. It is universally believed by the natives that the relatives of a person who died by drowning, whether voluntary or accidental, will continually dream about him at night; this seems to be a kind of revenge on the part of the deceased, probably out of spite for encountering so many difficulties on his way to the other world. That is one of the reasons why the Isneg so sedulously try to find the body of a drowned person even for weeks at a time; if the body is recovered and buried, no such dreams affect the relatives of the deceased.

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764 tion of the same, whenever a *labág* bird passes under (*magsilpút*)
178 the building: indeed, they believe that, if they continued to build
787 the house on that particular spot, one or more of the inmates would certainly die.

764 Nowadays the authorities insist on burial in common graveyards,
set aside for the purpose and situated outside and away from the
177 settlement. Although this ordinance is still occasionally evaded, it becomes harder and harder to do so, on account of the presence of sanitary inspectors in every municipal district; and so the Isneg have gradually accommodated themselves to circumstances, as will be explained more fully when treating of the decoration of the tomb.

764 At the time set for the funeral, in the evening, the coffin (or lower part of a jar) containing its precious burden, is carried to the grave (*itamán;* sometimes pronounced *itanám;* in Iloko: *itaném*). If the body has to be coffined at the grave, it is carried on the *tádag* or bier. Actually, when the body is interred in the graveyard, the funeral takes place in the daytime, and any time of the day will do.

Before and after the body is laid or set to rest, a good many rites and ceremonies take place, and these I shall try to describe with as much order and accuracy as possible.

The position of the body in the tomb is the same as that of the *inndt* in the house, at the time it was coffined: if the latter was stretched out at full length or otherwise laid on its back, the body in the grave will rest supine; if the *inndt* was kept in a sitting or squatting posture, the corpse will be placed that way in the grave, its head remaining uppermost.

And now as to the *tanád* or objects that are interred together with the body, and which are believed to be used by the *kadudwd* of the deceased in the realm of the dead. Some of them are always present, others only occasionally.

The following objects are never lacking:

A *tariyáw* (a piece of earthenware, plate or cup), containing a certain amount of cooked rice;

Some viands usually wrapped up in one or more leaves;

A receptacle (any kind) containing some water;

A bundles of clothes;

An *aliwá* or headax, in the case of a man; an *ikó* knife, in the case of a woman;

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Students from the Apayao River, at the Trinidad Agricultural High School.

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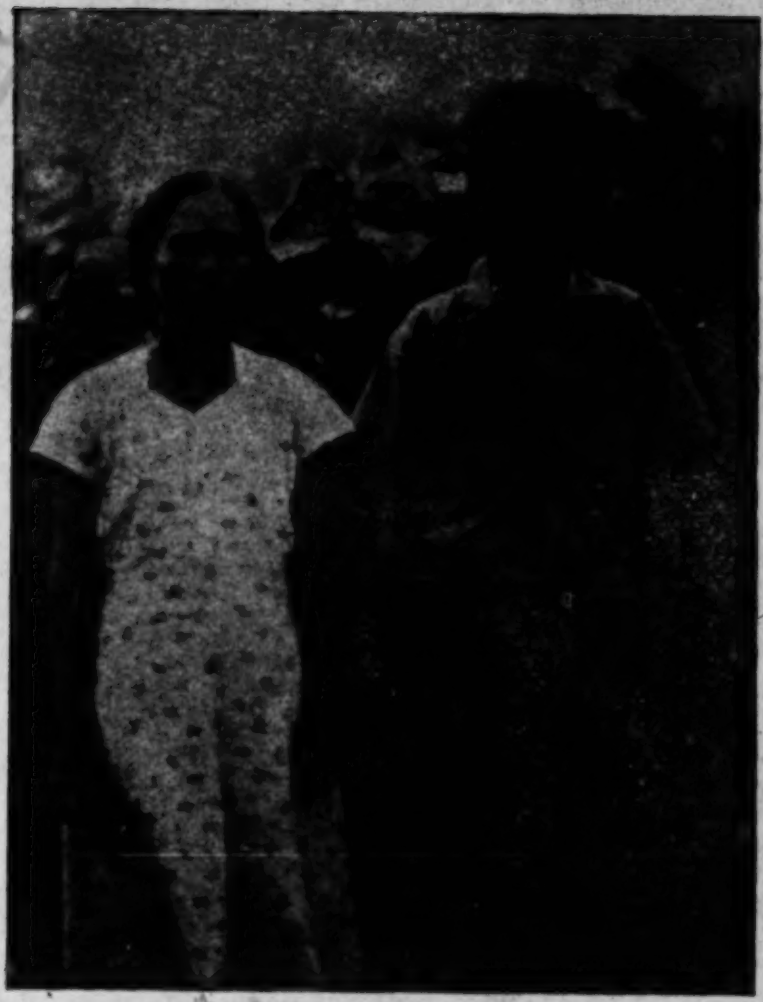

Students from Nabualigan River, at the Trinidad Agricultural High School.

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Students from Luna River at the Trinidad Agricultural High School.

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Students from Bayog River, at the Trinidad Agricultural High School.

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4. Actual Moral Behavior

And now I come to the consideration of Isneg practice as compared with theory. I always promise to be brief, but I rarely live up to my promises; so I shall see what I can do about it now.

The Isneg are far less fanatical in matters religious than, for instance, the Kankanay. Their religious practices are also comparatively few and far between, and the women usually play the most important rôle. A person who disobeys (*saúran*) any injunction of the shaman is not considered as being a traitor; he is mostly left to his own devices, although his disobedience is not exactly lauded as an act of virtue. Nevertheless not only the old women, but also the old men are usually very punctual in complying with all directions of the shaman and in observing whatever their religious convictions impose upon them. I purposely say "old" men and women, as among the younger generation, this respect for the heathen practices of their tribe seems to be on the wane. The influence of the schools which are supposed to be neutral, is a decided factor in this matter. The teachers, being Christians, have no sympathy with what they call the superstitions and ridiculous practices of the Isneg. Although perhaps they keep these sentiments to themselves during school hours, the sparseness of the population in a district where schoolboys and schoolgirls very often live far from the schoolhouse, forces many of the latter to remain in the immediate neighborhood of the teacher's house for five consecutive days every week, which necessarily allows the influence of the Christian schoolmaster to be very far-reaching.

Besides, Christians are entering Apayaw in large numbers every year, some to stay, others as transient guests. Since the country is practically pacified, nothing keeps them back any more, and so they also exert an undermining influence on all matters that relate to Isneg religion as such. This immigration coupled with Isneg temporary emigration, tends to teach the people the futility and even the error of their beliefs. Indeed an Isneg who enters the Iloko or Kagayan country, and stays there for a certain time, cannot fail to bring back a spirit of indifference with reference to his native religion.

It may be the place here to say a few words anent the relations of the Isneg with the Catholic missionary. In general it must be said that all over the Mountain Province the priest has usually met with the sympathy of the natives. During the Philippine Revolution against Spain, when Spanish friars were taken into custody by the

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The duty of headhunting has perforce to fall into desuetude, as the vigilance of the authorities prevents it from being practised, at least on a large scale. With reference to isolated cases, which do not fail at times to appear sporadically, the guilty parties rarely escape due punishment, as the Isneg live too much in very small scattered communities to be able to hide them successfully. The older people still foster the desire of freedom in their hearts of course, but the younger generation will little by little forget all about it, and the usual ceremonies, although persevering in the form of superstitions, will very soon have lost their significance. Enough already has been said about this, and it is needless to repeat it all over again.

In the question of obedience and respect due to parents and elders, the Isneg usually conform with their teaching on the subject, and the same may be said with reference to loyalty either to friends or to people who are not at enmity with them. Downright disobedience is really very rare, even in the case of grown-up boys and girls, and respect for older people perseveres all through life. A few isolated cases may be encountered occasionally, but they are certainly the exception. Actually of course the same loyalty cannot always be observed as before, namely participation in headhunting expeditions and so on, and now and then a few members of the younger generation will even stand by the Government against malefactors of their own people; but in general it may be said that respect for the law has not yet attained such an ascendency as to cause an Isneg to be a traitor to his friends.

The practice of revenge has also necessarily suffered an important transformation. The duty of revenge remains intact though, and it

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628 is rarely abandoned, whether in small matters among youngsters, or
183 in graver matters among adults; but in the latter case nowadays it
mostly takes the form of a lawsuit entered at court. One exception,
178 however is to be noticed: the practice of sacking the houses of special
offenders is still faithfully adhered to all over Apayaw. Revenge is
exceedingly sweet to an Isneg and it is not easily superseded by the
law of charity: indeed the Isneg sucks it in with his mother's milk
and his whole life is still intimately pervaded by the fragrance of
old and glorious traditions. And so also the Isneg in general, whether
small children or grown-up persons, rarely abandon a quarrel in
which the right is on their side, for fear of having the epithet of
coward thrown at their head. Peace continues to be an unknown
entity as long as an Isneg thinks it his duty to leave it in the back-
ground.

578 Nevertheless when two Isneg have become estranged from one an-
183 other, one or both of them will occasionally try to adjust the matter
amicably, but in such a way as to preclude all possible risk of being
shamed or of being considered as acting through fear or cowardice.
Anegalukkáp (a kind of herb or grass), kept in the palm of one of
your hands when you are likely to meet your opponent, is an in-
fallible means to allay his wrath and to change his hate into amity.
[431] Once reconciled to your enemy, the best way to settle the matter
definitively and to render the ensuing friendship durable is to make
him some present: a jar, a headax, or anything you suppose will
prove acceptable to him. Such a gift is called *paleték*.

577 The practice of gratitude, generosity and hospitality is generally
576 fairly concordant with Isneg theory, but, as has been stated repeat-
574 edly, the Isneg code does not seem to impose any of these social
183 virtues in a very marked degree. It is very hard, for instance, to
translate the expression "thank you" in Isneg, as they possess no
term that might be considered as more or less its equivalent.

183 Here I shall cite a case in which at first sight practice flagrantly
contradicts Isneg theory in every respect. The incident happened
574 in March 1927, when a captain of the Constabulary, several soldiers
and a few civilians, including myself, were on their way to Abra.
577 We had finished ascending the Dagara river and were dropping into
Abra, when night overtook us at the settlement of Anayan. Fore-
seeing that our provisions would not last until the end of the journey,
the captain requested the Anayan men, who entirely depend on
Apayaw for their daily sustenance, to sell us a small quantity of

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Not so long ago I opened two dormitories for High School students, one for boys and one for girls. These young people came here directly from their villages, for the most part without having received as yet any serious Christian instruction. Since that time I have been inclined more than once to stop the whole affair; at any rate I shall certainly never again accept them indiscriminately. If I had to watch them strictly only on one side, it would not be so bad; but when even some of the girls have to be kept under close surveillance, the situation becomes almost intolerable. The dormitories had barely been started, when I had to expel one boy and one girl: it was not simply a matter of the boy writing love letters, with the girl answering them; but he openly proposed in writing to sleep with her, and the girl consented, also in writing, and gave a date for their future meeting.

Recently one of the girls from the girls' dormitory told me that, at the time she was still studying in her home village, a few of her classmates had absolutely refused to study the prayers (to prepare for baptism), and this for the following reason: "If we were Christians we should not be allowed any more to sleep with the boys at night [using each other's arm for a pillow; not: performing coitus], and this we cannot endure". The last part of this sentence is here put down textually, just as I heard it.

Coeducation which obtains in the public schools helps not a little to take away the small restraint that native Isneg teaching may have produced, and the example of persons who should show them better ways is sometimes far from being an aid to our frail young people on the arduous path of purity and chastity.

Nevertheless children born out of wedlock are the exception. How can we explain this? There is no question of contraceptive measures or voluntary abortion as far as I know, so the reason has to be found elsewhere. This state of affairs may be explained either by the practice of solitary vice or by marriage subsequent on the pregnancy of the girl in every case. Now the latter explanation is in my opinion more often concordant with the actual facts than the former. The boys go to *mamabdy* (court the girls) early in life, and they may have had sex relations very often before the dreaded result occurred. Besides Isneg boys and girls marry very early, and they are allowed to sleep together as soon as they are engaged, so that it is an easy matter to arrange everything in such a way as not to cause the child to be considered as born out of wedlock. Public education as it is in

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183 178 177 vogue here now tends to retard marriage; but its introduction is still too recent and it is still too much the privilege of the few, to be able sensibly to affect the standard of morality among our Isneg.

837 183 184 As to conjugal fidelity, it may be said that an unfaithful wife is the exception among the Isneg; but with reference to the men, the situation is not so bright. Even polygyny is not always sufficient to put a curb to the husband's license: indeed only the rich can afford to take more than one wife, and these at the same time usually enjoy the greatest freedom on account of their wealth and social influence.

577 183 171 836 To sum up the situation, it may be said that open immorality and indecency is much less frequent among the Isneg than among several other Mountain tribes, but, although more or less well concealed, loose morals are rather the rule than the exception among young unmarried people, and among married people the state of affairs leaves much to be desired. "Doing that which may make a girl pregnant" is not what the Isneg abhors, but "making a girl actually pregnant".

577 183 685 858 867 With reference to honesty, the Isneg generally observes the rules laid down by his own code, and transgressions are rare. Isneg thieves are not at all common, and downright robbery, even from the Ibanag or the *idammán* (enemies of his own tribe), is a rare occurrence. This is true of children as well as of adults, although the former may occasionally try to pilfer fruits or other eatables, in which, nevertheless, they are never encouraged by their elders, who rarely fail to scold them and even to punish them.

577 867 158 183 811 Truthfulness also is quite ordinary among adult Isneg, but many youngsters need frequent correction on the subject. In this connection, however, we should bear in mind the existence of two inveterate habits not only among the Isneg, but also among the generality of Malays with whom I have come in contact. And first, whenever he is caught at something that might elicit from you even the smallest reprimand, he has always an excuse ready at the tip of his tongue, and any excuse will do, however preposterous it may be; he never reasons about it, the truth is not what he aims at, but the plain presentation of an excuse, be it real or imaginary. These people are certainly experts in that line.

577 158 183 811 Just to give a few examples. One day I was very much astonished to find that all my bananas had disappeared, although they were carefully stored away in a closed press, so I suspected, and not without reason, that one of my Isneg boys had found them to his taste. At the first occasion I bluntly asked the fellow what had happened to

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and, if they consider them to be as valuable as that, it is their own business after all. The same may be said with reference to the beads: a single one, if very valuable in the eyes of the natives, may command the price of a carabao or water buffalo, from thirty to fifty dollars, while other ones may be had almost for the asking.

All these jars are earthenware of Chinese make, imported from China long before the arrival of the Spaniards; consequently antiquity is an important item in the estimation of their value. Jars that have been imported recently usually command a much lower price. A great many of the beads also antedate the coming of the Spaniards and were also originally imported from China. Actually, however, beads of all kinds have been put on the market and their origin is very often shrouded in mystery. Isneg plates are all made of coarse earthenware and have mostly been introduced from China; but, although most of them date from comparatively recent times, they are still of the same kind, shape, color and composition as those they have replaced, as may be proved by fragments occasionally unearthed in places formerly inhabited by Isneg. These people certainly hold fast to their old ways and customs; modern crockery is not to their taste. As the Isneg do not weave their own clothes, the latter have of necessity to be bought from outsiders.

During the *amómān* it is also decided whether the boy has to stay with his parents-in-law or not, and for how long in case he has to do so, which is the customary way. The number of years varies very much, as some stay three years, others from five to ten, and even in a few cases the husband never goes back to the house of his own parents.

No really important business can be transacted, of course, among the Isneg, without remembering the cravings of the stomach. In the ordinary course of events one or more pigs are slaughtered according to the social standing of the girl's parents. If they are too poor to indulge in such prodigality, a chicken will do. In both cases a dog may complete the menu, although this is not absolutely required. No special name is given to the killing and consuming of the chicken; but if one or more pigs enter the lists, the whole ceremony is called *pildáp*. Nevertheless in a few isolated cases, when the people are much too poor, the banquet is completely left out, and the deliberations are conducted on empty stomachs.

All during the *amómān* the men conduct everything that is connected with the *pildáp*. The *dorarákit* or shamaness does not interfere in the least.

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whenever possible the dead body of an adult is forcibly confined to the grave after one or two nights (night of burial always included). Occasionally in some out-of-the-way places, the Isneg may stick to their old custom or at least to the modified one, but this becomes rarer and rarer every day. Children are usually interred after one or two nights according to age and size (Abbil, Musimut, Bolo, etc.), so that in many cases a child who dies in the morning is buried in the evening of the same day.

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And now we come to the digging of the grave. The grave consists of a hole in the ground, large enough to contain the coffined body, but usually not as deep as is actually required by law (1½ meters). This is always begun by a woman (*maḥusim*) who may be a shamaness or not. This operation, however, is rather ceremonial than practical, as immediately afterwards men do the real work. If jars have to be buried together with the coffined body, a special round hole is dug near the ordinary grave, in such a way as to have the buried jars situated at the right of the dead man's body, near the place of his head if the body is lying down. When digging a hole in the ground, the Isneg use the *sáwit* or blunt point at the back of a headax, or any other instrument, to loosen the earth, and an old basket or a coconut shell (in the case of digging a grave, usually the former), to extract the loose earth and throw it out. For the rest, no definite orientation of grave or body is required, and anybody is allowed to dig the grave, as well as to carry the body and to cover it with earth: there are no persons specifically designated for these purposes. In no case are children allowed to stay near a tomb in which a body has been buried recently (*lábūg*).

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Among the Kankanay, young men vie with each other to carry the body of a rich person to its last resting place, as they believe that, if the matter which exudes from the decomposed body (*deń* in Kankanay, pronounced like English "dung") trickles upon their own, they also will be blessed by this world's goods. No such belief exists among the Isneg.

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Formerly the grave was always dug under the house, and if the gravediggers happened to open a *lúbo-*, a grave already occupied, the lately deceased person was simply interred over the remains of the one in possession. This particular selection of the site for a grave gave rise, as was told me by the natives themselves, to the custom of the Isneg, which obtains to this day, of definitively stopping their work at a new house, and of going to choose some other place for the erec-

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764 tion of the same, whenever a *labág* bird passes under (*magsilpát*)
178 the building: indeed, they believe that, if they continued to build
787 the house on that particular spot, one or more of the inmates would certainly die.

764 Nowadays the authorities insist on burial in common graveyards,
177 set aside for the purpose and situated outside and away from the settlement. Although this ordinance is still occasionally evaded, it becomes harder and harder to do so, on account of the presence of sanitary inspectors in every municipal district; and so the Isneg have gradually accommodated themselves to circumstances, as will be explained more fully when treating of the decoration of the tomb.

764 At the time set for the funeral, in the evening, the coffin (or lower part of a jar) containing its precious burden, is carried to the grave (*itamán;* sometimes pronounced *itanám;* in Ilоko: *itanćm*). If the body has to be coffined at the grave, it is carried on the *tádag* or bier. Actually, when the body is interred in the graveyard, the funeral takes place in the daytime, and any time of the day will do.

Before and after the body is laid or set to rest, a good many rites and ceremonies take place, and these I shall try to describe with as much order and accuracy as possible.

The position of the body in the tomb is the same as that of the *innát* in the house, at the time it was coffined: if the latter was stretched out at full length or otherwise laid on its back, the body in the grave will rest supine; if the *innát* was kept in a sitting or squatting posture, the corpse will be placed that way in the grave, its head remaining uppermost.

And now as to the *tanád* or objects that are interred together with the body, and which are believed to be used by the *kadudúwá* of the deceased in the realm of the dead. Some of them are always present, others only occasionally.

The following objects are never lacking:

A *tariyáw* (a piece of earthenware, plate or cup), containing a certain amount of cooked rice;

Some viands usually wrapped up in one or more leaves;

A receptacle (any kind) containing some water;

A bundles of clothes;

An *aliwá* or headax, in the case of a man; an *ikó* knife, in the case of a woman;

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SCHEMA II

Passing the mountains between Bayag and Kabugaw

(B) Bayag:	*makbisi-*	*agoxúp*	*xoxó*
(M) Dangla:	*magbisi-*	*ayoúp*[5]	*oó*
(M) Kabugaw:	*magbisi-*	*axoúp*	*oó*
(M) Tawit:	*magbisi*	*axoúp*[4]	*oó*

In this connection I should like to warn the reader that the text of a given informant does not always and in every particular render faithfully his own special dialect or branch of a dialect, and this for the following reasons:

1. On the part of the informant:

Communication between the different parts of the subprovince is increasing at a rapid pace; and so, except for old women (who are rarely available informants for investigators) and a few exceptionally backward persons (from whom no reliable information can be obtained), the Isneg tends to adopt, at least occasionally, a pronunciation which is not strictly his own. At first, marriage and marriage ceremonies were almost the only means of bringing together persons who pronounced their gutturals in a different way. Later on, however, more extensive travelling brought male representatives of every district into contact with one another. This was mostly due to the gradual elimination of headhunting raids and, although in a less marked degree, to the building of better roads. Now again, with the opening of schools in the larger centers and the introduction of compulsory education, boys and girls flock together from all parts of the subprovince, and differences in pronunciation tend to become obliterated, or rather, the language actually spoken by most of them offers to the ear a confused medley of gutturals.

Besides, an educated Isneg, and, incidentally, a good many others who can lay no claim to education, very often affect the use of Iloko words and sentences, pronounced as in Iloko (*x* none, glottal catch rare), or at least affect the pronunciation of the gutturals as in Iloko, although using pure Isneg words.

[5] This is the *y* of the Anthropos alphabet. For the sake of uniformity, however, and to avoid confusion (as we use the sign *y* for another consonant), we always write *x* for all texts in M of the O dialect, even for those that originated in Dangla and surrounding villages.

000 in these jars, together with the beads. The[1] jars are
523 valued up to ₱200 and bead up to ₱150 each. They
[435] are usually inherited in the family as marriage dow-
[43] ries; but may be received as indemnity for injuries.
[425] Sometimes labels, in the ancient script, are chiseled
[583] on these jars. According to authorities, when the
[681] people came here, they had a high culture and read
212 and wrote fluently in the script; but this culture grad-
178 ually lessened from disuse until now there are only
523 a few treasured ancient manuscripts remaining.

415 One type of basket is used. The lip is circuar-
285 formed on rattan. The bottom is drawn out to four corners on which is secured a rattan base. Both wicker and twilled basket weaves are used, and the best ones are ornamented with colored lines and conventional designs. These baskets are woven in different sizes to fit various needs; so that a good housewife has a whole set of them which will nest together There are also some especially shaped baskets for particular uses.

415 At meal time the cooked rice is ladled out on new
264 banana leaves placed on the floor, and the other food may be placed in polished, half-coconut shells. These are also used as water cups, finger bowls, and general containers. The family squat around and help themselves to the food. Their fingers are washed and, being more convenient, are used in place of forks.

262 The rice has a pinkish hue, is sticky, has a good flavor, and is the basic food of the people. With this may be eaten portions of the flesh of fish, shrimp, snails, crabs, crocodiles, lizards, frogs, ants, chickens, 000 birds, or deer. The vegetables may be: tomatoes, egg-

[1] [ancient Chinese -- ANALYST]

FOLKLORE

Folklore is the fabric upon which the people 121
weave the pattern of their future. It is woven from materials composed of the religious beliefs, customs, habits, and daily life of the people. If these are changed by migration, borrowing from other people, or by internal alteration, the result is a different culture in the future.

If one were to make a complete collection of all the folklore of the people during their varied life, he would have the basic material for a cultural history of that people. For folklore has also sometimes been called the vine that clings to the crumbling ruins of man's progress upward.

The culture of the Apayaos has remained much 178
the same during many long centuries: there has been 121
little progress upward. Thus the interesting old vine has been growing and expanding. If you look at it carefully, you will observe much of the culture of these people.

The Apayao people tell their stories in two ways. 538
The short way is used at such times as when they hap- 517
pen to meet together, perchance on the trail, or are resting for a while. It is a simple narration of events.

The long way is used when time hangs rather heavily during the confinement of the torrential rains. or in the long evenings. These story hours are much enjoyed and are the principal amusement of the people. An old woman or man, steeped in the lore of the past, 538
makes the best story teller. He spins out his tale using a certain pleasing tune, *sanimela*, which at times

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In a certain place, not so long ago, they had a teacher whose moral conduct was, to say the least, rather objectionable. When policemen raided the houses of the Isneg in order to hunt up all children of school age, several Isneg parents bluntly told them that they would gladly send their sons, but with reference to their daughters, as long as that teacher remained in charge, never; and they were perfectly right. That man has since been dismissed from the service.

A few defects, which will be recorded in due time, occasionally mar the picture of Isneg family life; but on the whole, it must be said that the Isneg commonly live up to their comparatively high standards with regard to this most important unit of society. Nevertheless the whole life of the Isneg, from the cradle to the grave, is dominated by the fear of the spirits; superstition, magic and spirit worship are inextricably interwoven with their whole life. If a Caucasian or, to take an example from people born, living and dying in the same surroundings, a Negrito had to live under such a continual fear of the supernatural and to comply with such a large number of practices in order to propitiate higher beings or to elude their malevolent intentions, I think his life would be simply miserable. The Isneg, however, do not seem to mind, and although always on the lookout for disagreeable interventions from above, they live a life free of care and are never anxious about the future. They rarely concern themselves with what the next day might bring them, and live happy and content if to-day their immediate wants are provided for: to-morrow will take care of itself.

This seeming contradiction pervades their whole life. On the one hand, they have to take innumerable precautions for the future with regard to superior beings. On the other hand, they do not seem to care a jot for the days to come even with reference to such essential needs as food and raiment. The solution of this apparent puzzle seems to me to be found in the fact that the Isneg do conscientiously every day what they think they have to do and leave the rest to fate. With reference to the supernatural, if they take all possible means to propitiate the spirits, and disregard no taboos, and so on, they feel assured that nothing untoward will happen to them on the part of the spirits. With reference to daily sustenance and the rest, they feel no such assurance, as they know by practical experience that they cannot control the forces of nature, rain, storms, the growth of plants, etc. By strictly observing all injunctions of the shamans and all traditional rites and practices, they believe it possible to control the

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181 supernatural for the time to come. Nature, however, is not theirs
771 to direct; they know this all too well, and so why bother about the
189 future. Besides, there will always be something to eat, there is no
152 winter in the tropics, vegetation is luxuriant, and the Isneg are not
777 particular. Nature is ruled by the supernatural, not by human beings. All the latter can do is to influence the supernatural. Man has no direct control over rain and sunshine, sickness and death, but the spirits have; and these have to be moved to pity or to be frightened into submission, as the case may be.

753 An Isneg will say: "What is the use of medicine? If it has been
181 decreed that a person will die, he will do so, medicines or no medi-
777 cines". But nevertheless he will comply with all possible prescrip-
152 tions of the shaman, and if the person dies notwithstanding all
771 precautions have been taken to protect him from the spirits, then: "It was his fate", and that ends the matter.

777 If the locusts are devastating the fields, an Isneg will resign himself
181 to his fate. He has worked diligently, he has observed all possible
152 omens and has broken no taboos; why should he worry, why should
731 he try to destroy these pests. The Government will force him to do
177 so of course, and he will obey as long as he remains under the eagle eye of his rulers, but he will say: "What is the use; if we destroy these, others will take their place, provided it be decreed that way: and if not, it is perfectly useless to tire ourselves for nothing".

777 Such and similar states of mind are not confined to the Isneg. I
181 remember very well how on a certain occasion, in 1914, I was assisting
152 an Iloko Christian on his deathbed. Wanting to impress upon him
771 the great necessity of a deep sorrow for his sins, I described to him
177 as vividly as possible the horrors of hell, and told him how anxious he
781 should be to avoid an eternity of such pains and torments; but his only answer was an act of absolute conformity to the Divine Will: "If God wants me to go to hell, I am perfectly willing". And that man was far from wanting to be disrespectful to the Deity; his words simply illustrated how little he cared about what the future had in store for him. Pagan Isneg lay the blame for every untoward happening, either merely on fate, or on the intervention of some ill-intentioned imp, while a happy turn of events is usually considered to be the result either of fate pure and simple, or of some special clever means by which the machinations of the spirits have been counteracted. Nowadays the Government, the Ibanag as they call all Christians, has generally to bear the blame of any public calamity

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that may occur, as it is the ultimate cause of the anger of the spirits, who are deprived of their usual offerings through the abolition of headhunting.

But let us come back to our original purpose of describing the Isneg life cycle, and leave those digressions about fate and spirits for some other time. I shall first treat birth; second, education and home life; third, marriage; and fourth, death and burial.

I. Birth and Infancy

The birth of a child is as a matter of course a very important event, not only for the individual in question, but also for everybody concerned. Any addition to the household is hailed with delight by each and every member of the family, and children are considered as a very precious asset by all Isneg. Some five years ago, at the very beginning of my residence among the Isneg, while I was chatting one day with the justice of the peace of Kabugaw at the latter's house, an Isneg woman came to see him in order to ask him to allow her to divorce her husband. When the judge remonstrated and tried to convince her not to resort to such a drastic procedure, by describing its bad effects more especially on her own self, the woman merely replied that she could stand anything from now on, as during her short married life she had been given "gain" (she used the Spanish term *ganancia*); and when the judge asked her what kind of gain she meant, she merely showed him her child. While in the eyes of most persons a child would be an obstacle to the easy divorce of its parents, in the eyes of this Isneg mother, the child that had been given to her was considered as a treasure that would compensate all hardships incident on the separation from her husband.

A. Pregnancy and Gestation

In order to promote pregnancy, some married Isneg women buy what some of them call "medicine" either from the Christian Iloko or from other married people among their own tribe. This "medicine" usually consists of one or more kinds of herbs which are the secret of the seller. The buyer carries them on her body, tying them to her girdle in front, either above the right thigh or above the left one. The *ámanú-*, a herb that grows on trees, is chewed by Isneg women for the same purpose.

A kind of small herb, called *ûma-dá*, is occasionally used by Isneg women in order to stop bearing children. Somebody goes to the

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Isneg expressions referring to names and worthy of notice are the following:

kalóbaxán: a name that has the same ending as another one. *Magkalóbán*: to bear each a name with the same ending. For instance: *Balás, Kolás*; *Éba, Xawwá*; *Basán, Dawwán*; *Antóniyo, Ásiyo*, etc.

isáń and *ébăy*: familiar diminutive names for girls in general. Similar names are: in Iloko, *ínińi*; in Ibanag, *néne-* (probably from the Spanish *nene*, "baby, whether boy or girl").

Nicknames, as applied to one particular person, are used very sparingly among the Isneg. I know of only one case: a Lettuakan boy, called *Ásiyo* and baptized Pedro, is very generally called *Paláli* even by his own relatives. *Paláli* is the name of a tree, and also of its fruits, which are edible, but very sour.

The Isneg are not very good genealogists. It very often happens that a young man or an adult girl does not even know the name of one or more of their grandparents, especially if the latter died before their grandchild was born. When asked about such names, the Isneg who happens not to know them usually excuses his ignorance by saying: "*Akkáńko nasińán* (I did not see him or her)".

II. Education

It might be thought at first sight that the Isneg leads a very unhappy and miserable life, a life full of drudgery, a life devoid of all comforts and possessing only a minimum of pleasure. But when you come to consider him more intimately, to enter more deeply into the matter, it does not take long for you to be convinced of the contrary. Indeed, he has very few needs; it is comparatively easy, to quote Jerome K. Jerome in "Three Men in a Boat", for an Isneg "to have enough to eat and enough to wear, and a little more than enough to drink", and he has little work to do. Besides, look at the fine family life he is living: if he has a good diligent wife, and most Isneg women are like that, and plenty of children around, really his bliss exceeds all understanding, I mean the understanding of a Caucasian with his manifold cares and innumerable wants.

Again at first sight, it might seem that the children's education is reduced to the very minimum, or rather that the youngsters get no education at all, as everybody, not excepting the children, seems to shift for himself and to do as he pleases. One would be the more inclined to think so when comparing the Isneg with other primitive

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at night and that the owners had allowed him to do so. He immediately set out for Kabugaw, firmly intent in claiming his daughter back, and he only desisted from his purpose after he had been convinced that the rumor was entirely unfounded. On the other hand another Baliwanan girl was allowed to follow a Kagayan into another village and to live maritally with him for a certain period of time, after which she came back home.

Go to another near-by settlement: some parents object to their daughters going to school for reasons given in the introduction of this paper, while others allow them not only to go to school but even to live at the house of the teacher.

Let us pass over to Talifugu. A girl becomes pregnant, and the case is dropped. The same man, a Kagayan, deflowers another girl with the same result, and he is left no peace until he marries her.

At Dagara: a girl has the reputation, which I understand to be deserved, of being of very loose morals; she is left all liberty by her parents; while the generality of the Dagara girls behave as decently as anywhere else.

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I twice assisted at a small Isneg sacrifice, once at Ampaw and once at Abbil. In the former place, everything went on as if it were the most serious and most important act that could be performed by an Isneg: all details were attended to with the utmost earnestness and accuracy; while at Abbil, the whole ceremony seemed rather to be considered as an irksome duty: it looked like a joke when compared with the Ampaw case. It must be conceded that the Abbil people were more or less ill at ease on account of my presence; but I was equally present at Ampaw, and in the latter place I was even sitting much nearer the shaman than at Abbil, nevertheless the shaman and her helpers never flinched.

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I have little chance to read books on anthropology, but I understand it has been stated in some of them that primitives think in common, that among primitives every community has something like one mind for all individuals; how exactly the books express it I do not know, but I am sure that my readers who know about it, understand what I mean. Now, I know nothing at all from personal experience about primitives living in other parts of the world, but with reference to our Mountain people, whether Negritos or Malays, Kankanay or Isneg, I dare say that anybody who would pass a few weeks among them, would not have to take the trouble any more to form an opinion on the subject or to try to frame some theory, the

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156 truth would have been so patent that it would have thrust itself
184 upon him.

I must confess that I also had my prejudices, when I first came
181 to the Mountain Province of Luzon: I thought that primitives were
114 different, that they were not at all like other people I had met up till then, that you could not very well treat with them as with other normal human beings, that they were very unsophisticated. Well, I had scarcely been a week among the Kankanay, when my superior left me alone and in charge of the mission for a fortnight. He told me to buy all possible timber that the natives might bring for sale, with the help of the cook as interpreter, and, in order to induce them to bring plenty of it, to give them, besides the ordinary payment, a few leaves of tobacco gratis. Very soon two young men came along (probably they also thought that I was something different) and stated that they had timber for sale, that they had left it at the outskirts of the town and that they would bring it in if I wanted them to do so. I told them, of course I did. Then the rascals asked me for tobacco, and I gladly gave them a few leaves each. So they went . . . , and never came back . . . And I knew.

156 Yes, they are human beings just like you and me, and they are as
184 different from one another as you and I. The only thing that might
181 be conceded is that the members of each tribe wear a kind of uniform,
151 that is that they use the same kind or almost the same kind of clothes,
114 that you can usually see at first glance that a certain individual is an Isneg, although he be mixed with a thousand others who are not Isneg. But here the identity stops. I had much more difficulty at first in distinguishing one individual from another. In the beginning of my stay among the Kankanay, the latter looked almost all alike to me; I really thought that they were reduced to a few types and that all the others conformed to these few; and also in this I have been disillusioned. Besides, the same also obtains the other way. Primitives who first come in contact with a limited number of white men, generally experience the same difficulty when trying to distinguish them from one another. Here in Kabugaw I have been asked more than once if my assistant and I were brothers, even when we were sitting side by side, and although we do not resemble each other in the least, not even in the color of the hair, which in our case is very noticeable. Both of us have beards, and while my hair, well, turns grey, that of my assistant rivals the sun's rays in its bright golden color. There is nothing new under the sun.

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183 act against their own code: they had no duty of hospitality, generosity
574 or gratitude toward the Ibanag; they lied, because to tell the truth
152 would have redounded to their disadvantage, nay, to exceeding hard-
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577 to try to avoid by all possible means; they were excused from acknowl-
edging their deception, even after it had become patent and after
they had learned about the identity of their visitors, on account of
the shame which such an acknowledgment would have entailed.

171 This proves that it is sometimes very hard to understand the native's
577 position, and that one has to be careful not to judge him rashly.
His code is occasionally very different from ours; and so both his and
181 our point of view, although entirely opposite one to the other, may
sometimes be perfectly consistent. In the whole statement of this case
and in its explanation, I have not been trying to propound theories;
I have merely stated the facts and told the truth as it is, not
theoretically, but practically.

461 Isneg teaching with reference to diligence and love of work is
183 usually accepted in its completeness by the fair sex. One meets with
few downright lazy women in all Apayaw. But the males? As long
as they are children, all right, the parents are there to look after
that; but once they have grown up, especially once they are married,
I think that even the few duties imposed upon them by their own
code, are not always and universally complied with. The tropical
climate, prevalent malarial fevers, usual years of plenty, a most fertile
soil, forests abounding with deer, wild boars, bees, etc., besides timber,
rattan, edible fruits, and other vegetable products, the lack of means
of transportation, and so on, are not exactly inducements toward
activity and industriousness. Nevertheless the duties are, I repeat it,
so few, that it would be dangerous to qualify too great a number of
[171] men as transgressors of their own rules. Isneg adult men are usually
lazy, it is undeniable, but they appear so more especially when we
compare their behavior with that of other inhabitants of the Mountain
Province, who are either living in densely populated areas or leading
a precarious existence among rocks and cliffs. And so, even in this,
Isneg teaching might perhaps be said to be fairly successful.

[152] The apathetic character of the generality of the Isneg renders
compliance with several points of their moral code comparatively
183 easy; and so fits of anger and of jealousy, and boasting are not very
common. Talking about other people's defects in their absence is
577 almost as common among the Isneg as among other races: it breaks
626

APAYAO LIFE AND LEGENDS

THE PEOPLE OF APAYAO

WHEN you travel in the Philippines to the 131
northwesterly end of Luzon Island as far as Abulog; and then take a banca up the clear, warm waters of the Apayao River, as it meanders through dark tropical forests and amidst gorgeous mountains, you come into the lovely land of the Apayaos.

These virile people came here uncounted thou- 174
sands of years ago in two main migration waves; one- 144
the Indonesian-by way of Southeastern Asia; and the other-the Mongolian-by way of Central Asia. Here, in the northerly end of the Cordillera Central Mountains, these two waves converged, finding a new home with which they have ever since been well content. Their cultures amalgamated into a new one. Physically, the Indonesian strain dominated; but Mongoloid features of all the three short types are present, especially the short Mongol. According to the last cen- 161
sus they number 11,000.

You will like these people; for they are kindly, 181
hospitable, generous mountain lovers. They are high- 577
ly aesthetic in temperament, self-reliant, and honest. If perchance, you drop something, even money, on the trail, the finder will return it to you. They say that [586]
if a man steals, his wife will leave him: or, if they

181 or if they
152 acquire money unfairly and buy rice with it, the rice,
157 when eaten, will give them no strength. As born psy-
[577 chologists, they enjoy working on you so that you will
827] think and act as they desire. They like a practical
[522] joke even when it is on themselves. In fact, even accidents are taken as jokes and the one who has been injured is the one who laughs the hardest. When going through hardship, they show real endurance. Their code is to laugh and joke near the end just as if they had only awakened from a good sleep.

181 The Apayaos are courageous and lovers of free-
175 dom. The Spaniards never did conquer them, and even we Americans had a difficult time establishing our benevolent government. It was necessary to continue the military control for many years; and only in 1923 was civil government established. During the first part of the Japanese occupation, Apayao was a place of refuge for fleeing Americans and, after the fall of Corregidor, Cabugao was made the headquarters of the USAFFE of Northern Luzon. The Japanese did not establish themselves here in these mountain fastnesses until March, 1943. They did not find the people at all willing to collaborate and left in August, 1944. When the Americans returned, the Apayaos volunteered, almost to a man, to assist in defeating the Japanese. Many acted as "bolo men" without pay, and served as cargados, messengers and laborers. Thus they neglected even their farming, so that this year their crops are small.

101 These people call themselves *Isnegs* and are so known by the neighboring *Ibanags*, whose language is related to theirs. Probably they are called Apa-

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4. *Actual Moral Behavior*

And now I come to the consideration of Isneg practice as compared with theory. I always promise to be brief, but I rarely live up to my promises; so I shall see what I can do about it now.

The Isneg are far less fanatical in matters religious than, for instance, the Kankanay. Their religious practices are also comparatively few and far between, and the women usually play the most important rôle. A person who disobeys (*saúran*) any injunction of the shaman is not considered as being a traitor; he is mostly left to his own devices, although his disobedience is not exactly lauded as an act of virtue. Nevertheless not only the old women, but also the old men are usually very punctual in complying with all directions of the shaman and in observing whatever their religious convictions impose upon them. I purposely say "old" men and women, as among the younger generation, this respect for the heathen practices of their tribe seems to be on the wane. The influence of the schools which are supposed to be neutral, is a decided factor in this matter. The teachers, being Christians, have no sympathy with what they call the superstitions and ridiculous practices of the Isneg. Although perhaps they keep these sentiments to themselves during school hours, the sparseness of the population in a district where schoolboys and schoolgirls very often live far from the schoolhouse, forces many of the latter to remain in the immediate neighborhood of the teacher's house for five consecutive days every week, which necessarily allows the influence of the Christian schoolmaster to be very far-reaching.

Besides, Christians are entering Apayaw in large numbers every year, some to stay, others as transient guests. Since the country is practically pacified, nothing keeps them back any more, and so they also exert an undermining influence on all matters that relate to Isneg religion as such. This immigration coupled with Isneg temporary emigration, tends to teach the people the futility and even the error of their beliefs. Indeed an Isneg who enters the Iloko or Kagayan country, and stays there for a certain time, cannot fail to bring back a spirit of indifference with reference to his native religion.

It may be the place here to say a few words anent the relations of the Isneg with the Catholic missionary. In general it must be said that all over the Mountain Province the priest has usually met with the sympathy of the natives. During the Philippine Revolution against Spain, when Spanish friars were taken into custody by the

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insurgents, the Hapaw people (Ifugaw) hid their priest in the forest for a considerable time; and I am sure that our Negritos and Isneg would do the same to us if necessary. They are supposed to be inferior to the Christians in many respects, they themselves believe so, and the Christians do not fail to impress it upon their mind through word and deed: an Iloko or Kagayan has not respect for an Isneg, and again Iloko, Kagayan and Isneg oppress the Negrito whenever they can.

Now comes along a man who sympathizes with these pariahs, a man who understands them, a man who, although teaching a different religion, never ridicules them, a man who always puts them on the same level with other human beings, a man who is willing to live with them, to share their food and their mat, a man who learns their language and their customs, a man who takes their side even against the Christians when the latter are wrong: what can they feel but respect and even love for such an extraordinary being? Then add to this, in the case of the Isneg, their frequent intercourse with Christians and the patent superiority of the latter's civilization, which excites the ambition of the former, and it will not be wondered at that the priest and his religion are respected, that Isneg mothers bring their children for baptism just as the Christians do, that the Isneg youth wants to be instructed in Christian doctrine, and that Christianity is considered as the ultimate goal of a great number of Isneg young men and women.

Here among the Isneg I have never yet met with that strong opposition to baptism, which formerly was so very common among pagan Kankanay fathers and mothers in several of their villages, and if the inborn indolence of the Isneg could be done away with, all youngsters would be Christians within a very short time. In the case of old men and women, although they rarely object to Christianity as such, still they usually hold rather tenaciously to their traditional practices, which, however, does not prevent them at the same time from giving complete freedom to their offspring.

Last year at Namaltugan, two Christian Isneg intended to get married; when the groom firmly refused to have anything to do with native pagan customs, the relatives on both sides agreed to everything, except on the question of the payment that had to be given to the parents of the bride: on this they strongly insisted; it had nothing to do with religion, and so it had to be observed.

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In short, Isneg religious and magical practices are still firmly adhered to by the generality of old men and women, while with the younger set they tend to be considered as mere superstitions, that are observed more through fear than through conviction, just as among the Christian Iloko, many remnants of the old native religion are still to be found scattered all over the country in the form of superstitious practices. There can be no doubt about the fact that in Apayaw the way is open for the Christian religion to supplant the old native one: the former is considered as a step forward by almost every Isneg, and practically nobody objects to the young people embracing it; in fact, most of the old people themselves insist on having their children baptized and even instructed in the doctrine of the Christians.

The duty of headhunting has perforce to fall into desuetude, as the vigilance of the authorities prevents it from being practised, at least on a large scale. With reference to isolated cases, which do not fail at times to appear sporadically, the guilty parties rarely escape due punishment, as the Isneg live too much in very small scattered communities to be able to hide them successfully. The older people still foster the desire of freedom in their hearts of course, but the younger generation will little by little forget all about it, and the usual ceremonies, although persevering in the form of superstitions, will very soon have lost their significance. Enough already has been said about this, and it is needless to repeat it all over again.

In the question of obedience and respect due to parents and elders, the Isneg usually conform with their teaching on the subject, and the same may be said with reference to loyalty either to friends or to people who are not at enmity with them. Downright disobedience is really very rare, even in the case of grown-up boys and girls, and respect for older people perseveres all through life. A few isolated cases may be encountered occasionally, but they are certainly the exception. Actually of course the same loyalty cannot always be observed as before, namely participation in headhunting expeditions and so on, and now and then a few members of the younger generation will even stand by the Government against malefactors of their own people; but in general it may be said that respect for the law has not yet attained such an ascendency as to cause an Isneg to be a traitor to his friends.

The practice of revenge has also necessarily suffered an important transformation. The duty of revenge remains intact though, and it

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628 is rarely abandoned, whether in small matters among youngsters, or in graver matters among adults; but in the latter case nowadays it
• 183 mostly takes the form of a lawsuit entered at court. One exception,
178 however is to be noticed: the practice of sacking the houses of special offenders is still faithfully adhered to all over Apayaw. Revenge is exceedingly sweet to an Isneg and it is not easily superseded by the law of charity: indeed the Isneg sucks it in with his mother's milk and his whole life is still intimately pervaded by the fragrance of old and glorious traditions. And so also the Isneg in general, whether small children or grown-up persons, rarely abandon a quarrel in which the right is on their side, for fear of having the epithet of coward thrown at their head. Peace continues to be an unknown entity as long as an Isneg thinks it his duty to leave it in the background.

578 Nevertheless when two Isneg have become estranged from one an-
183 other, one or both of them will occasionally try to adjust the matter amicably, but in such a way as to preclude all possible risk of being shamed or of being considered as acting through fear or cowardice. *Anagalukkáp* (a kind of herb or grass), kept in the palm of one of your hands when you are likely to meet your opponent, is an infallible means to allay his wrath and to change his hate into amity.
[431] Once reconciled to your enemy, the best way to settle the matter definitively and to render the ensuing friendship durable is to make him some present: a jar, a headax, or anything you suppose will prove acceptable to him. Such a gift is called *palatád*.

577 The practice of gratitude, generosity and hospitality is generally
576 fairly concordant with Isneg theory, but, as has been stated repeat-
574 edly, the Isneg code does not seem to impose any of these social
183 virtues in a very marked degree. It is very hard, for instance, to translate the expression "thank you" in Isneg, as they possess no term that might be considered as more or less its equivalent.

183 Here I shall cite a case in which at first sight practice flagrantly
574 contradicts Isneg theory in every respect. The incident happened
577 in March 1927, when a captain of the Constabulary, several soldiers and a few civilians, including myself, were on their way to Abra. We had finished ascending the Dagara river and were dropping into Abra, when night overtook us at the settlement of Anayan. Foreseeing that our provisions would not last until the end of the journey, the captain requested the Anayan men, who entirely depend on Apayaw for their daily sustenance, to sell us a small quantity of

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rice, or if they so preferred, to give it to us with the condition that a similar amount would be given back to them on our return a few days later. The Anayan men denied, however, that they had any rice at all, and even after the soldiers had made our identity known to them, they still persevered in their denial and evidently were lying to us, as several receptacles, in the house of one of them, were found by the soldiers to be full of the requested cereal. This looked to everybody like a tremendous breach of hospitality and an enormous lack of generosity and gratitude, since the Anayan people are practically fed by Apayaw, the more so that on the next day we would have to do without our midday meal, after a march of six hours climbing and descending precipitous mountain sides, completely devoid of all vegetation, with a tropical sun burning over our heads.

Now let us look at this case the other way. At first all of us were complete strangers to the Anayan people (the captain did not wear any of the insignia of his rank); they were Isneg, we were Ibanag: and the latter are not renowned for honesty when dealing with the Isneg. What the Anayan people undoubtedly were thinking about the whole affair was something like this: "They will take our rice and say good-bye, and we shall never see them again", which would indeed very often have been the case under similar circumstances. Add to this that Anayan is a barren country; the people have to get their rice from Dagara, in Apayaw, at the cost of almost superhuman exertions: indeed they have to carry pitch pine and some other heavy commodities of little value over a long and hard mountain path, in order to trade them for that all-important cereal; consequently they rightly believe that rice is not something to be left at the mercy of the first adventurer who happens to come along.

But then, it may be asked, why did they persevere in their denial, even after they had learned about our identity, the more so that they also must have heard about the soldiers' detective work? Well, for no other reason than that they were ashamed: they were ashamed to acknowledge that they had told us a lie. And that this shame was a real excuse for them was afterwards acknowledged even by my companions. If it had been possible for them to find the means of presenting us with rice, without having to admit the deception they had been practising, for instance by going to borrow it from a neighboring settlement, they would most probably have done so. Shame is worse than anything to our people, as everybody here knows by practical experience. And so, after all, the Anayan Isneg did not

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183 act against their own code: they had no duty of hospitality, generosity
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183 usually accepted in its completeness by the fair sex. One meets few downright lazy women in all Apayaw. But the males? As long as they are children, all right, the parents are there to look after that; but once they have grown up, especially once they are married, I think that even the few duties imposed upon them by their own code, are not always and universally complied with. The tropical climate, prevalent malarial fevers, usual years of plenty, a most fertile soil, forests abounding with deer, wild boars, bees, etc., besides timber, rattan, edible fruits, and other vegetable products, the lack of means of transportation, and so on, are not exactly inducements toward activity and industriousness. Nevertheless the duties are, I repeat it, so few, that it would be dangerous to qualify too great a number of
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up a good many friendships, and it is the starting point of not a few quarrels among them. Voluntary talebearing, by which I mean here reporting to the interested person the gossip that somebody has spread about him, is, as far as I can judge about the matter, rather rare, at least among men.

Drunkenness is a vice that is mostly indulged in only at the time of some *sáy-ám* or other sacrifice, and this mostly by old men. Comparing their use of intoxicating drinks with what I have seen in civilized countries, I should say that the Isneg is a temperate man. Nevertheless theory is stricter than practice, except in the case of youth.

Three points are still to be considered now, namely: chastity, honesty and truthfulness.

And first as to chastity and the virtues related to it. Complete nudity is habitual among youngsters under six years of age; the little coat usually worn even by small boys, is not sufficiently long to cover them decently. Such nakedness is not considered shameful as long as the children are small; nevertheless there is some ground for concluding that it may have an effect upon sex behavior. Indeed small children are very after tickled (*magkurira-*, *kurirkán*) in order to cause them to laugh, and this tickling is very commonly practised on or near the genitals, not only by the parents, but also by young boys and girls; especially in the case of small boys, the principal use of their penis seems to be that of being fingered by every passer-by.

As soon as the child is able to lisp a few words, the pronunciation by the child of any obscene term that finds its way into the child's vocabulary is greeted with laughter; and if later on foul language is heard to proceed from the small boy's mouth, he is applauded for his cleverness instead of being chastised for his forwardness. Little girls are usually brought up in a less dirty atmosphere, as the mother takes care of them almost exclusively as soon as they are able to walk; but little or no separation of the sexes at night is insisted upon during the first years of the little Isneg's life.

Everything considered, the sight of nudity in both sexes, touching of one another's genitals without reproof, the early excitation of the boys' genitals through indecent handling by older children and adults, the use of dirty speech without the least restraint and almost with encouragement, all these combined can do nothing else but detract from the efficiency of subsequent teaching on sex morality. The existence of the term *kassár* seems to support my inference; *kassár*

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867 means "to suffer erection", and is used only of boys and girls who
831 have not yet attained the age of puberty; another term is in use for adults.

867 And so we have reached the period between the age at which the
834 little one wears lower garments for the first time and that of puberty. Formal teaching about the first elements of sex morality usually starts
291 about this time, and so little girls of this age are generally very modest, although boys are not so meticulous. Provided they are
858 circumcised, the latter do not mind very much exposing their naked
183 body, and even when as yet uncircumcised, there is no comparison between their behavior and that of their modest little sisters. For the rest much freedom still exists, as my reference to the special term just explained seems to indicate, so that it might be called a miracle if the youngsters live a chaste life once they have attained the age
[835] of puberty. Recently a young man of some eighteen years old was arrested for having violated his little sister who is barely six years old; he said he wanted "to try".

836 Grown-up girls are of course much better in this respect than boys,
183 and both sexes usually observe the laws of modesty that have been taught them by their parents according to the Isneg code; but in
577 general I think that the morals of young people are decidedly loose. *Magdaldallów* (joking one another, boys and girls), *magkabbál* (to
867 finger a girl's breasts; said only of boys), and similar terms, seem to indicate that the teaching of their elders is not very successful. Add to this that young men have free access at night to all houses where girls of marriageable age may be found, and it will not be wondered at that chastity is a rare flower among Isneg youth.

836 The fear of pregnancy and of its consequences is of course a great
183 deterrent to young people of both sexes, but, even leaving aside the question of self-pollution, simple fornication must not be so exceed-
867 ingly rare after all. It is true that my informants usually assure me that coitus is never practised among unengaged boys and girls of mature age; but this in my opinion cannot be accepted without a grain of salt. Indeed, the same men have also told me at first that continence is imposed upon engaged couples before their marriage, but I have learned since that the latter are free to sleep together as often as they wish even though none of the usual ceremonies has yet been performed,—and this I now know to be a universal custom all over Apayaw.

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Not so long ago I opened two dormitories for High School students, one for boys and one for girls. These young people came here directly from their villages, for the most part without having received as yet any serious Christian instruction. Since that time I have been inclined more than once to stop the whole affair; at any rate I shall certainly never again accept them indiscriminately. If I had to watch them strictly only on one side, it would not be so bad; but when even some of the girls have to be kept under close surveillance, the situation becomes almost intolerable. The dormitories had barely been started, when I had to expel one boy and one girl: it was not simply a matter of the boy writing love letters, with the girl answering them; but he openly proposed in writing to sleep with her, and the girl consented, also in writing, and gave a date for their future meeting.

Recently one of the girls from the girls' dormitory told me that, at the time she was still studying in her home village, a few of her classmates had absolutely refused to study the prayers (to prepare for baptism), and this for the following reason: "If we were Christians we should not be allowed any more to sleep with the boys at night [using each other's arm for a pillow; not: performing coitus], and this we cannot endure". The last part of this sentence is here put down textually, just as I heard it.

Coeducation which obtains in the public schools helps not a little to take away the small restraint that native Isneg teaching may have produced, and the example of persons who should show them better ways is sometimes far from being an aid to our frail young people on the arduous path of purity and chastity.

Nevertheless children born out of wedlock are the exception. How can we explain this? There is no question of contraceptive measures or voluntary abortion as far as I know, so the reason has to be found elsewhere. This state of affairs may be explained either by the practice of solitary vice or by marriage subsequent on the pregnancy of the girl in every case. Now the latter explanation is in my opinion more often concordant with the actual facts than the former. The boys go to *mamabdy* (court the girls) early in life, and they may have had sex relations very often before the dreaded result occurred. Besides Isneg boys and girls marry very early, and they are allowed to sleep together as soon as they are engaged, so that it is an easy matter to arrange everything in such a way as not to cause the child to be considered as born out of wedlock. Public education as it is in

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vogue here now tends to retard marriage; but its introduction is still too recent and it is still too much the privilege of the few, to be able sensibly to affect the standard of morality among our Isneg.

As to conjugal fidelity, it may be said that an unfaithful wife is the exception among the Isneg; but with reference to the men, the situation is not so bright. Even polygyny is not always sufficient to put a curb to the husband's license: indeed only the rich can afford to take more than one wife, and these at the same time usually enjoy the greatest freedom on account of their wealth and social influence.

To sum up the situation, it may be said that open immorality and indecency is much less frequent among the Isneg than among several other Mountain tribes, but, although more or less well concealed, loose morals are rather the rule than the exception among young unmarried people, and among married people the state of affairs leaves much to be desired. "Doing that which may make a girl pregnant" is not what the Isneg abhors, but "making a girl actually pregnant".

With reference to honesty, the Isneg generally observes the rules laid down by his own code, and transgressions are rare. Isneg thieves are not at all common, and downright robbery, even from the Ibanag or the *idammán* (enemies of his own tribe), is a rare occurrence. This is true of children as well as of adults, although the former may occasionally try to pilfer fruits or other eatables, in which, nevertheless, they are never encouraged by their elders, who rarely fail to scold them and even to punish them.

Truthfulness also is quite ordinary among adult Isneg, but many youngsters need frequent correction on the subject. In this connection, however, we should bear in mind the existence of two inveterate habits not only among the Isneg, but also among the generality of Malays with whom I have come in contact. And first, whenever he is caught at something that might elicit from you even the smallest reprimand, he has always an excuse ready at the tip of his tongue, and any excuse will do, however preposterous it may be; he never reasons about it, the truth is not what he aims at, but the plain presentation of an excuse, be it real or imaginary. These people are certainly experts in that line.

Just to give a few examples. One day I was very much astonished to find that all my bananas had disappeared, although they were carefully stored away in a closed press, so I suspected, and not without reason, that one of my Isneg boys had found them to his taste. At the first occasion I bluntly asked the fellow what had happened to

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my bananas, hoping in this way to catch him unaware, but as quick as lightning he retorted: "*Kinalbáw nāyá áto* (the dog ate them)". Now the poor boy never thought of the impossibility of that press being opened by a dog, and even in case it could have been done, of the improbability of a dog leaving the meat aside and choosing the bananas instead.

On another occasion I had observed that a kind Iloko lady had missed Mass on two consecutive Sundays; and so at our first meeting I made a little remark about the matter, but she was as quick as my Isneg boy in retorting: "I had my menses". This I merely answered with another question: "Twice a month?"

It may be hard indeed for any innocent person not to defend himself when he has been accused unjustly, but for an Isneg I think it would be simply heroic to keep silent after a reproof, even though it be slight and most amply deserved. And even when the unreasonableness of his excuse has been demonstrated to him, he must be a very dull fellow indeed if he will not immediately try another one, without even stopping to think whether it may not be as little acceptable as the one just rejected.

Another custom which very often makes abstraction of truth or error as we understand it is their manner of answering a question. No conscientious inquirer should ever forget that these people are in the habit of answering a question, not according to truth, but according to what they believe you except to hear from them. I would be the last to accuse them of wilful lying under the circumstances, and would much prefer to put the blame on their inborn desire to please you. This goes to show that one has to be very careful in proffering judgment on our Isneg, not only with reference to questions that may have been answered the wrong way, but also with reference to obedience in general to those precepts of their moral code that have to do with truthfulness and lying. The blame of the whole affair is very often to be laid, either on the inquirer himself who should know something about the mentality of this people, or on the courtesy of the latter: in this case they should be credited, not with the vice of lying, but with the social virtue of politeness.

A few Isneg expressions with a direct or indirect bearing on the education and home life of the child may here be appended:

Aydyam: Toy.

Lallupítan: Said of a child who cries for the smallest reason.

Dumdúm: Dull, unhandy at work. Also: dull at learning.

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From a Dangla informant:

Three kinds of sugar cane:

The *saxádaw*, which has a yellow skin;

The *lokóg*, with a dark-purple skin;

The *banótān*, with a reddish-brown skin.

Three kinds of bananas:

The *dokkasí*, which is a very large banana with a thick yellow skin;

The *parandn*, which is very small and has a thin yellow skin, its taste is more or less sour, and it grows in very large bunches;

The *lippokán* (Iloko: *alimúken*), a small egg-shaped banana with a thin greenish skin.

The terminal bud or cabbage (*baranibād*) of the fish-tail palm (*aníboń*, Caryota cumingii. Lodd.).

The *tobál* or soft meat of a sprouting coconut, lest the woman experience difficulty in giving birth to her child.

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From a Nagbabalayan informant:

Legs of a pig, for the same reason as in the case of the *tobál*.

It should be noted in this connection that taboos are not always universally observed all over the district of Apayaw. For instance, a certain article of food may be forbidden over a comparatively large area, while everywhere else such a taboo is unknown and consequently unobserved.

B. CHILDBIRTH AND POST-NATAL CARE

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A pregnant (*nabu-sit*; *bu-sit*, in Isneg, means "fetus"; *buksit*, in Iloko, means "belly, abdomen"; "fetus", in Iloko, is *sikúg*) woman goes about her ordinary duties up to the last moment. I have known a Kankanay woman who gave birth to her child while she was working in an irrigated rice field, and, although I know of no similar cases among the Isneg, it has been told me more than once that an Isneg mother could give birth to her child anywhere, even though walking and at work. On other occasions, while inquiring about their proper names, I was told that a woman who gave birth to a child in the bush, might call her child "Bush" (*sirát*); if she brought forth her offspring near some tree, the name of that particular tree might be given to the newborn babe. All this goes to prove that the intensive care taken by and for a future mother in more civilized areas is entirely absent and considered as quite superfluous among our sturdy mountaineers.

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Insiso (M), at Lukab: after Mr. Enciso, a municipal treasurer.
Kôner (M), at Nagbabalayan, at Ripang and at Tawit: after Mr. Norman G. Connor, the second lieutenant-governor of Apayaw.
Liñan (M), at Bolo: a soldier.
Makánas (M), at Bolo: a nurse.
Mina (M), a Bolo: formerly connected with the Bureau of Public Works.
Siddáyáw (M), at Nagbabalayan: soldier.
Tagubá (M), at Bolo and at Tawit: a nurse.

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Titles:

Bokonadôr (M), at Nagsimbanan: vaccinator (Spanish: *vacunador*).
Fôrman (M), at Bubulayan: the title by which the chief inspector of roads is known all over the district
Kábo (M), at Nagbabalayan: corporal (Spanish: *cabo*)
Meistará (F), at Abbil, at Maduang and at Kabetayan (Kabugaw): lady teacher (Spanish: *maestra*).

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Just to show how little the Isneg sometimes care for the kind of name that is given to their offspring, I merely mention here the name *Sentávo* (Spanish *centavo*, a copper coin worth one half cent), which is most certainly not a very precious one. You can meet a Mr. *Sentávo* at Madatag and one at Ampaw.

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In general it must be said that a definite set of names is the exclusive property of boys, and that another set is particular to girls. Nevertheless it may happen that a certain name is given to boys in some localities, while in others the same one is given to girls.

So we have *Asáp*, which is the name of three girls I know, one at Nagilian (Namaltugan), one at Madatag, and one at Alumani, while a Baliwanan boy is called by the same name.

Bañón: two girls: one at Magapta and one at Waga; a boy at Talifugu.

Éba: a girl at Lukab; a boy at Karagáwan.

Luwć-: a girl at Nagbabalayan; a boy at Lako.

Ósań: a girl at Nagilian (Namaltugan); a boy at Lukab.

Píli: a girl at Nagbabalayan; boy at Maduang.

At Nagbabalayan there is a man called *Báñan*, which is the name of the most popular heroine of Kankanay tales.

But such coincidences are of comparatively rare occurrence.

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And now I come to the question of changing the name given at birth. All over northern Luzon, among Christians as well as among pagans,

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462 The same may be said with reference to simple and ordinary carpentry, in which most all Isneg are more or less expert. Indeed
335 when there is question of building a new house, the whole agglomer-
868 ation is summoned to take part. Nevertheless one or more men, more skilled than the rest, usually take the lead, and others do what they are told; in the meanwhile the youngsters pick up whatever they can
462 according to each one's capacity of understanding and skill of hand.
285 Baskets are woven by the women, while the weaving of bownets
868 falls to the share of the men. In both cases young people learn the work merely by imitating what is done by their elders.

462 Perhaps the only kind of work that is performed among the Isneg
326 by special craftsmen, and not by everybody indifferently, is that of the blacksmith, and here again boys learn by imitation. While still
868 small, they merely go and look, but once they have attained their
184 tenth year or so, they help their elders and learn the profession through practice. This is the more easy, as such occupations are not monopolized by a few individuals in each agglomeration, but are professed by the whole settlement or at least by several families, in a very restricted number of places.

868 One subject in which a boy generally receives formal instruction, at least if he wants to learn it, is that of managing a boat, of handling an oar, a paddle and a pole: the father is the recognized teacher of his offspring in this respect; but the whole is of course limited almost exclusively to places that are situated along the Apayaw in its lower course. In a few other places, parents teach their children how to manage a raft, but such teaching is generally much less formal, at least when there is only question of crossing a stream or of travelling over parts of a river that are easy to pass, as most youngsters, girls not excluded, will have seen their elders at work, and will try to imitate them without the necessity of such teaching. An occasional plunge rarely does them any harm, as the majority swim like rats, and those who would not float in case of taking an involuntary bath usually do not take the risk of trying to manage any water craft without the help of others.

D. RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

771 And now we come to the fields of religion and morality, which, in the case of the Isneg, seem to have each their own rather well-defined sphere, without encroaching the one upon the other, at least in so far as morality is concerned with man's duties to his fellow men. Nevertheless generalities are of little or no value, so I shall try to give as

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855 comes for the boys to follow their father and for the girls to be left to her care. The best viands are always reserved for the little ones and dainties are stored away (*mazalúmid*) for their future use. If a child gets sick, the parents will do their utmost to relieve the little sufferer; and if it is its fate, as the Isneg put it, to die, its elders' lamentations will follow it to the grave.

731 In times of famine the children are of course the biggest sufferers, not that the Isneg does not share with them whatever food he can lay
858 hands on, but because growing boys and girls lack the sustenance they badly need at their age, which rarely fails to be followed by
597 results that affect them unfavorably for the rest of their life. I have heard once of a hard-pressed Isneg who sold a child for money: this is certainly a rare exception, and, as all circumstances are not known to me (I am not even sure that it was his own child), I am not free to pronounce judgment on the transaction. What I know is that the family by whom the child was adopted would certainly not cause it to regret its former life, as far as material advantages are concerned; nevertheless this is not a sufficient excuse for such an act.

855 It may be asked if families differ much in their solicitude for the
867 proper moral upbringing of children, if some families are more religious-minded than others, if some families are more concerned than
184 others in watching over their children and in safeguarding them in sex morality. What can I answer to such questions? I should like
124 to make the following invitation to my inquirers: let them choose a certain district of the United States, say in Kansas or in Indiana or in whatever state they prefer, a district where there are no densely populated sections and where some ten thousand people are scattered over a comparatively large area, and then let them tell me the result of their investigations among inhabitants of that district with reference to the above questions. I am sure that their task would not be easier or more difficult than mine, in order to give a satisfactory survey of the situation. Nevertheless I shall try to give a few concrete instances that have come to my personal notice and which I can recall just now, leaving aside the Kankanay, among whom I resided from 1909 to 1915, and confining myself exclusively to the Isneg, with whom I have been living since 1925.

855 Take the settlement of Baliwanan. A Baliwanan girl was living
184 with the family of my catechist at Kabugaw, where she took care of the children, washed the clothes, and did other little chores. On a
836 certain day somebody told her father that a boy had entered the house

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at night and that the owners had allowed him to do so. He immediately set out for Kabugaw, firmly intent in claiming his daughter back, and he only desisted from his purpose after he had been convinced that the rumor was entirely unfounded. On the other hand another Baliwanan girl was allowed to follow a Kagayan into another village and to live maritally with him for a certain period of time, after which she came back home.

Go to another near-by settlement: some parents object to their daughters going to school for reasons given in the introduction of this paper, while others allow them not only to go to school but even to live at the house of the teacher.

Let us pass over to Talifugu. A girl becomes pregnant, and the case is dropped. The same man, a Kagayan, deflowers another girl with the same result, and he is left no peace until he marries her.

At Dagara: a girl has the reputation, which I understand to be deserved, of being of very loose morals; she is left all liberty by her parents; while the generality of the Dagara girls behave as decently as anywhere else.

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I twice assisted at a small Isneg sacrifice, once at Ampaw and once at Abbil. In the former place, everything went on as if it were the most serious and most important act that could be performed by an Isneg: all details were attended to with the utmost earnestness and accuracy; while at Abbil, the whole ceremony seemed rather to be considered as an irksome duty: it looked like a joke when compared with the Ampaw case. It must be conceded that the Abbil people were more or less ill at ease on account of my presence; but I was equally present at Ampaw, and in the latter place I was even sitting much nearer the shaman than at Abbil, nevertheless the shaman and her helpers never flinched.

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I have little chance to read books on anthropology, but I understand it has been stated in some of them that primitives think in common, that among primitives every community has something like one mind for all individuals; how exactly the books express it I do not know, but I am sure that my readers who know about it, understand what I mean. Now, I know nothing at all from personal experience about primitives living in other parts of the world, but with reference to our Mountain people, whether Negritos or Malays, Kankanay or Isneg, I dare say that anybody who would pass a few weeks among them, would not have to take the trouble any more to form an opinion on the subject or to try to frame some theory, the

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156 truth would have been so patent that it would have thrust itself
184 upon him.

I must confess that I also had my prejudices, when I first came
181 to the Mountain Province of Luzon: I thought that primitives were
114 different, that they were not at all like other people I had met up till then, that you could not very well treat with them as with other normal human beings, that they were very unsophisticated. Well, I had scarcely been a week among the Kankanay, when my superior left me alone and in charge of the mission for a fortnight. He told me to buy all possible timber that the natives might bring for sale, with the help of the cook as interpreter, and, in order to induce them to bring plenty of it, to give them, besides the ordinary payment, a few leaves of tobacco gratis. Very soon two young men came along (probably they also thought that I was something different) and stated that they had timber for sale, that they had left it at the outskirts of the town and that they would bring it in if I wanted them to do so. I told them, of course I did. Then the rascals asked me for tobacco, and I gladly gave them a few leaves each. So they went . . . , and never came back . . . And I knew.

156 Yes, they are human beings just like you and me, and they are as
184 different from one another as you and I. The only thing that might
181 be conceded is that the members of each tribe wear a kind of uniform,
151 that is that they use the same kind or almost the same kind of clothes,
114 that you can usually see at first glance that a certain individual is an Isneg, although he be mixed with a thousand others who are not Isneg. But here the identity stops. I had much more difficulty at first in distinguishing one individual from another. In the beginning of my stay among the Kankanay, the latter looked almost all alike to me; I really thought that they were reduced to a few types and that all the others conformed to these few; and also in this I have been disillusioned. Besides, the same also obtains the other way. Primitives who first come in contact with a limited number of white men, generally experience the same difficulty when trying to distinguish them from one another. Here in Kabugaw I have been asked more than once if my assistant and I were brothers, even when we were sitting side by side, and although we do not resemble each other in the least, not even in the color of the hair, which in our case is very noticeable. Both of us have beards, and while my hair, well, turns grey, that of my assistant rivals the sun's rays in its bright-golden color. There is nothing new under the sun.

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4. *Actual Moral Behavior*

And now I come to the consideration of Isneg practice as compared with theory. I always promise to be brief, but I rarely live up to my promises; so I shall see what I can do about it now.

The Isneg are far less fanatical in matters religious than, for instance, the Kankanay. Their religious practices are also comparatively few and far between, and the women usually play the most important rôle. A person who disobeys (*saúran*) any injunction of the shaman is not considered as being a traitor; he is mostly left to his own devices, although his disobedience is not exactly lauded as an act of virtue. Nevertheless not only the old women, but also the old men are usually very punctual in complying with all directions of the shaman and in observing whatever their religious convictions impose upon them. I purposely say "old" men and women, as among the younger generation, this respect for the heathen practices of their tribe seems to be on the wane. The influence of the schools which are supposed to be neutral, is a decided factor in this matter. The teachers, being Christians, have no sympathy with what they call the superstitions and ridiculous practices of the Isneg. Although perhaps they keep these sentiments to themselves during school hours, the sparseness of the population in a district where schoolboys and schoolgirls very often live far from the schoolhouse, forces many of the latter to remain in the immediate neighborhood of the teacher's house for five consecutive days every week, which necessarily allows the influence of the Christian schoolmaster to be very far-reaching.

Besides, Christians are entering Apayaw in large numbers every year, some to stay, others as transient guests. Since the country is practically pacified, nothing keeps them back any more, and so they also exert an undermining influence on all matters that relate to Isneg religion as such. This immigration coupled with Isneg temporary emigration, tends to teach the people the futility and even the error of their beliefs. Indeed an Isneg who enters the Iloko or Kagayan country, and stays there for a certain time, cannot fail to bring back a spirit of indifference with reference to his native religion.

It may be the place here to say a few words anent the relations of the Isneg with the Catholic missionary. In general it must be said that all over the Mountain Province the priest has usually met with the sympathy of the natives. During the Philippine Revolution against Spain, when Spanish friars were taken into custody by the

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771 insurgents, the Hapaw people (Ifugaw) hid their priest in the forest
177 for a considerable time; and I am sure that our Negritos and Isneg
797 would do the same to us if necessary. They are supposed to be inferior to the Christians in many respects, they themselves believe so, and the Christians do not fail to impress it upon their mind through word and deed: an Iloko or Kagayan has not respect for an Isneg, and again Iloko, Kagayan and Isneg oppress the Negrito whenever they can.

Now comes along a man who sympathizes with these pariahs, a man who understands them, a man who, although teaching a different religion, never ridicules them, a man who always puts them on the same level with other human beings, a man who is willing to live with them, to share their food and their mat, a man who learns their language and their customs, a man who takes their side even against the Christians when the latter are wrong: what can they feel but respect and even love for such an extraordinary being? Then add to this, in the case of the Isneg, their frequent intercourse with Christians and the patent superiority of the latter's civilization, which excites the ambition of the former, and it will not be wondered at that the priest and his religion are respected, that Isneg mothers bring their children for baptism just as the Christians do, that the Isneg youth wants to be instructed in Christian doctrine, and that Christianity is considered as the ultimate goal of a great number of Isneg young men and women.

183 Here among the Isneg I have never yet met with that strong
788 opposition to baptism, which formerly was so very common among
171 pagan Kankanay fathers and mothers in several of their villages,
177 and if the inborn indolence of the Isneg could be done away with, all
797 youngsters would be Christians within a very short time. In the
771 case of old men and women, although they rarely object to Christian-
178 ity as such, still they usually hold rather tenaciously to their tradi-
184 tional practices, which, however, does not prevent them at the same time from giving complete freedom to their offspring.

585 Last year at Namaltugan, two Christian Isneg intended to get
583 married; when the groom firmly refused to have anything to do with
177 native pagan customs, the relatives on both sides agreed to everything,
178 except on the question of the payment that had to be given to the parents of the bride: on this they strongly insisted; it had nothing to do with religion, and so it had to be observed.
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In short, Isneg religious and magical practices are still firmly adhered to by the generality of old men and women, while with the younger set they tend to be considered as mere superstitions, that are observed more through fear than through conviction, just as among the Christian Iloko, many remnants of the old native religion are still to be found scattered all over the country in the form of superstitious practices. There can be no doubt about the fact that in Apayaw the way is open for the Christian religion to supplant the old native one: the former is considered as a step forward by almost every Isneg, and practically nobody objects to the young people embracing it; in fact, most of the old people themselves insist on having their children baptized and even instructed in the doctrine of the Christians.

The duty of headhunting has perforce to fall into desuetude, as the vigilance of the authorities prevents it from being practised, at least on a large scale. With reference to isolated cases, which do not fail at times to appear sporadically, the guilty parties rarely escape due punishment, as the Isneg live too much in very small scattered communities to be able to hide them successfully. The older people still foster the desire of freedom in their hearts of course, but the younger generation will little by little forget all about it, and the usual ceremonies, although persevering in the form of superstitions, will very soon have lost their significance. Enough already has been said about this, and it is needless to repeat it all over again.

In the question of obedience and respect due to parents and elders, the Isneg usually conform with their teaching on the subject, and the same may be said with reference to loyalty either to friends or to people who are not at enmity with them. Downright disobedience is really very rare, even in the case of grown-up boys and girls, and respect for older people perseveres all through life. A few isolated cases may be encountered occasionally, but they are certainly the exception. Actually of course the same loyalty cannot always be observed as before, namely participation in headhunting expeditions and so on, and now and then a few members of the younger generation will even stand by the Government against malefactors of their own people; but in general it may be said that respect for the law has not yet attained such an ascendency as to cause an Isneg to be a traitor to his friends.

The practice of revenge has also necessarily suffered an important transformation. The duty of revenge remains intact though, and it

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vogue here now tends to retard marriage; but its introduction is still too recent and it is still too much the privilege of the few, to be able sensibly to affect the standard of morality among our Isneg.

As to conjugal fidelity, it may be said that an unfaithful wife is the exception among the Isneg; but with reference to the men, the situation is not so bright. Even polygyny is not always sufficient to put a curb to the husband's license: indeed only the rich can afford to take more than one wife, and these at the same time usually enjoy the greatest freedom on account of their wealth and social influence.

To sum up the situation, it may be said that open immorality and indecency is much less frequent among the Isneg than among several other Mountain tribes, but, although more or less well concealed, loose morals are rather the rule than the exception among young unmarried people, and among married people the state of affairs leaves much to be desired. "Doing that which may make a girl pregnant" is not what the Isneg abhors, but "making a girl actually pregnant".

With reference to honesty, the Isneg generally observes the rules laid down by his own code, and transgressions are rare. Isneg thieves are not at all common, and downright robbery, even from the Ibanag or the *idammán* (enemies of his own tribe), is a rare occurrence. This is true of children as well as of adults, although the former may occasionally try to pilfer fruits or other eatables, in which, nevertheless, they are never encouraged by their elders, who rarely fail to scold them and even to punish them.

Truthfulness also is quite ordinary among adult Isneg, but many youngsters need frequent correction on the subject. In this connection, however, we should bear in mind the existence of two inveterate habits not only among the Isneg, but also among the generality of Malays with whom I have come in contact. And first, whenever he is caught at something that might elicit from you even the smallest reprimand, he has always an excuse ready at the tip of his tongue, and any excuse will do, however preposterous it may be; he never reasons about it, the truth is not what he aims at, but the plain presentation of an excuse, be it real or imaginary. These people are certainly experts in that line.

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fast is over,—or, if none of the above-named tubers are to be had, which is by far the most usual case, as soon as all limbs have been duly stretched out,—everyone turns to his occupations: the women mostly repair to their fields, and the men either go fishing or attend to some other kind of work that devolves upon them; a good many times, however, they simply do nothing.

About ten or eleven o'clock a. m., the Isneg take their first substantial meal: this has been prepared by the women, who usually come back a little earlier than the men, in case the latter have been out, and it is generally taken in common, the whole family squatting around the plates that are set out on some particular spot on the floor, not too far from the hearth. After that the men act in the same way as in the morning, while women either go back to the field or attend to the pounding of rice, the feeding of the pigs and other chores.

In the evening the second principal meal is cooked, and it is partaken of very often by the light of the flickering flames of the hearth, but never at a very late hour, as the Isneg goes to sleep almost with the chickens. When I say "goes to sleep", I do not of course mean "sleeps", as a comparatively long interval of time generally separates the two actions: this gap is filled in by story-telling and so on, while the young men roam around to see their sweethearts or to court the girls. When there is moonlight, the youngsters usually pass the first part of the night in romping and playing.

In a few families the first substantial meal is cooked and eaten in the morning, before the inmates of the house leave for their respective occupations; and then, cooked yams or sweet potatoes are occasionally partaken of at or about noon. Others again, instead of eating their first meal at home, take along some cooked provisions (*kupíl*; never *bálon*, "provisions of uncooked food"), and eat them at the place of their work.

Such is the Isneg daily life under ordinary circumstances. At the time of the year devoted to the preparation of the fields (clearing the forest and burning the grasses), the men very often start early in the morning, after breakfast, and come back only in the evening, when they partake of their last meal. The women rarely fail to come back more or less early in the afternoon in order to attend to their ordinary household duties.

Whenever the men intend to leave the house very early, whether to go to the field, or to start on a journey that will last for several days, the women arise long before daybreak, at the first crowing of the

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and the knees. Consequently the *mańlakkát* wears neither *badiyó* (jacket) nor *baxákat* (girdle), and the *laddóń* or headband has been replaced by the *sarikaw*, so that her hair hangs loose down her back. All this is done, according to the Isneg, lest the bride experience difficulty in giving birth to her children; the loose attire of the *mańlakkát* is supposed to have a magical influence on the deliveries of the future mother, so that they be accomplished with the utmost ease.

In some places the *mańlakkát* carries the bride on her back, not on her hip, all the way from the latter's house to that of the groom. Nevertheless if the distance is too great, she only carries the girl down the ladder of the house, and then puts her down, not to take her up again until they arrive at the boy's house, where she carries her up the ladder. When mounting the ladder, the *mańlakkát* has to skip one of the rungs, all the while carrying her burden. In most places she contents herself with carrying the bride up the ladder of the groom's house, skipping one of the rungs as usual. According to the Isneg, the reason of this action is the same as that given for the looseness of the *mańlakkát*'s apparel. In Kankanay folklore one occasionally hears a husband invite his wife, who experiences difficulty in giving birth to her child, to climb his back. In other places, however, at least at present, the *mańlakkát* merely escorts the bride, without carrying her even for a single moment; but her attire always remains the same scanty outfit just referred to, and she never carries any of the baskets filled with sweets.

This custom of carrying the bride all the way through is very generally observed at Bayag (G branch of *O* dialect), while at Baliwanan and Dangla (Main branch of *O* dialect), and at Musimut (K branch of *O* dialect), she is merely carried up the ladder of the boy's house. The latter eventuality is remembered by the Isneg to have happened once at Alumani (near Kabugaw; Main branch). This does not obtain, at least in every case, at Kumaw and Bolo (Main branch), at Abbil and Dibagat (G branch), and at Talifugu (*Bô* dialect).

As soon as the procession arrives at the house of the groom, where in the meanwhile the latter's relatives and many other people invited as guests have been gathering, a few important ceremonies take place. If some members of the girl's party are living near the house of the boy, and in this case only, they *magtaluńáb*, which means that they stop before the ladder of the house and forbid the bride to enter until the boy's parents have given them a present, which usually consists of a *xúsi* jar or of a few beads. After that the bride is

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is not even allowed to do that, but she has to satisfy the calls of nature inside, using some receptacle given her for the purpose.

In some places the widower (*bálo*) does the same at the death of his wife, and lives in an *aróboń* for the time being: such is the custom at Dangla, at Bolo, etc. At Bayag, it would be considered indecorous for a widower to imitate the women in this respect: there only the latter are bound to take up their temporary residence in an *aróboń*.

If the widow (or widower, where the same custom is observed by both men and women alike) is unwilling to live in an *aróboń*, she merely wraps herself up in a blanket, passing it over her head. This is called *maxubčban*, and the woman remains in the usual place near the corpse until one night after burial. Sometimes it may happen that widows or widowers refuse to submit to this ordeal, but they will in all cases be severely berated by the other relatives of the deceased. It should, however, be noted that, if they had little regard for the dead person during his lifetime, this ceremony may be dispensed with, without anybody taking much notice of the whole affair.

If the deceased was held in high esteem by his people, the other relatives remain at the other side of the corpse from the *aróboń* for the whole period that elapses between the dressing of the body and its burial, but they are not confined in an *aróboń*, and they are free to leave whenever necessary.

At Abbil (municipal district of Namaltugan) a widower usually goes to the river accompanied by one of his male relatives, on the morning of the day that follows the death of his wife. Once there his companion bores a small hole in the ground very near the water, and as soon as the hole is filled with water, the widower dips the little finger of his right hand into it. From this time on until the *obóbāt* ceremony (end of the mourning period), he is not allowed to take a bath. This ceremony, however, which is called *mamáwa*, is only performed by brave men, as a spirit is supposed to pursue the widower after he has dipped his finger into the water.

2. *Burial*

The coffin (*lońón*) is almost always made of ordinary boards, roughly hewn by means of a headax. Its size depends on the length of the body to be buried, and the boards are flat and oblong, except the two small ones at both ends, which are square or almost so; there are at least five of them, and in case the coffin has a lid, six. If the body was kept in a sitting posture after death, the coffin is much

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764 shorter of course, but it is also much deeper. The case of the jar coffin in use at Bayag has already been mentioned. At Bayag also, where timber is becoming relatively scarce, the coffin may be made of bamboo, and in some cases, pebbles from the river take the place of a regular coffin. These pebbles are arranged in such a way as to cover the body on all sides inside the grave, each board of a regular wooden coffin being replaced by a certain quantity of more or less flat pebbles placed side by side, horizontally for the bottom and the lid, if the last is desired, and upright for the other four.

[764] In the morning before burial, or a little later in the day in case of small children who are buried the night after their death, the body is placed in the coffin, in the same place and position which it occupied until then. The *tádag* or bier is simply removed and placed upright somewhere against the wall or thrown under the house. If the body was kept in a sitting posture after death, the coffin is placed [766] upright and the body is kept sitting. Occasionally, however, such a body may be laid down on its back and coffined as if it had been lying stretched out in its full length: this is what happened to Anton of Lettuakan, whose case has been mentioned before. In no case is a lid placed over the coffin inside the house. Even after the body has been placed in the coffin, the women's lamentations and the men's *bisndg* suffer no interruption: everything goes on as usual until the [766 funeral takes place. At Bayag the body remains as it is until burial; 184] it is coffined only when interred, which is obviously a necessity in the case of a coffin of pebbles, as the latter are always arranged inside the grave.

764 The period of time that elapses between death and burial is not the 766 same everywhere and for everybody, neither has it always been the same. In the past, when the Isneg were still their own masters, the *innát* of an adult was never buried before the fifth day after death; sometimes it took even six days before the body was considered sufficiently decomposed to allow of its interment. Actually strangers who know nothing about Isneg law or are bent on disregarding it, keep strict vigilance, and the length of the period has been greatly reduced. Consequently even the Isneg have accepted as the usual number of nights that should elapse between death and burial (which formerly was always performed at night) of an adult, three (Abbil, etc.) or from three to four (Musimut, Bolo, etc.), the night of burial included. But even this reduced number of nights, already accepted by Isneg custom, is not tolerated by the authorities, and

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whenever possible the dead body of an adult is forcibly confined to the grave after one or two nights (night of burial always included). Occasionally in some out-of-the-way places, the Isneg may stick to their old custom or at least to the modified one, but this becomes rarer and rarer every day. Children are usually interred after one or two nights according to age and size (Abbil, Musimut, Bolo, etc.), so that in many cases a child who dies in the morning is buried in the evening of the same day.

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And now we come to the digging of the grave. The grave consists of a hole in the ground, large enough to contain the coffined body, but usually not as deep as is actually required by law (1½ meters). This is always begun by a woman (*maúusim*) who may be a shamaness or not. This operation, however, is rather ceremonial than practical, as immediately afterwards men do the real work. If jars have to be buried together with the coffined body, a special round hole is dug near the ordinary grave, in such a way as to have the buried jars situated at the right of the dead man's body, near the place of his head if the body is lying down. When digging a hole in the ground, the Isneg use the *sáwit* or blunt point at the back of a headax, or any other instrument, to loosen the earth, and an old basket or a coconut shell (in the case of digging a grave, usually the former), to extract the loose earth and throw it out. For the rest, no definite orientation of grave or body is required, and anybody is allowed to dig the grave, as well as to carry the body and to cover it with earth: there are no persons specifically designated for these purposes. In no case are children allowed to stay near a tomb in which a body has been buried recently (*lábūg*).

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Among the Kankanay, young men vie with each other to carry the body of a rich person to its last resting place, as they believe that, if the matter which exudes from the decomposed body (*deń* in Kankanay, pronounced like English "dung") trickles upon their own, they also will be blessed by this world's goods. No such belief exists among the Isneg.

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Formerly the grave was always dug under the house, and if the gravediggers happened to open a *lúbo-*, a grave already occupied, the lately deceased person was simply interred over the remains of the one in possession. This particular selection of the site for a grave gave rise, as was told me by the natives themselves, to the custom of the Isneg, which obtains to this day, of definitively stopping their work at a new house, and of going to choose some other place for the erec-

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764 If buried under the house, a number of flat pebbles from the river are arranged all around the grave in such a way as to form the figure of a rectangle; the pebbles are stuck in the ground half-way and are placed erect, but lengthwise, so that the part that protrudes is about one half of the breadth of the pebble, not one half of its greatest length.

764 If the body is buried in a common graveyard, a small shed is erected over the tomb. This shed consists of four low posts, which support a sheet of bamboo roofing, more or less slanting to one side. Some- 349 times, although rarely, the shed is much more elaborate, and, besides four or six posts, there are present two or four tiebeams that connect the posts, and a regular gable roof covered with grass or bamboo; the walls and gables are open to all winds, however, and there is a floor. Once erected, these contrivances are usually left untouched until they fall in and their materials decay. In all probability, this counterpart of a hut is intended to replace the house that in former times always shielded a tomb from the inclemencies of the weather.

766 In Bayag, upon the grave of *Butit*, under a shed of the most elab- 184 orate type just described, the survivors had placed immediately over the place of the body, and seemingly covering it from head to foot, a contrivance of sticks and laths, which was an almost exact replica of the coffin-shaped device used in Catholic churches at services at which the body is absent. All around this wooden frame, several jars could be found, scattered at random, some of which were standing erect, at the time of my visit, others lying down, a few entire, others partially deteriorated. This is most certainly quite exceptional in Apayaw, as I never saw anything similar in any other graveyard.

3. After Burial till End of Mourning

765 When the funeral is over, the participants retire to a place a little distant from the house of the deceased, and from there the male relatives pelt the house with stones (*bumaláw*). This is done in order to drive away the spirits (*Bowá, Wirwér*, etc.) who might be lying in wait at the grave to rob it of its prey. This rite is not dispensed with even though the person be interred in a common graveyard and far away from the house, although in this case it seems to have lost all meaning; but the Isneg stick to their traditions. I confidently expect, however, that very soon they will find another reason for their action, and the throwing of stones will be explained as intended to drive away from the house either all spirits in general,

yaos after the principal river in their country. Some say the word Apayao was originated in their fierce battle cry *"Ma-ap-ay-ao."* During this call the hand is clapped rapidly over the mouth so that the cry sounds much like the American Indian war-whoop. This cry is also used at a feast: when a new visitor comes, when the basi is brought in, and when a pig is killed.

I will endeavor to describe, from personal observation of its still numerous cultural remains, something of the life of the Apayaos as it no doubt existed little changed during the long centuries during which their folktales were formed.

The life of these people has much to do with the streams of the country along which most of them live. They do not live on the river flats, but on the mountain sides for safety. Many of their communities are named after the streams near which they are located. A considerable part of the food is obtained from the streams; and they are used for washing, bathing and swimming, as well as for scenery. Much of the transportation is on the streams, and the men are expert boatma nand raftsmen. During the heavy rainy season transportation on swollen rivers is perilous; but it is carried on somewhat. The result is that many a banca has over-turned in the roaring rapids; much valuable merchandidse still lies in the deep pools at the feet of those rapids; and many of family mourns the loss of a loved one. Therefore stories of the streams often occur in the legends of the people.

The people on each stream were isolated from each other for many centuries so that there has come to be quite a difference in their customs and dialects.

834 women around, while the men are in bathing and swimming together, they keep thir private parts covered with one hand while they are out of the water.

186 476 342 Community spirit in a *barangay* is strong. They have common interests and often work together in exchange of labor, *pinta*. When one builds a house all the neighbors come and help, making a party of it.

417 628 648 676 672 721 Each *barangay* is surrounded by a heavy bamboo picket stockade. The bamboos are filled with small stones so they can not be easily cut away. A *barangay* has all the other *barangays* as enemies; but a peace-pact, *budong*, is often made between two of them. Peace-pact holders are appointed and held personally responsible that it is not broken. Each *barangay* is held accountable for the acts of any of its members. Then they are allies, helping each other in warfare and being mutually responsible for each other's property and personal safety. There is danger of forays at anytime from other barangays. So war is always imminent. There maybe old feuds to be settled and [554] deaths to be avenged. This is augmented by the fact that each warrior must take at least one head to establish himself, both in society and in the heart of the girl whom he desires.

HEAD HUNTING

721 411 726 When the demand either for revenge or for heads becomes strong, the *maingel* gives the order for a head hunting expedition to the enemy *barangay* selected. He will probably be the leader of the expedition. The warriors who are to go, prepare their weapons: shields, spears, and a special *aliwa*, which has the point on the cutting edge drawn out to make it more effective.

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Kalinga OA24
Bontok OA12
Igorot OA20

[For information pertaining to vocabulary words associated with house-building, structural parts of a house and granary, and for comparison of words and their derivation for Ifugao, Apayao, Kalinga, Bontoc, and Igorot, see 24:Scott, OA19 Ifugao, category 116, pp. 178-180, 183-190, 195-197, and 206-214.]

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is not exactly what is quite ordinary, immediately all sorts of questions are asked: Why? What is the matter? What is the meaning? What might it portend? What secret is hidden behind it? And so on.

Now the pagan Isneg are no better. They also will try to find some explanation different from the natural one for any event that does not look entirely ordinary to them. And so the birth of twins being a rather rare occurrence, there must be something the matter with it. Twins. Who ever heard of two children being born at once from one husband and one wife, without there being a secret behind the whole affair? Twins: this is far from common. And there you are; an explanation has to be found. Now there is one ready at hand, and to the Isneg mind a very reasonable one, it is not even necessary to enter into the realm of spirits: two children at once must be the product of two men; when one man who lives in bigamy begets two children simultaneously from two women, there are at least three authors, so now also these twins must be the offspring of three persons, —in this case of only one woman of course, and thus necessarily of two men.

Now what to do? Just kill one of them, put it out of the way, and so avoid the shame attached to the whole affair; kill all gossip in the bud. But is every child not welcome? Certainly it is, but a child has no business bringing a companion with it, and the joy of the parents will be complete with the single child; the other one, if alive, will not add to that joy, nor, if dead, detract from it. Here of course the husband is faced with a dilemma: either his wife is a virtuous woman or she is not; if she is, and maybe he knows her to be so, then how can she have a child by another man? If she is not, why does he not divorce her? Yes, but this dilemma does not confront the Isneg, his reasoning does not extend as far as that. If he knew his wife to have been unfaithful, that would be reason enough for him to divorce her without needing the birth of twins to convince him. Here he stands before an extraordinary event, the birth of twins; he has found an explanation for it: the action of a third person. This is a very shameful affair to both husband and wife, but he will eliminate all difficulties at once: one of the twins will be done away with. And there his reasoning stops, the incident is closed.

Here follow a few Isneg expressions with reference to little children:

Babbíń or *ababbíń*, when used by the parents: son, daughter, child.

Ababbíń, when used by the parents: sons, daughters, children.

Ababbíń, when used by other persons: little children not yet able or barely able to walk.

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104 *Aná-* (used only in G [B and/or A.—Ed.] branch of Ô dialect) or *an-aná-*, when used by the parents: son, daughter, child.
601 *Anánă-*, when used by the parents: sons, daughters, children.
192 *Anánă-*, when used by other persons: children up to the age of puberty.

Abbí-: very small babe.

Abbág: child. A term used contemptuously by older people.

Maxabilin: to watch the baby.

Magtaddáy: to try to stand without support, to learn how to walk. Said of little children.

Magkalúsig: to weep, to cry, when father or mother goes away. Said of little children.

Manaágói: to carry a child on the nape of one's neck, keeping the little one in a sitting position, its legs dangling in front, one on either side. An Isneg father often carries his baby that way, provided the latter has already attained a certain age.

Poñanán: to give to eat, to feed (human beings). To feed animals is *pakkanán*. Both from the stem *kăn* and the suffix *an*; only prefix differs: *pañ* (the *k* of the stem being eliminated) in the first case, *pa* (the *k* of the stem being reduplicated) in the second.

C. NAMES AND NAMING

553 Now we come to the giving of a name. It goes without saying that
551 among the Isneg, like among most primitive peoples, there is no question of a family name. Every man and woman, every body and girl, has his or her own personal name, and that is all. But what's in a name? To an Isneg the name of a person in a way stands for that person's own self; to call his name is to call the person in question.

And so when a child is repeatedly ill, which means "pestered by the spirits", the best way to cure it is to change its name, or, to use the Isneg expression, "to shift its name (*ialit ya ńázanna*)". Let the spirits amuse themselves with the old name, the child as it was formerly; as it is at present, with its new name, its new personality, the spirits will have to leave it in peace: they have been fooled once more by the cleverness of poor mortals, they will pester an old name, a lost personality, and use their evil influence in vain; the new child, the child with the new name, will escape unscathed.

551 Again, do not pronounce the name of a dead person, an Isneg
769 "takes pity on him (*alakkán*)"; leave him in peace where he is, do

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Another set of names has to do with certain happenings or other circumstances of time or place connected with the birth of a child, as has been hinted at before. For instance, when *Kábo*, a Nagbabalayan boy was born, it happened that one of the corporals (Spanish *cabo*) of the constabulary passed through that settlement at the time; and a boy who was born at Abbil while some people from Claveria were staying at his father's house, was called by the name of that town. But I do not believe this to be so exceedingly common,—at least actually, the more so that names with a known meaning are comparatively rare. I say "actually", because names that have no meaning at present may have had one before: the language of the Isneg has not remained stationary, any more than has that of other peoples. In Kankanay songs for instance, one encounters lots of antiquated words, some whose meaning is still known, although other terms have actually taken their place in popular language, and others whose meaning has been forgotten and lost for ever.

It may also happen of course that a certain name, now meaningless, was given for some circumstance that has since been forgotten; but on the other hand it is also far from sure that all names that have a known meaning were given for such a reason. I only mention here the name of *Mabíni* related before: the name has a meaning, but it was given merely at the suggestion of a teacher. So after all very few conclusions can be drawn from the fact that a name has a meaning or no meaning. Indeed, let us suppose that a certain *Súzăy* (no meaning) passes through the village at the time of the birth of a boy; that boy will perhaps be called *Súzăy*, and after a very short lapse of time the whole occurrence will be forgotten, as *Súzăy* is a very popular name among the Isneg.

Here may be mentioned some of the native Isneg names that have a meaning:

Baldś (M): lemon.
Basáń (M): ginger.
Uddń (M): rain.
Ósań (M or F): bagasse.
Adds (F): a kind of sedge, Scleria sp.; its leaves have very sharp
Barańdy (F): canoe.
Barańăy (F): canoe.
Baió (F): stone.
Dódon (F): locust.
Xabí (F): night

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551 *Xídam* (F): evening

104 *Mámaw* (F): a kind of herb used in magical practices.

192 *Pariyá* (F): a vine of the squash family with edible fruits, Momordica ovata. Cogn.

551 For the rest any name will do, provided it pleases everybody concerned. This was repeatedly told me all over Apayaw, although the preferences referred to above, either all three or only one or two of them, were usually mentioned, and occasionally the question of some circumstance connected with the time or place of birth.

551 177 Actually one finds more and more Isneg youngsters who bear a Christian name, not only the one given them at baptism or in school, but the original name given at birth. So at Nagsimbanan and at Magapta we find a *Delfín* (M); at Musimut, *Xosé* (José) (M); at Baliwanan, *Kolás* (Nicolás) (M); at Nagilian (Namaltugan), *Román* (M); at Butaw, *Siyón* (Concepción) (M); at Bayag, *Donáta* (F); at Bayag, *Faustína* (F); at Musimut, *Leónsiya* (Leoncia) (F); at Lako, *Máriya* (María) (F); at Musimut, *Méri* (Mary) (F); at Kabugaw, *Néli* (Nellie) (F); at Abbil, *Rufína* (F); at Bayag, *Simóna* (F); at Nagsimbanan, *Veŕón* (Verónica) (F).

Such names occur even among those of older people; in this case they were probably brought in from the lowlands, from the Christian provinces, whither the Isneg frequently went either on headhunting expeditions or with the purpose of bartering their wares for clothes and so on. Thus at Musimut there is a *Sáriyo* (Cesario) (M); at Genned, an *Isabél* (F). At Lettuakan there was a man, now dead, called *Antón* (Antonio), the father of a young man called *Asiyo* (Nicasio, Engracio, or some other name with a similar ending). Another *Antón* still lives at Bolo.

[554] Some Isneg names are nothing but the family name or the title of public servants.

551 Family names:

Bawánen (M), at Bayag: after Mr. Bawanen, a sanitary inspector.
Bunnáw (M), at Karagawan: a soldier.
Dison (M), at Mayaw: after Lt. Dizon of the Constabulary.
Dukúsen (M), at Musimut: after Mr. Ducusin, a former lieutenant-governor.
Galiyárdo (M), at Maduang: after Mr. Gallardo, a teacher.
Gársiya (M), at Lukab: after Lt. Garcia of the Constabulary.
Xárma (M), at Musimut: after Mr. Garma, a teacher.

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Isneg expressions referring to names and worthy of notice are the following:

kalōbaxán: a name that has the same ending as another one. *Magkalóbān*: to bear each a name with the same ending. For instance: *Balás, Kolás*; *Éba, Xawwá*; *Basán, Dawwán*; *Antóniyo, Ásiyo*, etc.

isáń and *ébāy*: familiar diminutive names for girls in general. Similar names are: in Iloko, *ínińi*; in Ibanag, *néne-* (probably from the Spanish *nene*, "baby, whether boy or girl").

Nicknames, as applied to one particular person, are used very sparingly among the Isneg. I know of only one case: a Lettuakan boy, called *Ásiyo* and baptized Pedro, is very generally called *Paláli* even by his own relatives. *Paláli* is the name of a tree, and also of its fruits, which are edible, but very sour.

The Isneg are not very good genealogists. It very often happens that a young man or an adult girl does not even know the name of one or more of their grandparents, especially if the latter died before their grandchild was born. When asked about such names, the Isneg who happens not to know them usually excuses his ignorance by saying: "*Akkáńko nasińán* (I did not see him or her)".

II. Education

It might be thought at first sight that the Isneg leads a very unhappy and miserable life, a life full of drudgery, a life devoid of all comforts and possessing only a minimum of pleasure. But when you come to consider him more intimately, to enter more deeply into the matter, it does not take long for you to be convinced of the contrary. Indeed, he has very few needs; it is comparatively easy, to quote Jerome K. Jerome in "Three Men in a Boat", for an Isneg "to have enough to eat and enough to wear, and a little more than enough to drink", and he has little work to do. Besides, look at the fine family life he is living: if he has a good diligent wife, and most Isneg women are like that, and plenty of children around, really his bliss exceeds all understanding, I mean the understanding of a Caucasian with his manifold cares and innumerable wants.

Again at first sight, it might seem that the children's education is reduced to the very minimum, or rather that the youngsters get no education at all, as everybody, not excepting the children, seems to shift for himself and to do as he pleases. One would be the more inclined to think so when comparing the Isneg with other primitive

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lighten that of the young shaman who has to confide these things to memory. Here stops the exclusive rôle of the *dorarákit* or shaman as far as religious instruction is concerned.

Dancing and singing, whether religious or otherwise, are learned by pure imitation. Songs are improvised most of the time; the only exceptions are a few scattered terms and a limited number of sentences, more especially a kind of refrain or burden, that recurs at the end of every verse or every stanza in most Isneg songs. These traditional terms and sentences are mostly archaic, and their meaning is a mystery to at least the generality of the Isneg; perhaps some of them have never had any meaning at all.

All Isneg beliefs, whether they have to do with magic or with religion, whether they refer to the world of spirits or to the state of a person after death, are simply picked up, or, as the Isneg put it, "they hear them (*maxi-náda da*)." This means that there is no formal instruction about the matter. Aged persons, particularly old women, and still more especially shamans, freely talk about these things at the slightest provocation, and youngsters are always eager to listen to them. This, however, does not exclude the possibility and even the probability of the members of the older generation talking about magical or religious beliefs purposely and with the direct intention of telling the children about them. And that such instruction, whether intended or not, is sometimes really very efficacious is proved by the fact that I have had among my informants girls of barely ten years old who know everything about certain spirits and could vividly describe them to me. This is the more easily understood when one remembers that all these extraordinary details agree very well with the usual trend of the Isneg mind toward the supernatural, so that the children experience little difficulty in keeping them impressed upon their memory.

Myths and legends, stories and tales, which by the way are sometimes far from being religious, are mostly related by the parents and grandparents in the evening, when the whole family is stretched out on the floor and ready to sleep. The Isneg are not in the habit of making much use of artificial light, and they very often go to sleep almost at sunset, so that there is usually ample time for the old people to comply with the wishes of the youngsters, who among them as well as among us, are always eager to hear a story, and the more fantastic the story, the better. Even young boys and girls are sometimes invited to play the rôle of story-teller, provided they are known

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577 portant and whenever it is customary to do so; in a word, you should
771 lead a good religious life. Indeed what can you expect from a man who does not live according to his convictions, or rather to the convictions of the generality of his tribesmen? Do you think that the spirits will leave you at rest if you do not do what is necessary, either to propitiate them or to put them to flight? Do you think you will be fortunate in your enterprises if you fail to observe, either the usual signs that will prevent you from entering upon dangerous enterprises, or the taboos which custom has told you not to transgress? It would be considered as the acme of bad behavior to live as a free-thinker in matters religious. You may say you do so to a stranger, you may appear not to believe our laws any more, when in the presence of an Ibanag,[2] otherwise he might laugh at you; but among us these things are very serious and they should be observed by all means. If you are a true Isneg, believe as an Isneg and practise your religion".

577 The Isneg, however, seem to be much less fanatical in matters reli-
177 gious than the Kankanay, the Bontok Igorot, and others. I have
771 known Kankanay men to whip their Christian children for refusing to attend heathen sacrifices; such things would rarely, if ever, happen here. I shall come back to this again when comparing theory with practice.

577 "Headhunting is a glorious practice. If you are a real Isneg,
829 you should take a few heads during your lifetime or at least help
721 your companions in doing so. Never forego the occasion of participating in a raid planned by your friends, whether into the lowlands among Christian Iloko and Kagayan, or among Negritos, Kalinga and other Isneg at enmity with your people. If you have the opportunity to take the head of an enemy unawares, be it that of a woman or child, there you have a splendid occasion of becoming a *mênal*, a brave, without too much trouble and with very little danger. Not everybody has that chance, not everybody will become a brave, but you should at least try your very best to be one. What a glory

101 [2] Ibanag is the language of the Kagayan, but in an Isneg mouth the term means "anybody who is not an Isneg". What we express by saying "to become a
192 Christian" is translated by the Isneg as "to become an Ibanag". It is almost impossible to convince them that an Isneg can become a Christian and remain an
104 Isneg. Similar ideas obtain among the Christian tribes: they call themselves *Christiano* whatever tribe they belong to, and all pagans in their eyes are Igorot, Kalinga, Itneg or Isneg; once baptized the latter have ceased to be anything like that; they have become Christians pure and simple.

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my bananas, hoping in this way to catch him unaware, but as quick as lightning he retorted: "*Kinalbáw nāyá áto* (the dog ate them)". Now the poor boy never thought of the impossibility of that press being opened by a dog, and even in case it could have been done, of the improbability of a dog leaving the meat aside and choosing the bananas instead.

On another occasion I had observed that a kind Iloko lady had missed Mass on two consecutive Sundays; and so at our first meeting I made a little remark about the matter, but she was as quick as my Isneg boy in retorting: "I had my menses". This I merely answered with another question: "Twice a month?"

It may be hard indeed for any innocent person not to defend himself when he has been accused unjustly, but for an Isneg I think it would be simply heroic to keep silent after a reproof, even though it be slight and most amply deserved. And even when the unreasonableness of his excuse has been demonstrated to him, he must be a very dull fellow indeed if he will not immediately try another one, without even stopping to think whether it may not be as little acceptable as the one just rejected.

Another custom which very often makes abstraction of truth or error as we understand it is their manner of answering a question. No conscientious inquirer should ever forget that these people are in the habit of answering a question, not according to truth, but according to what they believe you except to hear from them. I would be the last to accuse them of wilful lying under the circumstances, and would much prefer to put the blame on their inborn desire to please you. This goes to show that one has to be very careful in proffering judgment on our Isneg, not only with reference to questions that may have been answered the wrong way, but also with reference to obedience in general to those precepts of their moral code that have to do with truthfulness and lying. The blame of the whole affair is very often to be laid, either on the inquirer himself who should know something about the mentality of this people, or on the courtesy of the latter: in this case they should be credited, not with the vice of lying, but with the social virtue of politeness.

A few Isneg expressions with a direct or indirect bearing on the education and home life of the child may here be appended:

Aydyam: Toy.

Lullupítan: Said of a child who cries for the smallest reason.

Dumdúm: Dull, unhandy at work. Also: dull at learning.

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857 *Magdaldál*: Said of a mother who badly wants to see her absent child.

•192 *Kakóboń*: Family, parents and children.

104 *Makikóboń*: To live together in the same house (two different families, servants of the family).

601 *Amá* or *ammá*: Father.

Iná or *innó*: Mother.

Waxi: Brother, sister. Plural: *wawáxi*.

Manákam: Oldest brother or sister (the first of all); also: parents, ancestors.

Udiyán: Youngest brother or sister (the last of all).

Ulitág: Uncle.

Ikit: Aunt.

Kapinsán: First cousin.

Kapiduwá: Second cousin.

Kapi-ló: Third cousin (prefix *kapi* and stem *talló*, "three").

Katuxáńan: Father-in-law, mother-in-law.

Manúxań: Son-in-law, daughter-in-law.

Kâyoń or *katâyúg*: Brother-in-law.

Ípâg: Sister-in-law.

Kabírat: The relation that exists between the husbands or wives of two brothers or sisters, or the husband of a woman and her brother's wife.

Bálo: widower, widow (mourning).

Búkud: widower, widow (after the mourning period is over).

601 Many of these terms have a very elastic meaning. *Waxi* may be either a real brother or sister, or simply any kind of relative. *Amá* and *iná* may sometimes refer to any relative whose relation is similar to that of father and mother, for instance: uncle and aunt, etc. *Kâyoń* may be either a real brother-in-law or the husband of a first cousin, etc.

III. Daily Routine

512 Although the daily life of an Isneg is not regulated by the clock,
264 there is nevertheless a certain order in the routine of his duties and occupations. The family generally rises at daybreak. An Isneg begins the day as soon as artificial light can be dispensed with, and if yams (*úbi*) or sweet potatoes (*kamusí*) are available, the women cook them on the never-absent fire, and all inmates of the house try to get their share as best they can. As soon as this informal break-

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584 1. The use of musical instruments, which he plays at the house of
832 the girls, usually while lying down in the evening, and which are
534 supposed to have a very soothing influence on the mind of any mem-
[828] ber of the weaker sex. As this is not the place to describe these instruments at length, I shall merely enumerate them and add a few of their most outstanding characteristics:

The *kuribáw*, a kind of Jew's-harp, entirely made of bamboo, whose tongue is struck by the finger at its fixed base.

The *axiwán*, another kind of Jew's-harp, partially made of bamboo, whose metal tongue is moved by a string.

The *balíkiń* or nose flute, which consists of a slender tube of bamboo, open at both ends, and provided with holes along its length, three at one side and one at the other.

584 2. The singing of love songs (*magdaldallán*). This is done in the
832 daytime as well as in the evening, whenever the boy is moved by
533 concupiscence (*makibabbáy*). Such songs, however, are not the exclusive property of the male sex.

584 3. The pronunciation of special terms, otherwise meaningless, that
832 are supposed to have a magical influence on the female sex. These
192 are interwoven in the verses of the song and more or less connected with the rest of the sentence. Such terms are: *dumaripón, dumińidíń, dumardarobó*, etc.

584 4. The use of perfumes (*bańúg*), usually consisting of fragrant
832 herbs or leaves stuck in the headband; although unseen by the girl
302 in the evening, these perfumes forcibly strike her nostrils in an
824 agreeable manner. Any kind of perfume may be used for the purpose, but the most esteemed on such occasions is the *malindáw* (called *indáw* at Bolo). The *malindáw* is a small tree covered with spines and provided with very aromatic leaves. The *Anán* brook near Dangla flows through a thicket that is renowned for the abundance and variety of its odoriferous plants: *silávon* (aromatic leaves, parasitic on trees), *ditán* (aromatic seeds, a kind of rattan), *malindáw*, etc.

584 Here two spirits occasionally play an important role: both of them
832 are supposed to spread a very agreeable odor, and they sometimes
776 accompany the boys on their courting expeditions, although nothing is done by the latter to attract them. They are:

Asináw: a spirit who lives in the hills and always wears very nice apparel; he is supposed to be visible at times. He merely accompanies the boy and through his fragrance influences the girl in behalf of her lover.

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586 When *Rukkadéń* ran homewards in order to fetch his gun, *Kadáw*
684 again had followed him hoping to give him the coup de grâce, but
628 when the latter had got hold of his gun. *Kadáw* had fled a second
703 time and hid in the municipal building. *Rukkadéń* had shown at
578 least that he was not a coward: although wounded to death he had faced his adversary and tried to kill him; he died a couple of hours later. The whole Isneg outfit of policemen and soldiers had not made a very brave stand either, as the last scene of the drama was enacted in the public square, and none of them dared approach old *Kadáw*, who had entrenched himself in the building just referred to and refused to lay down his headax reeking with blood. He finally surrendered at the summons of the lieutenant of the constabulary who threatened him with his revolver.

192 In concluding this account of marriage, the following Isneg ex-
585 pressions may be recorded:

Mañén: Menses.

837 *Maxatáwa:* To marry. Said of both men and women.

Mañatáwa: To marry. Said only of men.

104 *Makiatáwa:* To marry. Said only of women.

Meatáwa: To be married. Said only of women.

Mañaduwá: To live in bigamy. From the stem *duwá*, "two", and the complex prefix *mañ*, syncopated for *mań* and *ka*.

Mańa-ló: To have three wives. From the syncopated stem *talló*, "three", and the complex prefix *mańa*.

Dumaládag: To commit adultery, to be in love with another man. Said of married women.

Manaládag: To commit adultery with a married woman. Said of men, whether married or single.

192 *Sumibná:* To separate, to go and live in another house. This does
586 not always and necessarily mean divorce; it may also mean that somebody stops living with a certain family in order to go and live
104 somewhere else; for instance, a young married couple who have built themselves a new house, or who go to live in a house different from the one they have previously lived in, provided the latter was inhabited at the same time by another family, who continue to live there after their former companions went away.

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but they have never yet been able to see a ghost without some vagueness surrounding it. It should be noted in this connection that a *balańóbáń* has nocturnal habits.

But what is the ultimate fate of a *balańóbáń*? To this question the Isneg can give a definite answer: all *balańóbáń* decay in the end at *Magkébińán*. *Magkébińán* is the name of a cave, the usual dwelling place of all *balańóbáń*, and there their wandering life comes to an end sooner or later. Nobody can tell you anything definite, however, about the location of this cave or about the duration of a dead body's life as a *balańóbáń*.

All Isneg are convinced that tombs of wandering *balańóbáń* are empty and remain so. Once out of its tomb, no *balańóbáń* ever comes back to its former abode. And only the very few stay in their tomb; the generality of them start on their temporary wanderings as soon as they have been in the grave for two or three nights, long enough to dislike such a residence. Occasionally a few informants even state that no dead bodies ever decay in their graves. Nobody of course would venture to dig in a tomb in order to convince himself of the truth of his belief.

3. Causes of Death

What causes death? The Isneg seem to distinguish between two kinds of death, namely: what we would call "death by accident or death by violence", and "death from sickness". Under the Isneg viewpoint, however, the first kind of death has what I should like to call a "natural" cause, while the other kind has a "supernatural" cause.

Under the first head come all deaths whose cause is obvious and patent to everybody:

1. Death through murder or assassination (felonious homicide),—for instance, you plant a headax in the neck of your enemy and cut off his head. The Isneg, no more than anybody else, will doubt about the cause of your enemy's death. Here there is no necessity of suspecting the intervention of the spirits.

2. Death by accident or through judicial taking of life.—for instance, a man falls from a tree and breaks his neck, death ensuing, or a culprit is executed by the authorities, and so on. Here also the spirits are not considered as the immediate cause of death. To die like that is called *merânud* (past tense: *nerânud*), while to die in general is called *matây* (past tense: *natây*). The stem *rânud*, in

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Iloko, means "communication, participation"; but in Isneg the term is very hard to translate. I shall give a couple of examples to illustrate its meaning:

In the case of death by accident, e.g., falling from a coconut tree: *neránud xapó kiyá iyúg*, he died (?) on account of the coconut tree.

Christian Isneg explain Christian martyrdom in the same way: *ni San Pedro neránud xapó kiyá ápo Dios*, St. Peter died (?) on account of (or: for) the Lord God.

Students say: *ni Rizal neránud xapó kiyá ílina*, Rizal (the Filipino hero executed by the Spaniards in 1896) died (?) on account of (or: for) his country.

The other kind of death, which is obviously the most frequent and ordinary one, I call "supernatural" because the Isneg ascribe its cause to the intervention of the spirits. Death, in this case, is caused by the loss of the kidneys (*bokál*): some spirit, who is certainly to be classed under the malevolent ones, deprives a person of his kidneys and devours them, death being the inevitable result.

Among the spirits that are addicted to this destructive practice may be cited:

Líbunát, who lives in bushy thickets;

Xasilá- or *Xasílaw:* after having devoured the kidneys, this spirit besmears with blood the leaves of the trees and herbs that grow on the mountain on which he has fixed his abode;

Ápo, who devours the kidneys of people who die of what we call dysentery;

Maúlatón: this is the real angel of death; he does away with the kidneys of all people who die on that account, except of course those that have been bereft of their kidneys by some other spirit. *Maúlatón* kills all those that are spurned by others, he is the kidney-eater and executioner *par excellence*.

The error of such a belief might easily be ascertained, but autopsy is unknown among the Isneg, and so it stands. The better to understand Isneg mentality, it should be borne in mind that sickness as such is never considered as the sole or immediate cause of death, and this for obvious reasons. The Isneg know only diseases that appear outwardly, as skin diseases (*buní* "tetter", *rasá*, "itch"), *daxáń*, "fever", dysentery, beriberi, and so on, while diseases with no or only slight outward signs are entirely unknown to the natives. And so if a person dies from cardiopathy, pneumonia, diabetes, etc., the Isneg do not doubt for a single moment that some ill-minded imp

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197 2. On my own part:

126 In my dealings with the Isneg I use the Main branch of the O dialect, while in writing I use the K branch for reasons given before.[6] So it may have happened that, in writing down texts, my own ordinary use of M has influenced me to write down a given word as I myself would have pronounced it, or my use of K in writing has caused me to put down K's where they were absent in the informant's pronunciation.

Nevertheless I have always tried to write down texts as faithfully as possible, and now I start publishing them as I have them, without trying to correct anything, even though an occasional guttural that appears in a given term does not belong to the correct language of a given informant.

The above warning is given here once for all, and it refers to all Isneg texts that I shall publish in the future.

TEXT I

[584] This text is a continuous dialogue between a boy and the girl he goes to court for the first time. My informant is Baydan from Tawit
[115] (M), and he calls it *maibabbáy*, "courting the girls".

539 1. *Lalái: iápugnā- man ikáw*[7] *ta adú kanó ya mamā́mmo a nā́nda.*
Babā́y: āwán pańalakkā́nta ka mamá ńa ńáxan balái.[8]

2. *L.: nā́mmo ǎy pagdamadámagda ńa nagsiníińde ka mamá.*
B.: díta maxańgám no mapooná ńam ǎy.

3. *L.: mańuwáa pagká- kiyá atā́n kammalańín simpapadā́n.*
B.: turā́ńka mańuwá ka ibatā́ymo ka asitólǎymo.

4. *L.: díka mańaluníb kiyá ittó ya nā́ńko.*
B.: xapó walá xané ta ummā́nta kiddí ya agdalidálēnta ńa dadúma.

[6] Op. cit., 14.

192 [7] *ikáw*, sometimes pronounced *kaw*, which literally means "you", and which I render by 'you', is a little term which is very hard to translate. The Isneg use it all the time, and always in the form *ikáw*, although when it stands for the personal pronoun, those who use the Main branch pronounce *iáw*. Here thus it stands for something like "come on now", "what is the matter", but it changes its shade of meaning with every context.

[8] *balái* is a term used with affectation; the real ordinary word is *babā́y*; *balái* is made to look similar to *lalái*, "man".

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5. *L.: bakkán luxúd dalá ńam ăy nắmmo ăy nawadá kammalańín.* 539
B.: ăy úrăy no matańabúlan magmandármo no bakkánnā- patiyán.

6. *L.: ăy día atān mańuwá no sissá ńa algáw ka pańiballaxobowắmmo ka asitólăymo.*
B.: ăy úrăy no sinnámmo walá no mabăyắg no pagbusidántaa.

7. *L.: ăy no patiyánta iyắn séno paka-maắnta ka apardisiyónānta ńa dadúma.*
B.: ăy úrăy yalá iyắ- maxikáro no atắn apardisiyónāmmo.

8. *L. (magkag-axí): díta bumanannắy* *
pē yô [10] *lu-sáw di babbắy*
ô do ăy ăy,
ăy bakkán mabalín no maianắyonta ka puńắn kadaăyó.
B.: taán na turắmmo apaka-múd ya mapooná kiyắn manín, turắnnā- ummắn apakassińán.

9. *L.: nā ńa apakassińán ya pampanúnutmo.*
B.: ammóm sińkabaínta ńa dadúma toni.

10. *L.: atắn ummắn kada-tá no ipasilládawta ki pandá daldalḗnān pē ya pańipalawaxắnta kiyá lamlamtán,*
dímo pagkaaxiyắn ka xasáwta ńa dadúma no ibbaxáta ya kăyắtta kadaăyó.
B.: nắmmo ikáw appēlańín nam ăy no iyắ- bakkán kapēlańín, ummaí dăyá abbulón no mapoonáda.

11. *L. (ag-axí): ríxas agká- di babbắy*
pē yó sublá-da ńid baggí ni dumnắy,
isáń rắndā- adí taglamán
ki inapplaxắn ńa dapán.
B.: ăy ummắn mắńaw ya datúlāńko iyá agtūlitúlim.

12. *L.: mapooná kiyắn ta iyắ- ya umáń mańidóon kiyá pampanunútańko,*
iyá- ya ummắn kiyá mamaliắt kinurắy sadasadapan ned baggí-,
to ya ummắn kiyắn ya isugńálmo ya balbaliắtko iyáw.
B.: bakkán luxúd dalá ńam ăy ya atắn ummān kada-tá no uruxánta ya tarénu pańonaonắn.

* A magic term to obtain a girl's love.

[10] *yó* instead of *ya*. The change of a into *ô* is of very frequent occurrence in songs. 192

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17. M.: I do not want though, 'you', if it is like that.
I shall cover myself with a blanket here as I feel cold.
W.: Cover yourself with a blanket if we lie down separately.

18. M.: Who shows these things, if we did not use for a pattern those that lived first.[23]
W.: Your thought will be fulfilled one day, if what you meditate upon is true.

19. M.: Yes, we have to wait for that, but we die now already.
W.: Even so, why is it as if our sleeping place be bright for your act.[24]

20. M.: How can we complete our human customs like that.[25]
W.: Ah, thus I am like feeling to be the fruit of an amuyaw-tree left on the tree after the harvest, if your idea is true.

21. M.: How can we put forth this, if we do it to fool our companion.[26]
W.: Ah, we are happy if it is so.

22. M.: Ah, look only at what I say.
W.: All right, let me see if your idea regarding me is true.

The girl allows the boy to lie down on her mat, which is her first concession and proves to the boy that his suit is not rejected. My informant emphatically stated that nothing untoward would happen after this first concession.

Although this text is essentially Isneg, we find the following foreign terms:

Two Spanish terms with an Isneg jacket;
In (5), *mandar*, "to order", in the sense of watching.
In (7), *perdición*, "loss".

One Ibanag term:
In (11), *dapán*, instead of *abá-*, for "mat".

[23] We do only what our parents did before us.

[24] Is my mat the only place where you can lie down?

[25] Yes, but is that the way of human nature, for man and woman to sleep on a different mat?

[26] Can you imagine that I would fool you?

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192 Three Iloko terms, almost in juxtaposition with their corresponding Isneg terms:

In (12) and passim: *panúnut*, "thought", Isneg *damdám* (in 14).
In (13), *kaási*, "pity", "mercy", Isneg *allá-*.
In (15), *arámid*, "doing", "acting", Isneg *uwá*.

TEXT II

[584 115] This text, like the preceding, consists in a continuous dialogue between a boy and the girl he goes to court for the first time. My informant is Umila from Abbil (A), and he calls it *mamabáy*, "to court a girl".

539

1. *L.: magápugka man ikáw.*
   B.: áwán abbulón.
2. *L.: daddán turá áwán no iyá- ya maiápug ta.*
   B.: wăyyá ńalá iddánta ya áwán.
3. *L.: ta daddán turáńka mapáwanán ta.*
   B.: úrăy nad atán abbulón ăy piyánnu pĕ nad.
4. *L.: bakkánnu a abbulón piyán no daăyó.*
   B.: magiyámánta a no ummán kiyán.
5. *L.: ăy simpre bákkánnu id kammalańín piyán ya mańiápug.*
   B.: ŏ walá no andaăyó.
6. *L.: se pĕ lugúd ta bakkámmo piyán mańílnáb ki mamám.*
   B.: ammóta ma- no piyánnu ya dagapógap ńa gawád.
7. *L.: bakkámmo a piyán babáy no iáw.*
   B.: ŏ námmo walá a kiyán ikáw kiyá ummán pĕ idí.
8. *L.: agkúd kammalańín lu-sáwańko úrăy dagapógap ńa gawád.*
   B.: no áwánmo lu-sáwan bakkáńka lugúd maybabáwi ta iápugtaka.
9. *L.: ăy paannánta lugúd abbulón.*
   B.: mapaannă totó walá ya urăymo ikáw ki ummá iddí.
10. *L.: sigún ki panúnutko a ikáw ya atón ki ólo-.*
    B.: no sigún ki panúnutmo ikáw ăy bakkáńka lugúd nagdamdám ki sabáli.
11. *L.: nágan ma- kam pagtuńpálăńko no dí ittó widí.*
    B.: babáyyă- ikáw ńa áwán serbí.

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16. M.: It will not continue if you (do not want), companion.
W.: Not indeed, but why is the one who is here the fortunate one with you.

17. M.: My thought with reference to you is true though.
W.: If it is like that, companion, why though do you make our thoughts uneasy.

18. M.: I like everything though, companion, even though perhaps my companions make a fool out of me on account of you.
W.: Perhaps you say so only, companion, because you are here.

19. M.: Ah, not so indeed, companion, but would we not be ashamed of what you say like that.
W.: Ah, it does not matter what you do with reference to acting like this.

20. M.: To whom would I finally belong if not to the one like this.[29]
W.: Anything you do is all right then, companion, as I truthfully tell you now that I love you, but do not repent then if we allow long days to pass beginning with this night.

Here we meet again with several words borrowed from other languages:

From the Spanish:

In (5), *simpre* from *siempre*, "always", with the meaning of "surely".

In (10), *sigún* from *según*, "according to", with the meaning of "it depends on".

In (11), *serbí* from *servir*, "to serve", with the meaning of "use".

Then Iloko and Isneg terms in juxtaposition:

In (10), Iloko *panúnut* and Isneg *damádim*, "thinking".

In (13), Iloko *arámid* and Isneg *wrá*, "acting".

TEXT III

This text consists in a continuous dialogue between a boy and the girl he has been courting for some time. My informant is the same Umila of the preceding text, who again calls it *mamabdy*, "to court a girl".

[29] If not to you.

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584 My informant emphatically stated that nothing untoward would yet happen at this juncture.

192 In this text we have one word borrowed from the Spanish:
In (1, *L.*), *sirrá*, from *cerrar*, to close".

Also one Iloko term in juxtaposition with its Isneg equivalent:
In (3, *B.*), Iloko *babáwi* and Isneg *appṓli*, "repenting" (the *ṓ* in *appṓli* and in the derivatives above, 3, *B.* and 4, *B.*, is like the *aw* in English "dawn", but longer).

Besides, one Iloko expression, a favorite with many Isneg:
In (4, *L.*), *kas pagarigān*, "for instance".

TEXT IV

[584 115] This text consists in a dialogue between a boy and the girl he courts for the first time. In the latter part of the dialogue, the answers of the girl are lacking. My informant is Kimat from Baliwanan (M),
539 who calls it *mamabáy*, "to court a girl".

1. *L.: mazápugka man ikáw.*
   B.: wag[33] *kud mamáńko ikáw.*
2. *L.: busídmo yān ikáw.*
   B.: pazádigmo zané ta magbusbusígka.[34]
3. *L.: bakkán luzúd nam ǎy náńko ampēlańín.*
   B.: námmo no ikáw.
4. *L.: sē- bakkán ikáw.*
   B.: úrǎy no námmo ikáw ǎy pandá ńalá.
5. *L.: atán yān ikáw no dôdúma se pē iyá.*
   B.: tān nam ǎy bakkán kammalańín kurkurúggin.
6. *L.: úrǎy no bakkán kurúg ǎy piyáńko walá.*
   B.: poonáńā- pē ikáw.
7. *L.: úrǎy man no aniyá ikáw ya malak-ámāńko ǎy pandá ńalá.*
   B.: maammóa ikáw ditámo walá ibańát.
8. *L.: úrǎymo walá sinnán a.*
   B.: díyā- miyamánān abbulón no mapooná.
9. *L.: isá ampēlańín ikáw ya axiyáńko manín.*

[194] [33] *(a)wád*: *d* changed into *g*, before *k*.
[34] *busíd*: Cf. preceding note.

4R: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Imeg

TRANSLATION

539 1. M.: Prepare betel for me, aunt, put soft betel nut in it, add a little lime, I shall pick it up with my left hand.

584 2. (singing): Do not tell
'you', to a friend that there is none.

3. Ha, could it not be, is it not, 'you', that we sleep in front of one another, sleeping when there is a companion.

4. Ha, how do you like this to lie down here while the house is still clear.

5. How could we like to be all alone, when you are here also.

6. That, which would be joking with one who walks along like me, I do not do.

7. There would be some perhaps, companion, if another one asked you to prepare betel for him, but to me: "There is none", you say.

8. W.: Not so indeed, companion, but there is none though.

9. That, which would be making a selection among living people like me, I do not do.

10. You make a selection, 'you', among men.[48]

11. M.: No indeed, companion, but I say only: "If perhaps".

12. W.: There is betel (for chewing), 'you', but betel (for chewing) though that is useless.

13. Betel though that is useless.

14. M.: Could there be though which I do not like, I a human being.

15. As to the useless betel as you call it, are there any things that are not of different grade though; as to betel, there is tasty betel and there is tasteless.

16. And also with us men, there are women and men.

17. It is, they say, also like with us: I, if I sneeze, it is in a G-string, but you, if you sneeze, it is in a tapis.

18. (singing): Let us not approach
The resentment of a woman.

19. You are overbearing to me, woman,
I am really to be pitied.

192 One Spanish word occurs in this text, namely: *clase*, "class", pronounced *kaláse* in Nr. 15.

[48] Why do you want me and not some other girl.

44: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1941 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

II. Rice

243 192 In the estimation of the Isneg, rice is paramount. Even though no other proofs of this statement were available, the fact that, in Isneg, rice has three different names would suggest it. And by this I do not mean that there are three kinds or three varieties of rice, as in reality they are legion, but that the general English term "rice" has three Isneg equivalents.

Paddy, rice in the husk, unhusked rice, whether growing or cut, is called *ammáy*. Once it has been pounded or milled, it goes by the name of *baggát*, thus "rice" as it is known to most people of Europe and America. Besides, this same term *baggát*, which primarily refers to husked rice, is also applied to a good many other things, with the meaning of "substance", "most important part (edible root of a plant, etc.)", "fruit", etc. Then we have unhusked rice or paddy that is *nabgát*, "well filled", in contradistinction to that which is *lappit*, "empty". A third name, *nabáw*, is the exclusive appellation of "cooked rice". And so no Isneg, even though he were the most ignorant of his tribe, would ever think of saying that he is going to cook or eat *ammáy*, to harvest *baggát*, or to store up *nabáw* in his granary. He harvests *ammáy*, cooks *baggát* and eats *nabáw*.

In general the Isneg distinguish between *bukaká* (whether *ammáy*, *baggát* or *nabáw*), the usual food, and *dékat* or *díkat* (whether *ammáy*, *baggát* or *nabáw*), very oily rice, chiefly used for puddings and the like. Each of these two, especially the *bukaká*, has a great number of varieties, which it would take me too long to enumerate in detail, the more so that in different villages the same variety is often known by entirely different names. It would take a conscientious investigator more than a little of his time to write down in all Isneg agglomerations the names and the distinctive characteristics of each and every variety of rice known to the inhabitants; and, even though he had the leisure and inclination to do so, I doubt if the list would ever be complete and the description entirely accurate, as now and then new names have a way of popping up unexpectedly, and one and the same variety of rice may be known to two individuals by two different names, while the same name may sometimes be applied to two or more varieties by people living considerably apart from one another.

Nevertheless I shall give here the names of a few varieties of rice that have some outstanding characteristics.

44: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1941 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

243 A certain amount of rice (or Indian corn) that consists in a mixture of kernels of different colors, white (or yellow) and red, is said to be *naburábur*.

243 192 While other fields have either a common name, or a special name that is derived from the plants that are grown in them, a rice field is universally known all over Apayaw by the very specialized term *kómān*. This term is never applied to other plantations, even though they were formerly used for growing rice; as soon as they are planted with some other product, they cease to be *kómān* and become something else. The same happens to fallow rice fields: as soon as they have been abandoned, they automatically change their name. A former *kómān* that has been left unproductive for one year, is called *balnás*. Should it have remained in that state for over one year, it is an *ublág*. In case it has been abandoned for a long time, so that it is already partially covered with young trees, it is known as a *bannuwág*.

In the same way, the sides or edges of a field (whether rice field or not), a garden or an orchard, are known under the general name of *bikat*, whereas a rice field has the distinction of possessing two sides or *bikat* that are clearly differentiated by name. The lower part, or rather the edge of the rice field where the man starts his clearing of the ground, is called *atád*; and the opposite or upper edge is the *arpád*; while the common name for both the *atád* and the *arpád* is *nami-tán*. The two other sides, the one to the left and the one to the right when going up from the *atád* to the *arpád*, have to content themselves with the common appellation: *bikat*.

A *kómān* in which both man and woman have the time of their life to make it productive, is said to be *napgús*, which I am tempted to translate "recalcitrant", or, if you prefer a milder term, "unresponsive". Clearing such a field, weeding it, fencing it, reaping it, every single piece of work that has to be done in it, can be brought to a successful issue only with the utmost difficulty.

317 225 Should it happen that your rice field is situated far away from any kind of source or brook, whether you overlooked this item when making your choice of a patch of ground to be turned into a *kómān*, or because it nevertheless seemed to be the best available for this time, there is an easy way to supply that deficiency: look for a *kumó*, a kind of crab speckled yellow and red, and when you have found it, dig a hole in the ground somewhere at or near your field, and thrust the crab into

The Common Law enjoins that man must not: 685
steal, tell false stories of others, court the wife of an- 683
other, nor make trouble at a feast. It further enjoins 684
that a man must respect the rights of individuals, 687
give food to visitors, give aid to neighbors, and that 867
parents shall teach children the old customs and legends, as well as correct them in order that they may grow up properly.

The Apayaos have a very complete system of so- 576
cial etiquette which might be characteristic of a high 192
culture. It displays a nice sense of fitness and an innate kindliness of nature. Hispitable customs make the visitor's stay a happy one. There is even no embarrassing sense of indebtedness for gifts of service or materials to be expressed: for the people have no word meaning "thank you" in their dialect. When one goes on a journey, there is no word meaning "goodbye": no sad word of farewell. One just walks away as if he were going down to the river to take a bath. When he returns, even after a long absence there is no word of greeting. He is treated just as if he had only come back from taking his bath. As a matter 515
of fact he may have; for it is the custom to take a bath in the last river crossed before reaching home.

The people keep their houses and surrounding 356
grounds clean and neat. Clothing is kept washed, 515
and daily baths in the river are taken. The bark of 824
the *taplet* tree is used for cleansing purpose.

The Apayaos are remarkedly modest about their 516
persons. A woman must not allow her legs to spread 834
when squatting to a sitting position nor allow her tapis to go above her knees. Even when there are no 834

ENGLISH-APAYAO WORD LIST

(Bayag River Dialect)

As Commonly Used.

192

Abaca—*pagua*
abandon—*inadagan*
abduct—*pinidyaw*
abide—*cumiweg*
ability—*cabailan*
able—*mabulinan*
abortion—*mangapan*
about—*tagge*
above—*ñgatuan*
abscess—*napalatan*
absent—*maabsin*
absolute—*maminpinsan*
absurd—*nangi-nabilac*
abundant—*adu*
abuse—*ugogan*
accept—*cayatan*
accident—*naclatan*
accompany—*bulunan*
accurate—*pudno*
accustom—*napinam*
across—*magpub-bog*
act—*aramid*
actor—*nagaramid*
address—*nagan naya ili*
adequate—*justo*
adjust—*iheron*
admire—*caycayatan*
adolescence—*magpañgal*
adopt—*pinaman or tagabo*
adult—*daal tolay*
adulteress—*manang daladag*
adultery—*manaladag*
advance—*maginona*
advice—*tulduan*
after—*libas*
again—*manin*
agent—*badang*
agnostic—*nataga-na*
aid—*baggan*
air—*alawagan*
alarm—*signal*
allow—*ipalubos*
almighty—*manababalin*
altar—*pagloualuan*
altitude—*paddarot*
always—*cangcanayon*
ambition—*palano*
ambush—*magtanab*
amiable—*tumuttolong*
amusement—*liwliwa*
ancestor—*inagkona*
anecdote—*ibibobog*
anger—*irad*
animal—*iñgayam*
ankle—*pungpungoan*

192

annual—*tungal dagon*
another—*sabali*
answer—*sungbat*
anus—*cacawelan*
appetite—*ayatamañgan*
archer—*masa gmgwa-pana*
argument—*nagbaklan*
arrow (fishing)—*paltoc*
arrow (hunting)—*pana*
arrow (fighting)—*siñgal*
artificial—*sinan*
ask—*aggan*
attack—*alinga-an*
attention—*taltaligicnan*
attract—*mamasiñgan*
authority—*kinabiyang*
autopsy—*malunag*
average—*dagop*
awake—*luagan*
axe—*watay*
baby—*ingiñga*
bachelor—*bagbago*
back—*addag*
bad—*nadakas*
bag—*tupot*
baggage—*buksong*
bait—*pusta*
bake—*mengrammay*
bald—*culkog*
ball—*bola*
bamboo—*awakan*
banana—*dupat*
bank—*banho*
baptism—*buniag*
bar—*pa-dal*
bare—*damdam man*
bargain—*tawaran*
bark—*apsit cayo*
basket—*labba*
bastard—*imingit*
bath—magdigot
beak—*simtok*
beard—*iming*
beat—*tukbitan*
beauty—*pia*
bed—*cama*
bee—*alig*
bees-wax—*lilin*
betel-nut—*boua*
beg—*magadang*
begin—*irugi*
believe—*patian*
belle—*napia pacnang*
belly—*sinay*
belt—*bagahat*
bend—*magdubo*
beside—*baging*
best—*capigaan*
better—*napi-pia*
beware—*tagasin-nan*
big—*daal*

192

bigamy—*maki-dua*
bile—*apdo*
bind—*pagsulpitan*
bird—*an-anoc*
birth—*ihanakan*
bitch—*babay-ato*
bite—*agatan*
blanket—*ulat*
bless—*tultulungan*
blind—*kolap*
blow—*supan*
blue—*dinggon*
body—*baggi*
boil—*ihi-nit*
born—*mahanac*
bow—*magdangkal*
boy—*lalaki*
bracelet—*galang*
brain—*utac*
branch—*pañga*
brass—*pagdigos balitoc*
brave—*natural*
bread fruit—*nanca*
breakfast—*sira*
bridegroom—*adug babay*
bride—*adug lalaki*
bright—*nalawag*
bring—*ilbet*
brown—*pangdagdagga-ñgan*
brother—*agi lalaki*
brow—*culculab*
brute—*anan da adal*
bug—*itab*
build—*bahayan*
bully—*nasikan*
bundle—*bat-an*
burn—*sidogan*
butterfly—*kalibangbang*
buy—*gomatang*
cacao—*cacao*
cage—*kalupao*
call—*ayaban*
candy—*cangcanan*
captive—*nabalod*
capture—*na-kan*
care—*ayuwanan*
caress—*ipaduma*
cat—*usa*
cause—*gapo*
cave—*liyang*
center—*tanga*
ceremony—*sermon*
champion—*mangabac*
change—*sukatan*
character—*cadawiyan*
charcoal—*bigkag*
chase—*mananab*
cheek—*apiping*
chicken—*anoc*
child—*anac*
choose—*piliyan*

192

circle—*libibot*
clap—*makalap*
clean—*dalusan*
climb—*omonek*
cling—*ibisin*
cockroach—*itahi*
cock-crow—*gittaraot*
cogon grass—*ogon*
cold—*siyam*
collect—*arnoñgan*
color—*bitac*
combat—*omaliñga*
commerce—*panleria*
complete—*nabalin*
compose—*pagamoñgan*
compress—*itumlad*
comrade—*abulon*
condemn—*isanan*
condition—*cadawigan*
conduct—*anawidan*
confession—*pagipudnuan*
conflagration—*seidog*
congeal—*pasanañgan*
congratulate—*pama-gan*
connect—*pagtamsan*
conquer—*abakan*
conscience—*nakam*
consider—*ibilang*
construction—*pabalinan*
consumption—*naminan*
conversation—*man u upo*
cook—*mamoton*
corn—*mait*
corpse—*innat*
country—*countridad*
coward—*matalao*
craw—*anan ananoc*
crab—*agami*
crawl—*magadang*
crazy—*nagmait*
criminal—*managbasol*
crocodile—*buaya*
crop—*mula*
crow—*gayang*
cry—*sumañgit*
cultivate—*magballat*
cure—*agasan*
current—*palon*
curve—*kiwal*
custom—*gagañgay*
cut—*a-aban*
cymbal—*maglangkod*
lay—*algao*
damp—*bañgan*
dance—*manalip*
dark—*nagibat*
dawn—*paglauagan*
dead—*natay*
deaf—*tulang*
debt—*utang*
decapitate—*pohononan*
dear—*nañgina*

192 debtor—*magutang*
deceive—*mangkariro*
declare—*nahagi*
deed—*inowa*
deer—*ugsa*
defend—*pañgipindowan*
degenerate—*masaron*
delay—*tatahan ibayag*
delicate—*dalikado*
demand—*salodsodan*
dense—*mahacdal*
deny—*ihegot*
depart—*pumanao*
deride—*igagalack*
describe—*ihagagi*
desire—*cayat*
destroy—*dadalan*
detain—*immanan manin*
dew—*dirmon*
dialect—*sao inesnag*
die—*matay*
difficult—*narigat*
digestion—*arunao*
dim—*akkan na nalawag*
dinner—*pamasoan*
dip—*itako*
discourage—*sadayan*
discover—*nasmac*
disease—*sinakit*
distinct—*melasin*
divide—*uwaran*
dive—*lomgap*
doe—*laman*
dog—*natambak; ato*
dolly—*iimman ka tolitolay*
done—*nakowa*
door—*gagayangan*
doubt—*magdodowa*
drag—*goyodon*
dream—*taginap*
drum—*ludag*
duck—*pato*
dung—*masiñgir*
duplicate—*adua*
dusk—*gumi-bat*
dust—*tapoc*
duty—*servicio*
dye—*gomban*
ear—*taliñga*
earn—*manglo*
earring—*aritos*
early—*nasapa*
earth—*daga*
earthquake—*yaguyag*
east—*daya*
eat—*mañgan*
echo—*ambag*
eclipse—*aliblibot*
edge—*ponda*
edible—*machan*
effigy—*pagaya-yatan*
effort—*colnit*

192

egg—*iklog*
egotism—*mag-kiapaw*
either—*pandangala cada-cayo*
elastic—*manacnakat*
elbow—*siko*
elevation—*pagtanapan*
elope—*netagtag*
elude—*tiptipaan*
embark—*mebapor*
embarrass—*napaluyag-uan*
embrace—*yuballan*
emigrant—*barraw*
empty—*ipac aminan*
enclose—*neunag*
encourage—*naanannayan*
endure—*natakitan*
enemy—*kaliñga*
entire—*ñgamin*
entrails—*mañgiparit tauid*
envelop—*imbelop*
envirous—*umapas*
epidemic—*rapon*
equal—*nagpapada*
erect—*magtunog*
errand—*bon*
error—*sabag*
escape—*magbarraw*
evacuate—*magpani*
even—*uray*
evening—*gidam*
everlasting—*magnanayon*
evermore—*pepeyang*
evil—*naliñgad*
exaggerate—*palugnoc*
excel—*maaba*
exchange—*magtali*
excursion—*magdadac*
exhaust—*nunawan*
expectorate—*maglutab*
expedition—*magbiahe*
explore—*nacasma*
external—*lasi*
eye—*mata*
eyebrow—*kibobang*
fable—*sinanababobog*
face—*moat*
fact—*incorcorogan*
fade—*nagpulcas*
foeces—*makauel*
faint—*malñgata*
faith—*hasat*
fake—*makoriro*
fall—*metacnag*
fame—*celebraran*
family—*tangabalay*
fan—*ippipidpin*
fancy—*gattokan*
far—*aday-yo*

192 fasten—*igtan*
fat—*nataba*
father—*ama*
favorite—*pacgan*
fawn—*igao*
fear—*nangaingan*
feather—*doc-doc*
fee—*pagsarkan*
feel—*ricnaan*
fellow—*tulay*
female—*babay*
fence—*abot*
fever—*madahang*
few—*tag-isa*
field—*tallon*
fight—*mag-gubat*
fin—*pag-gi*
fine—*mapino*
fire—*ap-apoy*
fish—*sirsida*
fishing—*mamsoc*
fist—*magkaman*
flame—*baga*
flavor—*bañgog*
flea—*kimal*
flee—*cumiyab*
flesh—*tab-bit*
flint—*bato palting*
float—*nagatap-tap-ta-paw*
flock—*balay ayam*
floor—*datag*
flour—*minac-mac*
fly—*tumayab*
foetus—*mabuksit*
follow—*kumiwig*
food—*kac-kanan*
force—*pilitan*
ford—*ababao*
foreign—*agtangeli*
forest—*sirrat*
forget—*alip-panan*
form—*forma*
fortnight—*mehap-pat ñga habi*
fountain—*turlurayac*
free—*libre*
frequent—*cangcanayon*
fresh—*namata*
friend—*op-pon*
freight—*carcargo*
frog—*tucac*
front—*acrang*
frown—*paldiit*
fruit—*buñga*
fry—*magparito*
fuel—*idongso*
full—*napnu*
funeral—*balluc*
fur—*docdot*
further—*ad-adayo*

192

future—*sumab ñga algaw*
gag—*ammotan*
gale—*naggat ñga bali*
gamble—*magsugal*
game—*ayayam*
game-cock—*pagpapalutan*
garden—*gadanan*
gate—*ru-wañgan*
gather—*magpurus*
gay—*mahanggam*
g-string (breechcloth)—*abag*
gentle—*namarru*
get—*al-lat*
ghost—*balañgabang*
girl—*babay*
giant—*haggad*
ginger—*basang*
girdle—*magahat*
gizzard—*binalon*
glad—*nahinggan*
glitter—*silsilang*
gnaw—*innitan*
go—*mapan*
good—*napia*
govern—*iturong*
grandchild—*apo-co*
grandfather—*ak-cag*
grass—*addat*
grateful—*dindoc*
grave—*luboc*
great—napatag
greed—*maglinlinat*
green—*manmanaw*
groan—*magab-lulog*
ground—*taggad*
grow—*dumakal*
grunt—*macasut*
guard—*guardia*
guess—*gittohan*
guide—*abulon*
guilt—*magbasol*
gum—*ngadat*
gut—*inalac*
habit—*gagañgay*
habitation—*pagyanan*
hack—*pagcaduan*
hail—*gau*
hair—*aboc*
half—*godua*
hand—*ima*
handcome—*nataram*
happy—*naragsakan*
hard—*nasatit*
harvest—*maggani*
hate—*locsawan*
have—*at-tan*
hawk—*bukao*
he—*bagina*
head—*ulo*
heal—*mapiyanan*
health—*mapiya nga uray*

192 hear—*gicnan*
heart—*puso*
heart of the tree—*laogat na kayo*
heat—*napaso; papawan*
heavy—*nadammat*
height—*kad-dadu*
heir—*ulo*
help—*bagngan*
hemp—*agas*
her—*agina*
herb—*sakgag*
herd—*huwang*
hermaphrodite—*binabay*
hero—*meñgal*
hesitate—*magpemodi*
hide—*nagsiroc*
high—*anañgodo*
hill—*babantay*
him—*ikaw*
nip—*paing*
hit—*hiñgat*
hoe—*paloc*
hog—*bagbaga*
home—*balay*
honest—*namoro*
honey—*iyokan*
honor—*patag; dayoan*
hope—*namnama*
hot—*napaos*
house—*balay*
howl—*manya*
hull—*magukis*
human—*parsoa*
hunger—*bisin*
hunt—*nanganop*
huntsman—*maranganop*
hurt—*natiliyo*
husband—*atawa lalaki*
husk—*bunot iyog*
hut—*sigay*
I—*iya*
idea—*nakam*
idiot—*tetek*
idle—*ncsadot*
idol—*anantolay*
ill—*madadagang*
image—*aniniui*
imitate—*sumursurot*
immediately—*makaro*
impatient—*awannu anos*
imperfect—*acan napia*
impulse—*posu-at*
incline—*nagpada*
include—*iraman*
increase—*nayonan*
independent—*sisigoray*
influence—*naanannay*
information—*damag*
inhale—*añgatan*
inheritance—*tawid*
injure—*iturad*

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inland—*napaili*
innocent—*awan na panunot*
insane—*mait*
insect—*ililollag*
instinct—*pinarbattan*
instruct—*itoggod*
insult—*pariknaan*
intellect—*nabobot*
intercede—*magba-at*
interpret—*ihologan*
intestine—*sinay*
into—*unag*
intoxicate—*inglao*
introduce—*panggayatan*
invent—*parparbuway*
investigate—*vestigaran*
invite—*magapat*
iron—*plansia*
irrigate—*magtambac or magkanal*
itch—*rasa*
jaw—*dammog*
jewel—*kokoa buñgot*
jog—*lumakto*
joint—*pagtulmohan*
joke—*isisoro*
journey—*biahi*
joy—*anaanggam*
judge—*cues*
jug—*maglagto*
juice—*paspas*
jungle—*ginubat*
junior—*odiyan*
just—*ñgala*
justice—*magpapada iya ordin*
keen—*nawadasiñgan*
kernel—*ngipan mait*
kettle—*caldero*
kick—*ihoktar*
kiss—*magomma*
knee—*atod*
kneel—*magpalintod*
knife—*iko*
knock—*magtugtug*
knot—*bitol*
know—*ammo*
labor—*bannog*
lack—*nakarañgan*
ladle—*iwid*
lad—*annac lalaki*
lady—*pagaduan*
lake—*rabbuac*
lame—*pilay*
lap—*lappo*
large—*abay*
larynx—*baroakbok*
last—*nodi*
late—*naladao*
laugh—*magahaloc*
law—*lintag*

172 lazy—*nasadot*
lead—*ibuso*
leaf—*adon*
leak—*tumodo*
lean—*magterig*
leap—*agkatan*
lee—*magliñgad*
leech—*alimatac*
left—*asigid*
leg—*sikil*
legend—*adodit*
lemon—*dalayap*
length—*paddorot*
liar—*magsigit*
liberty—*kinabiyang*
lice—*cuto*
lie—*sigit*
life—*biag*
lift—*iliñgodo*
light—*nalangpao*
like—*cayat*
limb—*apel*
lime—*apog*
line—*linya*
live—*mabiag*
lip—*bibig*
little—*tete*
li[illegible]—*agtay*
lizard—*alibot*
load—*agto*
loan—*tumkao cukoa*
lobster—*lagdao*
local—*nepagili*
lock—*netalbak*
locust—*dodon*
log—*gubat*
loin—*apel*
lone—*isisissa*
lonesome—*nasanseannoy*
look—*sinnam*
loose—*nakarkaroy*
loot—*matakao*
lop iti—*magpalikon*
loss—*nadadal cocoa*
love—*aram*
lover—*araranan*
low—*aneggad*
lucky—*nagasat*
luggage—*lakbot*
lumber—*dab-bi*
luminary—*siling*
lump—*tangapisi*
lunge—*sumanglag*
lurk—*maglakko*
lust—*pagayatan*
ma—*ina*
mad—*maluc-saw*
maggot—*olag*
magic—*salamangka*
maim—*magputol*
maize—*mait*
make—*kua-an*

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malaria—*kolikog*
male—*lalake*
man-*lac-lacay*
manage—*apuan*
maniac—*nabilag*
manner—*annaurdan*
manure—*awel*
mark—*marka*
marriage—*mañgatawa*
marry—*mag-ga-attawa*
marsh—*dandanoman*
marvel—*balanni*
mask—*mormortan*
massage—*mangilat*
master—*appu*
masticate—*magñgalngal*
mat—*ab-bac*
mate—*abulun*
material—*aruminta*
mature—*malutu*
may—*mayo*
meal—*pinag-kaan*
mean—*ibanag*
measles—*caragnat*
meat—*carne*
middle—*tañgga*
medicine—*agas*
medium—*an-anong*
meek—*natalneng*
melon—*tupa*
melt—*malunag*
memory—*pacadamdaman*
mend—*dinaget*
mental—*nepaulo*
mercenary—*kib-ot*
merchant—*maglaclacu*
mercy—*kaasi*
merry—*mahiningam*
message—*suratdamag*
meteor—*bisto*
method—*ang-angwa*
midwife—*acdua*
milk—*gatas*
mimic—*inapatmo*
mind—*panunot*
miscarriage—*awan na acto*
mischief—*awan na ayayam*
miser—*panawan*
misery—*sakaadao nga biag*
mistake—*sabag*
mix—*ipnu*
mock—*igag-galac*
model—*pagsinnan*
molt—*magsikik*
monkey—*cyong*
monster—*abay anito*
moon—*bulan*
moon shine—*bulan lumsiad*

192 mortar—*altong*
more—*ad-du*
morning—*pag-makat*
mortal—*magnanayon*
mosquito—*agocot*
moth—*kub-kubayan*
motion—*gunay*
mountain—*bantay*
mourn—*mangabi*
mouse—*butit*
mouth—*bugang*
move—*bumeron*
much—*addu*
mud—*pitac*
multiply—*maamamngan*
murder—*pumatay*
muscle—*tab-bit*
music—*kanta*
mustard—*masdarte*
mute—*bin-te*
myth—*todtod*
nail—*ko-ku*
naked—*awan bado*
name—*ñgagan*
nap—*matalac*
nape—*tañggad*
narration—*ababba-an*
narrow—*abbaba se tetete*
naughty—*naiclayaw*
nature—*gaga-ngay*
navel—*pusag*
near—*adanni*
neat—*nadalus*
necessary—*masapsapul*
neck—*buclaw*
necklace—*buñgad*
need—*masapol*
needle—*dagum*
neglect—*igsanan*
neighbor—*kasuba*
nephew—*amanakan*
nerve—*palsi*
nest—*socbot*
net (fishing)—*tab-bukul*
net (hunting)—*baracbac*
never—*nasulit*
news—*dumag*
next—*sumagunod*
nice—*napiapacnang*
nick-name—*isa ngahan*
niece—*amanakan babay*
neigh—*aggoni na cabalyo*
night—*hub-bi*
nipple—*buñgay*
no—*ak-han*
noble—*cangatuan*
nod—*mogdankok*
noise—*pagat*
none—*awan*
nonsense—*awan am amo*
noon—*gidam*
north—*ñgatu*

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not—*iyac*
nothing—*awanin*
notion—*tanabungan*
nose—*igong*
notch—*amtauan*
now—*idiyin*
nude—*cat-cat*
numb—*nabarbarinag*
number—*kaaddu*
nuptial—*sa-uca magnat tawa.*
nurse—*nars*
obedient—*nalagpat*
obey—*anugan*
oblige—*hinurog*
observe—*sisinan*
occasion—*paginoman*
occupy—*occuparan*
odd—*among*
on—*ngin*
once—*mamiran*
onion—*onyon*
only—*sisla*
open—*lyctan*
opportunity—*timpo*
orchard—*abagatan*
orchid—*tagagau*
order—*bilin*
origin—*nag-gayatan*
ornament—*mangogsiya*
orphan—*ulila*
other—*dad-duma*
our—*dacami*
ourselves—*sicsicami*
out—*na-aot*
outlaw—*bandido*
ovary—*alung-ganaan*
overpower—*mangababac*
owe—*utang*
own—*kua*
oyster—*sisip*
pack—*cupagan*
package—*pan-it*
paddle—*pilluga*
pain—*natakit*
pair—*paris*
palate—*dacag*
pale—*nalumlumad*
pal—*amam mo*
palsy—*pagi*
panic—*pamanansing*
pant—*sapon*
papa—*ama*
parch—*magbil-bilag*
pardon—*dispinsaran*
pare—*apetan*
parley—*pag-ong*
partake—*meraman*
particle—*makimoc*
part—*parte*
partner—*abulan*
party—*sayam*

192 pass—*mangwa*
past—*nabalin*
pasture—*magpasture*
paternal—*mag-tal-lad*
path—*dalen*
patience—*annus*
pauper—*pobre nga tulay*
paw—*sipit lagdaw*
pay—*bayad*
peace—*magsoko*
peak—*sigad*
peck—*enogpat*
peep—*maglamdaw*
penalty—*basul*
people—*tulay*
perfect—*awan basol*
perhaps—*alim-bawa*
peril—*macasmac ca nadukec*
permit—*palubosan*
person—*tulay*
perspire—*liñgat*
persuade—*pinasoot*
pest—*pisti*
pestle—*allo*
pet—*iñgayman*
picture—*litrato*
pigeon—*manok*
pigmy—*ababa tolay*
pile—*garogad*
pimple—*aridong*
pinch—*adlatan*
pipe—*suako*
pit—*dogmo*
pity—*alalakan*
place—*giyan*
plain—*tanap*
planet—(*no term*)
plantation—*mulaan*
plate—*plato*
play—*maglalanag*
please—*nagyaman*
pond—*polrok*
pool—*ekayod*
poor—*pobre*
pork—*loblob*
pot—*baña*
potato—*amosi americano*
pouch—*bulsa*
pound—*magbayo*
practice—*padasan*
pray—*magluwalo*
precipice—*bagi*
pregnant—*nabok-sit*
prparation—*sagana*
pretty—*napia*
prevent—*accan ipalubos*
prey—*anan*
priest—*padi*
primitive—*namokod*
prize—*bayad*
procure—*impañgaña*

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produce—*ipaltowad*
profit—*kinasupapek*
property—*ko-kua*
prophet—*abang*
protect—*lipdan*
protest—*mangparbo*
public—*publico*
pull—*goyodan*
pullet—*Pippiak*
purchase—*ilako*
pure—*pudno*
purgative—*purga*
push—*ito-lin*
put—*ipay*
quarrel—*magbaal*
quick—*magkaro*
raft—*gahit*
rage—*cusec-cot*
rain—*odan*
raise—*iñgato*
ram—*kiaw*
ransom—*benayaden*
rare—*taggit*
rat—*olag*
rattan—*battat*
rattan fruit—*uway*
ravine—*sibutbug*
raw—*namata*
read—*magbasa*
rear—*magpatul-li*
reason—*rason*
rebuke—*ulis-san*
receive—*awatan*
recall—*ayaban manin*
recent—*baro*
reduce—*assayan*
refuse—*addi*
regret—*pac-gan*
relate—*ibagi*
relative—*kabagiyan*
relish—*napalubusan*
remain—*nabansi*
remedy—*pamacyanan*
remember—*liglagipan*
remove—*apaunan*
repent—*nahappoli*
reprove—*nasan*
reptile—*id-daw*
rescue—*magid-dap*
resent—*nito*
reside—*magiyan*
resolve—*ipagubo*
respect—*daydayawan*
rest—*magimang*
resume—*inage*
retain—*bansiyan*
retaliate—*intugat*
retire—*naucut*
return—*magallian*
revere—*pangegalan*
rice—*ammay*
rich—*baknang*

192 ride—*maglugan*
roll—*ipolin*
room—*cuarto*
rooster—*awitan*
rope—*tali*
rough—*nagurad*
round—*libboto*
route—*dalan*
row—*batog*
rub—*lolodan*
run—*tumaray*
rum—*poto*
ruthless—*mabogog*
sack—*midyas lalaki*
sacred—*panglangad apo*
sad—*lamlamodo*
sale—*lako*
salt—*asin*
sand—*ginat*
sanitation—*pinagdaloe*
sap—*sopsopin*
satisfy—*napnap*
savage—*ar-ran*
say—*nana*
scab—*apet*
scalp—*lub-lub-ulo*
scant—*adu*
scarce—*taggit*
scene—*anti-cot*
scent—*am-may*
scoop—*aclo*
scowl—*bemnog-gong*
scrape—*kiriveran*
secret—*secreto*
secure—*asma*
seed—*bohal*
seek—*sapulan*
seize—*no term*
sell—*ilako*
send—*ipaoit*
sense—*naham*
separate—*isibna*
serious—*icurcurog*
service—*badang*
set—*nagtagao*
settle—*umlad*
severe—*nasamñga*
sex—*kina-tao*
shadow—*aviniu*
shame—*aliyao*
sharp—*natadam*
shave—*magikuning*
she—*ag-gina*
shell—*sawit*
shelter—*lidom*
shield—*alatag*
shine—*sumilang or sumi-nag*
shoot—*paltogan*
short—*ababba*
shoulder—*abaga*
shout—*umarkit*

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show—*ipassiñgan*
shower—*arikamo*
shut—*gippan*
shy—*nahaliyao*
sick—*magtahit*
side—*behat*
sight—*nasiñgan*
sign—*singyas*
silver—*samparado*
similar—*barbaray mag pada*
sin—*basal*
sincere—*pudpudno*
sing—*magkansion*
single—*sissa*
sirrup—*no term*
sure—*pudno*
skeleton—*tolang*
skin—*cudil*
skull—*tulang ulo*
sky—*añgodo*
slap—*tappitan*
slay—*mamasi*
sleep—*matudog*
slice—*lagipen*
slide—*nalikorat*
slow—*mabayag*
small—*tette*
smart—*naturad*
smell—*laban*
smile—*umesam*
smith—*panday*
smoke—*manabako*
snag—*nagkansion*
snail—*barikoko*
snake—*ba-lat*
snare—*sikwat*
sneeze—*banan*
snout—*bang-gang*
soap—*sabon*
sob—*umibig*
sober—*maduken-yaga*
soft—*nañgalog*
sole—*tomang sapatus*
solid—*sibbakal*
some—*doddoma*
somewhere—*panda ñga lugar*
son—*anak ñga lalaki*
song—*kansiyon*
soon—*daddarina*
soot—*gam-mot*
sorrow—*ladladiñgit*
soul—*cararuwa*
soup—*digo*
sow—*bunubon*
space—*lugar*
spank—*dispagan*
soup—*dig-go limpa*
spear (hunting)—*siñgal*
spear (fishing)—*say-ang*
spear—*paltop*

192 spectator—*magbayboya*
speech—*dikorso*
spill—*ibuc-buc*
spit—*maglotab*
spirit—*adudua*
splinter—*pagsiwsiw*
spoil—*pinamon*
spot—*labang*
spring—*rabrab*
squash—*arabasa*
squat—*magmarisoho*
stab—*bagkoñgan*
stair—*dadaksiyan*
stand —*magsihad*
star—*bitiwan*
start—*magrabbowat*
starve—*magbisin*
stay—*maggiyan*
steel—*gim-mit*
step—*dammay*
sterile—*nagamuan*
stern—*iñgato*
stiff—*umitar*
still—*pahamla*
sting—*silod*
stink—*sinilid*
stomach—*sinay*
stone—*bato*
stoop—*makokobbo*
stop—*umibbat*
store—*tinda*
storm—*pag-aged*
story—*ibobog*
stove—*dapog*
straight—*natunong*
strange—*tatangngeli*
strangle—*aptugan*
stray—*bulat-to*
stream—*awiweg*
strength—*ulnit*
strike—*gangñgatan*
string—*lubid*
strip—*pedec*
strong—*nakulnit*
stump—*tunged*
sty—*sil-lod*
substitute—*pata-li*
succeed—*nagasat*
suck—*sumuso*
suffer—*magikam*
suffocate—*mapso*
sugar—*sucar*
sugar cane—*unat*
suicide—*magpat-tal*
sum—*dagup*
sun—*mata*
surround—*malebot*
swallow—*talnan*
swamp—*lipaw*
swear—*magsapata*
sweat—*liñgat*
sweet—*nadañgin*

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swell—*lumanat*
swim—*manalog*
swing—*swing*
table—*lamesa*
taboo—*bawal*
tail—*addado*
take—*al-luc*
talk—*maguni*
tame—*mag-paaga*
tap—*tarugtugan*
tear—*picsiyan*
teeth—*ñgipin*
tell—*ab-baga*
terrible—*nakan-anansing*
test—*ramanan*
thank—*salamat*
thatch—*atap*
the—*ye*
theirs—*itoni*
them—*ag-gida*
they—*ag-gida*
thick—*nucnag*
thigh—*lap-pu*
thin—*naniwang*
thing—*alicaman*
think—*damdamman*
thirst—*naw-iwaw*
this—*did-di*
those—*da-toni*
thread—*kapat*
throat—*barukob-boc*
throw—*ib-ñgat*
thrust—*itaggad*
thunder—*ad-aog*
tickle—*kilac*
tie—*igpat*
tighten—*ig-tan*
time—*uras*
toad—*bayac*
tobacco—*tabacco*
today—*idi ñga algaw*
tomato—*camait*
toe—*kureremang biñgel*
tongue—*dlia*
tool—*aruminta*
top—*dahay*
torch—*in-teg*
tortoise—*bisucal*
touch—*imman*
toy—*ay-ayam*
track—*tag-ni*
trade—*mañgal-liag*
trail—*dalen ahan kalsada*
translate—*ib-baka*
trap—*bwac-bac*
travel—*mag-duc-dac-dac*
treasure—*masmac*
tree—*ka-yu*
tree (large poison)—*abay-kayu*
tree (small poison)—*bit-tic kayu*

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tribe—*tanga-illian*
trick—*salamangca*
trip—*biahi*
true—*kurog*
truth—*kur-korug*
turtle—*pad-ong*
task—*tarabaho*
twig—*pasanga*
twilight—
twin—*siñgin*
typhoon—*bag-yaw*
ugly—*nadakec*
uncle—*ulitug*
under—*linong*
understand—*am-muan*
upward—*ialingod-da*
urine—*pus-sag*
us—*dacam-mi*
utensil—*arigañgot*
vein—*uhat*
vegetable—*tagil-pa*
vein—*uhat*
venison—*tapa-ugta*
vine—*las-sia*
vine (poison)—*mawini*
vinegar—*las sam*
volcano—*volcano*
vomit—*ut-ta*
wag—*mañgwihiwi*
waist—*ab-bac*
wait—*id-dagan*
wake—*bumañgon*
walk—*manab-bon*
want—*mi-log*
war—*huoat*
warm—*napasu*
warrior—*ki-a-a*
wash—*ugat*
watch—*idag-gan*
water—*danon*
waterfall—*suday*
wax—*li-lin*
way—*dalen*
we—*dac-tada*
weak—*nahapsut*
wealth—*nabac-nang*
wean—*mamis-su*
weather—*tiamu*
wedding—*mangakit*
weight—*gino*
well—*napiyanan*
west—*al-lod*
what—*nagan-na*
where—*hayana*
while—*sekara*
whip—*ba-ut*
whisper—*magar-aratat*
who—*in-naton*
whole—*ngam-min*
why—*taan-na*
wild—*ditalun*
widow—*bokod*

192

wife—*at-tawa*
win—*nañgabac*
wind—*bally*
wine—*bas-si*
winnow—*lalaindawan*
wisdom—*cagamac*
woman—*bac-bacat*
womb—*ohi*
woo—*dum-dam man*
work—*tarabaho*
wound—*taliñgu*
wrap—*bugot*
wrist—*pongpongowan*
wrong—*sab-bag*
yam—*ubi*
yank—*bac-lat*
yawn—*macuyab*
yell—*an-ta-wac*
yelp—*añga-lac*
yes—*o-o*
yesterday—*kahedamen*
yolk—*balab-bagat iclag*
yonder—*diman*
you—*ikaw*
young—*baho tulay*
zigzag—*nakiwal*

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA 19 Ifugao
Apayao OA5
Isneg

341
342
335
192

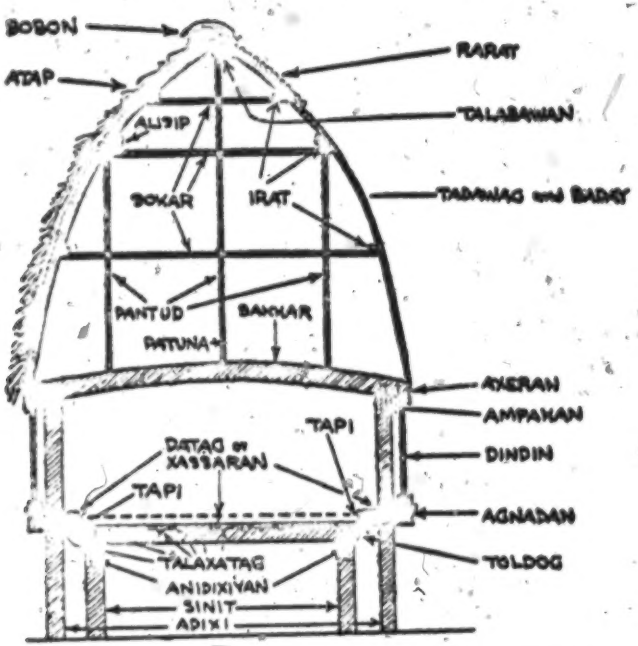

Fig. 6. - Isneg *binuron*-style house. The diagram is a composite of an unoccupied house built about 1905 in *barrio* Magabta, Kabugao, and another unoccupied house in *sitio* Malitaw, Namultugan, examined on 18-20 April 1956; terminology taken from "Isneg Buildings" by Morice Vanoverberg, CICM, *The Philippine Journal of Science*, Vol. 82, No. 1 (March 1953), pp. 77-108.

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Southern Strain. Each of these two long girders (*anadixiyan*) is mortised into the top of three posts (*sinit*) which elevate the floor to about the height of a man's shoulder, and across these girders are eleven floor joists (*toldog*). The actual flooring (*datag* or *xassaran*), however, is a mat of bamboo grass or rattan, and it rests on a series of thin laths (*talaxatag*) mortised into the upper surface of the joists, parallel, therefore, to the girders beneath. Also riding on the joists are two longi-

[824]

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao
Apayao OA5
Isneg

tudinal beams or stringers *(tapi)* whose top surface is about three inches higher than the flooring and into which are mortised, at the same level, four longer crossbeams *(agnadan)*—two at one end of the house and two at the other—which protrude a foot of more beyond the ends of the joists. Mortised into the outer ends of these crossbeams are their horizontal equivalent, sills into which the base of the wall-boards *(dingding)* are rabbeted; and between these sills and the parallel stringers short laths are also mortised to support a sort of flooring platform or seat about a foot wide along both sides of the house.

A remarkable feature of the Isneg house is the way in which the roof is supported on posts which are set in the ground *outside* the floor-supporting posts but *inside* the wooden walls of the house, passing up through the little side platforms. These six posts *(adixi)* carry two longitudinal beams *(ampakan)*, while three crossbeams *(sakkar)* are mortised into either the posts themselves or the *ampakan*-beams. Fitted into the outer ends of these crossbeams are longitudinal beams serving both as a base for the rafters *(tadawag* and *baday)* and as the upper track for the wall-boards, the appropriate groove being deep enough to allow the boards themselves to be lifted up and slipped out of the lower groove so that the house can be converted into a kind of open covered platform. From the crossbeams also rise a kingpost *(patuna* or *pantud)* and two queenposts *(pantud)*, across which are three tiebeams *(sokar)* terminating in three purlins *(irat)* on each inner face of roof, which is a base of reeds *(rarat)* to which the grass roofing *(atap)* is lashed. The rafters themselves, alternately wood and reed, are bowed into a graceful arc, and rise to a ridgepole *(talabawan)*

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
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342 335 192 824 which protrudes beyond the ends of the house to protect the smoke holes in the gables.

The Isneg house not being square in plan, its opposite ends are quite different from one another. At 341 342 335 [824] one end, just outside but a bit higher than the transverse beam into which the upper ends of the wall-boards are rabbeted, is another transverse beam whose upper edge is grooved to receive a second tier of wall boards which close the upper section of the gable save for a few feet at the top which are left open as a smoke hole or only loosely covered with horizontal bamboo. The other end of the house terminates in a kind of transverse platform or annex with a lean-to roof up against the gable itself; at the outer two corners of this little annex, in line with the full width of the building, are two more *sinit*-posts under the wall itself, a circumstance which has led some observers to report with slightly dramatic exaggeration that the floor, walls and roof of the Isneg house are supported on three separate sets of posts. The floor of [513] [562] this annex is slightly higher than even the little side platforms of the house proper; Cole reported fifty years ago that it was a special sleeping area for men,[104] and H. Otley Beyer recalls that women were not even allowed to set foot there.[105] In the long sides of the house three or four windows are produced simply by omitting some of the wall-boards; since the door opens into one of these sides, however, it might be more appropriate to refer to it as the "front" rather than "side". [417] Entrance is gained by means of a permanent short flight of steps or ladder.

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[113]

[104] Cole, Fay-Cooper, "Distribution of the Non-Christian Tribes of Northwest Luzon," *American Anthropologist*, new series, Vol. XI, No. 3 (July-September 1909), p. 347.

[105] Personal statement during interview in Manila on Feb. 19, 1962.

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao OA19
Apayao OA5
Igorot OA20
Nabaloi
Bontok OA12
Philippines OA1

lects (e.g., Ilocano *balay,* Cagayan Negrito *bali',* Ibanag *bale*) and pretty generally throughout the Philippines (e.g., Mandayan *baey,* Tagalog *bahay*) — to say nothing of far Polynesia (e.g., Hawaiian *hale,* Samoan *fali).* The Bontocs, however, call their houses *afong.*

Bawi is another pan-Montane word which certainly appears to be cognate with *bali,* yet in almost all dialects both words are present and the distinction between them consistent — *bali* is "house" and *bawi* is "hut". More specifically, a *bawi* is a temporary or casual shelter like a campsite; in no dialect is it applied to buildings permanently occupied as dwellings. An element of permanence is incidentally lent some of the *bawi* in the Bontoc area because of the fact that such look-out or omen-seeking campsites on the ridges outside the town limits were prominent features of warfare in the old head-taking days, and trips to such sites have nowadays been fossilized into religious ceremonies which make the *bawi* somewhat shrinelike. Travelers who find themselves in between settlements at nightfall or in the face of threatening thunder-heads may build a grass *bawi,* and so might workers who have to stay all day in the hot sun in the fields. In Apayao the same term is applied to the simple roof erected over a blacksmith's forge. But generally, huts which have even a small permanent role to play in the community life are not called *bawi;* in Kalinga and Apayao, for example, sheds or shelters in the fields from which children scare birds away from the crops are called *sigay,* and in Benguet *abulan.* The Nabaloi do not use the word *bawi* for a campsite hut as such, but have the term as a verbal stem which underscores its basic meaning — to

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao OA19
Apayao OA5
Isneg -
Kalinga OA24

Manangol, houses whose long girders are supported on six posts and houses whose floor joists are cut into the posts that support the roof are both called *'olub*. The big octagonal houses are called by various names (e.g., *kinipas* in Tanglag, *ginitob* in Dakalan), but *binayon* or *finaryon* is understood through most of Chico Kalinga. It may be noteworthy that the Isneg call their big houses, which are certainly anything but octagonal, *binuron*, and that while modern Kalinga informants distinguish their octagonal houses as being "round" or "eight-sided", older natives characterize them as "big and wooden". There is also a tendency in the common speech of eastern Kalinga and Conner district of Apayao to distinguish the big houses from the *kulub* as *balay*.

Comparison of the terminology of structural parts discloses only a few which are pan-Montane, and these happen also to be pan-Philippine. The cross-thatching which forms the ridging of the roof is called *bubong (bobon)* from Ifugao to Kabugao and the ridgepole supporting it *bobongan, panabfongan, pamabbongan, tampfongan, tappongan*, etc., while the Tagalogs apply the word *bubong* to the roof itself. The grass roofing (Ifugao *atop*, Bokod *atep*, Bangad *otop*, Isneg *atap*) shows up in distant Mindanao as Agusan Mandayan *atep* and Tiruray *atef*, and can even be recognized in Tagabili *kêtêf*. So, too, the walling of the house—it is *dingding* in Tagalog as all along the Cordillera from Apayao to Baguio, with variants like *diding* occuring as far apart as Sagada and Upi, Cotabato. Expert for these examples, however, Isneg architectural terminology has nothing in common with the rest of the Province, unless we hear an echo of their *talaxatag* in the *tarata* floor of the Bangad *'olub*. (It is to be noted, however,

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
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that the Isnegs also have a smaller house constructed in their plantations for seasonal occupation, whose shorter floor-supporting posts are called *tukid* like the pan-Montane *tokod,* and whose *bansag* bamboo flooring is surely cognate with the *basag*-flooring of the Saliegseg house.) Below the roof, there are almost no pan-Montane terms. The Ifugao *bughol* (rafters) reach western Bontoc, and their *kuling* (girders) as far down the Chico as Bangad, while certain Kalinga terms have fairly wide local circulation (e.g., their *bat-ang* joists or *pongo* rafters), but a common feature like the two girders present a whole list of unrelated forms — e.g., from south to north, *ballangan, kuling, ina, pyayon, mamansangan, andixiyan* — and even the two stringers distinctive of the Northern Strain are variously called *tapi, anisil, fychis,* and *kinalayan.* This variety is to be expected inasmuch as it was not house styles that were transmitted from one people to another, but individual features and building techniques, — for which reason the rather awkward term "strain" has been adopted in this paper rather than "style."

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Granaries throughout the Mountain Province are called *alang* except in the Kankanay speech of the western shoulder of the Cordillera which shares the Ilocano *agamang.* The word *agamang* itself is rather mysterious, for the Ifugaos apply it to the communal segregated dormitories whether they occupy big *bale*-style houses or mere *abong*-huts, and the Ilocanos themselves — at least in La Union — distinguish another shape of granary (one with vertical rather than slanting sides) as *salosal.* In the absence of further data, perhaps the following flight of fancy might be entertained as a tentative explanation. *Agamang* was originally a kind of

I [121] [198]

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193 GRAMMAR--lexical elements (e.g., roots, stems, bases); composition (e.g., compounding, polysynthesis); morphology (e.g., prefixing, suffixing, infixing, ablaut, reduplication, extrusion); covert structure; word categories (e.g., gender, "parts of speech"); modulus categories (e.g., number, tense, comparison, voice, aspect, mode, case); predication; syntax (e.g., intra- and interseentential linkage); end and initial sentence marking; minimal and abbreviated sentences; etc. See also:

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postponed for a considerable time. Others again say that *Kútaw* robs it of its garments and dons them himself, to the great dismay and shame of the poor *kadudúwá*, who from now on is obliged to wear either no clothes or at least only such as are not cared for any more by its companions at the other side of the grave. The latter informants usually add that *Kútaw* refuses to ferry this *kadudúwá* over the pond, unless it gives its brand-new clothes to him; some of them say that it may happen that *Kútaw* takes to himself not only the clothes, but also the whole *kadudúwá* (as a kind of servant). One more detail was given me by a Bayag informant: if the dead person has only one of his forearms tattooed (not both of them), *Kútaw* cuts off this tattooed limb and keeps it to himself.

To resume: some informants state that all *kadudúwá* are always ferried over the pond by *Kútaw*, but that those whose *innát* wears no new clothes, remain like that at least for some time to come, or are left to their own devices as soon as they reach the other side, without being able to find their relatives, at least immediately, while those whose *innát* wear new clothes without rent are either despoiled by *Kútaw* or kept back for at least a considerable time from the enjoyment that is their due. Other informants state that some *kadudúwá* are simply scorned by *Kútaw* and left on this side of the pond: either those whose *innát* wear old clothes, or those whose new garments have not been torn. On the other hand, when asked what *kadudúwá* are living in the realm of the dead, even these last informants generally affirm that they all do.

A *labbáń* is a kind of lagoon or pool of stagnant water, of a type found in abundance all along the northern coast of Luzon, between Sanchez Mira and Aparri, and even farther east. At Nagbabalayan there is also a *labbáń*, which consists of a pool of water separated from the Apayaw river by a small elevation of land; at every large rise of the Apayaw river, however, it forms one with the latter. This Nagbabalayan *labbáń* is the regular abode of crocodiles, to whom the Nagbabalayan people offer gifts at every sacrifice. But the name *lablabbáń* belongs exclusively to the pond that separates our abode from that of the dead. Such a reduplication as occurs here usually hints at something similar to what the simple stem implies. Thus *lablabbáń* would mean a *labbáń* that is not an ordinary one, and, considering its place and use, no further proof is needed to convince everybody that it is a very peculiar pool indeed. The following mysterious fact adds to its differentiation from any other *labbáń*:

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765 paratively young woman living at Bayag and called *Dariká*, who has
775 not eaten rice and taro for four consecutive years, and at the present
262 time (March, 1931) she still *maŋgabí*. The reason is that she has had to mourn successively her husband and several other members of her family. She stated to me that she had completely forgotten the taste of rice. After the *obóbăt*, when the prohibition is lifted, these persons always mix a few *awát* herbs with the rice they are cooking for their first meal, and they consume the *awát* together with the rest. For a month afterwards, they also usually abstain from corn, yams and sweet potatoes.

765 *Magló:* this consists in abstaining from the use of anything of which the deceased was particularly fond, and may be practised by anybody who wants to show his esteem for the person in question. The purpose of the Isneg is to leave the use of these things to the person who went to the realm of the dead, and this abstinence may be protracted for many years, although it usually stops at the *obóbăt*. So, if the deceased was fond of yams, sugar, etc., the mourners abstain from eating these articles of food; if he was a great smoker, they forego the use of tobacco; if he was a drunkard, they stop drinking *básí*; if he was accustomed to make much ado about his apparel, they wear nothing but a G-string and a headband. I have known a man who drank no water, but only coconut milk and so forth, because his deceased father was wont to drink much water. While I am writing these lines, there is a man in the house who uses absolutely no salt with any of his meals; he wishes to reserve it for his deceased brother who was exceedingly fond of much-salted food. If the deceased liked to play the *balikíŋ* or nose flute, such instruments are left aside for the time being. If the woman for whom they mourn was a good *oritáŋ* (native guitar) player, the mourners give up playing that instrument; and so on.

765 It should be noted in this connection that the Isneg also under-
523 stand the meaning of a souvenir or keepsake. If the deceased had made something nice or had a trinket or instrument which he valued
193 very highly, the survivors take those things to themselves as *panam-dammán* (something used to remember or to think about somebody; from the stem *damdám*, "thinking", the prefix *paŋ*, *ŋ* of the prefix and *d* of the stem being combined into *n*, and the suffix *ăn*) or *pag-sinsinnán* (something used to see or to look at somebody; from the stem *siŋán*, "seeing", reduplicated and syncopated into *sinsinn*, the prefix *pag* and the suffix *ăn*).

000 "No, you," said the deaf man. They spent nearly the whole day arguing as to who would climb the tree. At last the deaf man was the one who climbed the coconut tree. When he had nearly reached the coconuts, it happened that he slipped and fell down. He cried, "I am falling."

The blind man began to hunt for the coconuts and found the head of his companion. He took it and started husking it. He took off the hair, then the skin, and then broke open the bone and came to the brain. "This is the best meat of a coconut that I ever ate," he exlaimed, and ate it all. Then he returned home. When the blind man brought what he supposed to be a coconut, the people told him that it was the head of his companion.

NOTES ON APAYAO GRAMMAR

197 The Apayao language is quite complete and is related to the neighboring Ibanog and Kalinga speech.

193 The plural is formed by placing the numerals before the singular. Thus: *babalay* (house) and *opat ñga babalay* (four the houses). In daily speech the Apayao is careless of his figures, which he doesn't use much, or he may just say: *"ada ñga babalay"* (many the houses).

The possessive is formed with the suffixes: *—co* (first person), *—mo* (second person), and *—da* (third person). Thus: *babalay-co* (my house).

The gender is often derived from the context or may be formed by adding *babay* (woman) *la-*

lacay (man). Thus: *aso ñga babay* (dog the female) 193
or aso ñga *lalacay* (dog the male).

The comparative is formed thus: good—*napia*, better—*napipia*; *best*—*kapian*.

Many of the verbs are regular: but some are irregular. If inclined, the Apayao can state his meaning very clearly in his language.

Conjugation of the verb, manalan (walk)
(Bayag River Dialect)
as commonly used.

INDICATIVE MODE

Present Tense

Singular	Plural
First person *manalan-nac*	*manalan-kami*
Second person *manalan-ka*	*manalan-kayo*
Third person *manalan*	*manalan-da*

Past Tense

First person *dinalan-ko*	*dinalan-mi*
Second person *dinalan-mo*	*dinalan-mo*
Third person *dinalan-na*	*dinalan-da*

Future Tense

First person *manalan-nak*	*dalanan-mi*
Second person *manalan-ka*	*dalanan-mo*
Third person *manalan*	*dalanan-da*

The tense is partly determined by the context.

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PROGRESSIVE TENSES

Present Tense

First person singular—*magdaldalannak*

etc.

Past Tense

First person singular—*magdaldalannak*

etc.

Future Tense

First person singular—*manalannak*

etc.

Subjunctive Mode

Present Tense

First person singular—*manalan na din*

etc.

Imperative Mode

Singular—*manalan ka* Plural—*manalan kayo*

Infinitives

Present Tense	Present Perfect Tense
manalan	*dinalan*

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NUMERALS

1.	*isa*	20.	*dua pulo*
2.	*dua*	30.	*tallo pulo*
3.	*tallo*	40.	*appat pulo*
4.	*appat*	50.	*lima pulo*
5.	*lima*	51.	*lima pulo se isa*
6.	*annam*	60.	*annam pulo*
7.	*pitto*	70.	*pitto pulo*
8.	*walo*	80.	*walo pulo*
9.	*siyam*	90.	*siyam pulo*
10.	*pulo*	100.	*sañgagatot*
11.	*sangapulo se isa*	1000.	*sangaribu*

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194 PHONOLOGY--phonetic range; list of phonemes; significant length, stress, pitch, and tone; positional variants; phonologic processes (e.g., contraction, fusion, ellipsis); etc. See also:

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764 before the corpse is washed, and with the definite purpose of forestalling the trouble of burying it. None of my Isneg informants,
775 however, could give me any further explanation, neither were they able to tell me, of course, how a dead body could disappear at once without more ado. The only statements they uttered were such as these: "This was the custom in olden times . . . . , formerly no *innát* was ever buried . . . . , the *tarimbáñon* was once a universal custom . . . . , long ago all Isneg *nanarimbáñon* . . . . ", and so on. Or is the whole *tarimbáñon* affair a myth pure and simple without any foundation in fact? Maybe, but my informants certainly did not entertain any such ideas: they were firmly convinced of the reality of such happenings in bygone times, although they were completely unable to explain away any of the contradictions involved. Have their mortuary beliefs and customs changed in the course of time? Or does the *tarimbáñon* replace all other ceremonies and force *Kútaw* to bring the *kadudwá* over the *lablabbáñ* without further requirements? I do not know, neither do the Isneg seem to know.

[194 Once buried a dead body loses its name *innát* and may eventually
775 become a *balañóbāñ* (sometimes pronounced *bañalóbāñ; balañóbañ*, in Iloko, means "wanderer, vagabond", and is applied to ordinary human beings who are still alive), "ghost, phantom", a term which is almost always confined to wandering ghosts. The fact of becoming or not becoming a *balañóbāñ* after burial depends on the character of the deceased. If he is a good and virtuous person, he will be ashamed (say the Isneg) to wander about and annoy the neighbors in the shape of a *balañóbāñ;* or if some such person should become a wandering *balañóbāñ*, he will either go far away from the place of his tomb in order to startle unknown (and consequently unbeloved) people, or stay in the immediate neighborhood of the place of his death, but without bringing vexation to anybody around: all this because he is good and would feel ashamed to do otherwise. All other corpses, and these seem to form a considerable majority, become wandering *balañóbāñ*, and annoy the neighbors, except of course when they are kept from doing so by magical or other practices on the part of the living. If these practices, which keep a *balañóbāñ* at bay, are powerful enough, nothing is to be feared; but if they are ineffective, or if magic which causes a *balañóbāñ* to leave its grave and vex the neighbors is more powerful, then woe to your chickens. Indeed a *balañóbāñ*, after two or three nights in the grave, may not

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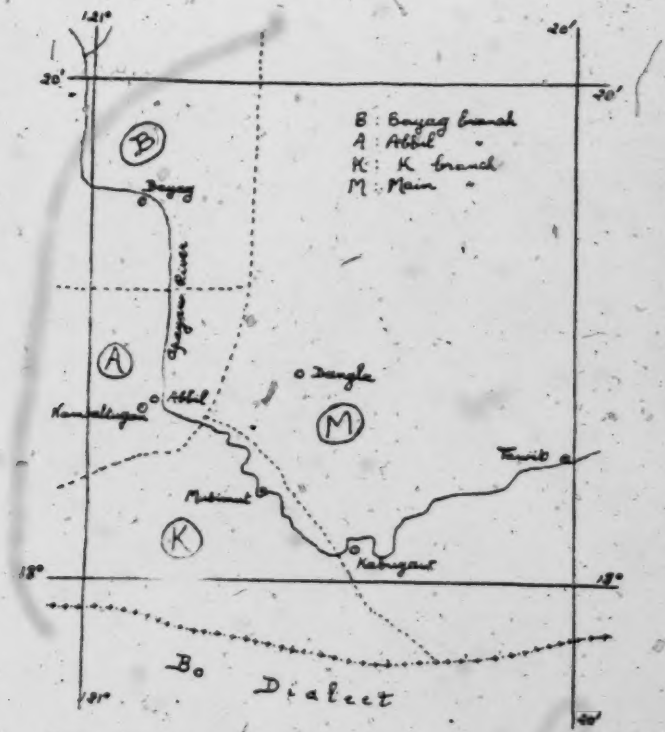

SKETCH MAP OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE FOUR BRANCHES OF THE O DIALECT.

SCHEMA I

Following the course of the Apayaw river

	(to bear fruit)	(mosquito)	(nail)
(B) Bayag:	*makbisi-*	*agòxúp*	*xoxó*
(A) Abbil:	*magbisi-*	*agoúp* [3]	*oó*
(K) Musimut:	*magbisi-*	*axokúp*	*kokõ*
(M) Kabugaw:	*magbisi-*	*axoúp*	*oó*
(M) Tawit:	*magbisi-*	*axoúp* [4]	*oó*

[3] As has been stated before, we do not mark the glottal catch between two vowels, *op. cit.*, 4.

[194] [4] In Tawit the *x* is often scarcely audible, especially at the beginning of a word, and the glottal catch would very often be taken for a *x* by inexperienced ears. So *axoúp* might sound almost as *aoxúp*.

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SCHEMA II

Passing the mountains between Bayag and Kabugaw

(B) Bayag:	*makbisi-*	*agoxúp*	*xoxó*
(M) Dangla:	*magbisi-*	*ayoúp*[5]	*oó*
(M) Kabugaw:	*magbisi-*	*axoúp*	*oó*
(M) Tawit:	*magbisi*	*axoúp*[5]	*oó*

In this connection I should like to warn the reader that the text of a given informant does not always and in every particular render faithfully his own special dialect or branch of a dialect, and this for the following reasons:

1. On the part of the informant:

Communication between the different parts of the subprovince is increasing at a rapid pace; and so, except for old women (who are rarely available informants for investigators) and a few exceptionally backward persons (from whom no reliable information can be obtained), the Isneg tends to adopt, at least occasionally, a pronunciation which is not strictly his own. At first, marriage and marriage ceremonies were almost the only means of bringing together persons who pronounced their gutturals in a different way. Later on, however, more extensive travelling brought male representatives of every district into contact with one another. This was mostly due to the gradual elimination of headhunting raids and, although in a less marked degree, to the building of better roads. Now again, with the opening of schools in the larger centers and the introduction of compulsory education, boys and girls flock together from all parts of the subprovince, and differences in pronunciation tend to become obliterated, or rather, the language actually spoken by most of them offers to the ear a confused medley of gutturals.

Besides, an educated Isneg, and, incidentally, a good many others who can lay no claim to education, very often affect the use of Iloko words and sentences, pronounced as in Iloko (*x* none, glottal catch rare), or at least affect the pronunciation of the gutturals as in Iloko, although using pure Isneg words.

[5] This is the *y* of the Anthropos alphabet. For the sake of uniformity, however, and to avoid confusion (as we use the sign *y* for another consonant), we always write *x* for all texts in M of the O dialect, even for those that originated in Dangla and surrounding villages.

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584 My informant emphatically stated that nothing untoward would yet happen at this juncture.

192 In this text we have one word borrowed from the Spanish:
In (1, *L.*), *sirrá*, from *cerrar*, to close".

Also one Iloko term in juxtaposition with its Isneg equivalent:
In (3, *B.*), Iloko *babáwi* and Isneg *appóli*, "repenting" (the *ó* in *appóli* and in the derivatives above, 3, *B.* and 4, *B.*, is like the *aw* in English "dawn", but longer).

Besides, one Iloko expression, a favorite with many Isneg:
In (4, *L.*), *kas pagarígān*, "for instance".

TEXT IV

[584 115] This text consists in a dialogue between a boy and the girl he courts for the first time. In the latter part of the dialogue, the answers of the girl are lacking. My informant is Kimat from Baliwanan (M), 539 who calls it *mamabáy*, "to court a girl".

1. *L.: maxápugka man ikáw.*
   B.: wag[23] *kud mamáńko ikáw.*
2. *L.: busídmo yān ikáw.*
   B.: paxádigmo xané ta magbusbusígka.[24]
3. *L.: bakkán luxúd nam ăy nńko ampčlańin.*
   B.: námmo no ikáw.
4. *L.: sč- bakkán ikáw.*
   B.: úrăy no námmo ikáw ăy pandá ńalá.
5. *L.: atán yān ikáw no dôdúma se pč iyá.*
   B.: tān nam ăy bakkán kammalańin kurkurúggin.
6. *L.: úrăy no bakkán kurúg ăy piyáńko walá.*
   B.: poonáńă- pč ikáw.
7. *L.: úrăy man no aniyá ikáw ya malak-ámăńko ăy pandá ńalá.*
   B.: maammóa ikáw dilámo walá ibańát.
8. *L.: úrăymo walá sinnán t.*
   B.: díyă- miyamánān abbulón no mapooná.
9. *L.: isá ampčlańin ikáw ya axiyáńko manín.*

[194]

[23] *(a)wád*: *d* changed into *g*, before *k*.
[24] *busíd*: Cf. preceding note.

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195 STYLISTICS--differentiation in styles (e.g., conversational, narrative, rhetorical); stylistic modifications in phonology, grammar, and vocabulary; styles typed according to sex, age, status, and social context; euphemisms and metaphorical usages; profanity; etc. See also:

Poetic, oratorical, dramatic, and song styles	53	Word taboos	784
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Etiquette	576	Obscenity	831

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they are fatalists to a large extent, but I have assisted at many death-beds, and, although the shouting and lamenting that goes on after a person's demise are certainly a part of what might be called a customary rite, I am bound to disagree with the statement regarding the supposed absence or shallowness of grief. As evidence, I shall merely adduce two concrete examples.

In August 1930 a little Iloko (Christian) girl of from four to five years old died in the house where I was receiving hospitality at the time. The mother lamented as usual as soon as the child had breathed its last. But for hours before, she had been squatting near her little daughter, weeping silently most of the time, and occasionally giving vent to her feelings in a subdued voice through expressions like these: "Ah, my child . . . . my little Udiang (Claudia) is gone . . . . would that I might die instead . . . . why do you leave your mother? . . . ." Who would dare assert that there was no real and profound grief in that mother's heart?

In May 1924 I happened to enter the house of a Kalinga (pagan) who had just died. A score of women were making a frightful scene, squatting around the dead body and yelling to their utmost; but in a corner of the hut the wife of the dead man was standing all alone and by herself, weeping and sobbing almost inaudibly. Who would believe that the widow's grief was only superficial and that her whole behavior was part of a make-believe?

The question is that under such circumstances a casual looker-on may be led to view only one part of the scene, the one that strikes his eyes and ears the most powerfully; but an unbiased observer must not forget to note even unobtrusive details, and only then will he be able to judge rightly about the matter.

With some tribes it is customary for those who assist a dying person repeatedly to press the latter's throat with their fingers, just as if they wanted to help him choke to death. This, however, is not practised by the Isneg.

It should be noted in this connection that an Isneg husband or wife, while lamenting his or her partner, always uses the term *kokóboń* (Bolo, Musimut, etc.) or *óboń* (Dangla, etc.), "partner", not the usual term *atáwa*, "husband, wife".

If it should happen that a person dies in the absence of his parents, in case these are still living, the latter are said to be *malibátan*. The stem *libát* means "leaving unawares, without notice".

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243 A person who *magtósa* is liable to be punished by finding the ears of
184 his palay devoid of grain.

Reapers and owners of a field that is being harvested are not permitted to touch needles (*dáxum*).

262 When the Isneg begin to eat new rice, especially the first time, the following articles of food are prohibited: frogs (*tukâ-*), eels (*kíwat*), *adduŋ* (a species of very small dark-colored shrimp), *to-mám* (a kind of vegetable growing wild), and in some districts,—for instance at Dangia, not at Bolo,—the young shoots (*úbud*) of the *aníboń* (Caryota cumingii, Lodd., a fishtail palm) and any kind of sour fruit.

243 The use of arrows (*paltá-*) is absolutely forbidden in the *síxăy*.
184 Even the pronunciation of its name, *paltó-*, in the hut, is taboo.

A person who is cut (*maplág*) by sharp-edged leaves (for instance, those of the *bassáw* or bamboo grass, of the *adás*-sedge, etc.) must not pronounce the word *pallág* (wound caused by these leaves); he is merely allowed to show the wound to his companions, without calling it by name.

The pronunciation of the word *narupâ-*, "broken", is taboo. Anybody who infringes this prohibition may rest assured that one or more of his *báńa*-jars will become *madammêli* (broken at the time of the harvest).

243 Besides the above words, whose pronunciation is absolutely for-
195 bidden, there are a good many others that must be replaced by a different term.[1] In this way a kind of cant or jargon is formed, which an uninitiated person is unable to understand, even though he have a perfect knowledge of Isneg. A few examples will suffice:

	Common language	Reapers' cant
To eat:	*maglámus* or *mańán*	*magdanág* or *mananág* [57]
To be hungry:	*mabisin* (if you pronounce this word, you will go hungry for a whole year)	*nala-gíń*
To be stuck in the eye: (by reeds, etc.)	*masoltá-*	*mabuláw*
Dead (when hearing about somebody's death):	*natáy*	*marísam* [58]
Rain:	*udán*	*daródo*

[57] *Nadanág*, in ordinary language, means: to be through with the harvest.

[58] Even though the dead person had no field that was being reaped at the time.

1[at harvest time--Analyst]

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The following terms have been heard at Talifugu (Bo dialect): 243 195

	Common language	Reapers' cant
Dog:	*áto*	*alíal*
Hog:	*ábuy*	*dinakán*
Chicken:	*anú-*	*kăyabkáb*
Monkey:	*ayóń*	*kilsáp*
Cat:	*kusá*	*lannáń*
To eat:	*mańán*	*mańunág* [55]

This is also the time[1] for proposing riddles (*baníko*), a pastime that is taboo in other seasons. Most of these riddles are stereotyped and well known all over the district, otherwise the solution of some of them would be absolutely impossible, as they consist of words that have become obsolete or that are entirely without meaning. Nevertheless new riddles are always welcome, and so the inventive genius of some of the natives is given much scope. 524

In order to avoid crowding into this paper too large a number of native texts, I refer the reader to a paper to be published subsequently, in which I give a long list of riddles and of their answers, all of them gathered during my prolonged sojourn in Apayaw.

It is also customary among the natives to set snares (*ílug*) for jungle fowls all around the *kómăn*, at the time of the harvest, when these birds are especially bold. An Isneg never fails to improve the opportunity of getting a few choice morsels at little cost. 223

Harvest time is the season in which most spirits, good and bad, are abroad, and so the Isneg has a busy time, first to force his protectors to come and help him, and then to propitiate or drive away the evil imps that are intent either on stealing or harming his paddy, his most valued possession, or on playing all kinds of mischief and mean tricks. Besides these, in almost every village, we find one or more dwelling places of special *aníto* (spirits) that have to be remembered at this time of the year. At Dangla, for instance, the reapers never omit to pay their respects to the genius who lives at *Pinaxolowán*, by offering him *inapúxăn* (betel for chewing). 243 782

When offering *inapúxăn* to the spirits, at harvesting time, some or all of the following prayers may be recited:

Iápugko íkáw uláť ta umad-adăyyóka kadakamí (I offer betel [for chewing] to you, Famine, so that you be going away from us).

[55] *Mazunág*, in ordinary language, means: to enter the house.

1 [i.e., at harvest time -- Analyst]

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196 SEMANTICS--general problems of meaning and linguistic symbolism; semantics of morphological and lexical elements; affectual connotation (e.g., tone of voice, rapidity of delivery); multiple contextual definitions of words and phrases; semantic drift; etc.

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Ne uwámo pílăy dímo as-assăyán dăyá ammáy dăyá isagaddán[19] (Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you do not lessen the rice of the people).

Ne uwámo ílăy ta batbattuxánnă- (Here, this is yours, Ilay, so that you be satiating me).

The text of these formulas was given me by men from Dangla (O dialect, Main branch), the last one by *Lampá*, the others by *Púlog*.

Whatever I have said of the *Pílăy* so far applies to the majority of Apayaw villages. Nevertheless in a few agglomerations, the *Pílăy*, instead of being loved and invoked with religious awe, are loathed and execrated by the inhabitants, who do everything in their power to drive them away. This seeming anomaly may be easily accounted for in the following way. It has been said in a preceding paragraph that some *Pílăy* steal rice in order to increase the harvest of their devotees; consequently there must be somebody somewhere whom they are in the habit of robbing, and the victims can do nothing else, of course, but resent it tremendously. Therefore we find Isneg who use this or a similar ceremony in order to make the *Pílăy* decamp: they go to the bushes, near some tree, and, holding a receptacle for lime (*agapúxăn*) in one hand, they recite the following prayer. My informant, *Dagámi*, a Bayag woman (O dialect), gave it this title:

Makpídut Pílăy (To extract Pilay[20])

[19] *Púlog*, my informant, gave "people, men" as the meaning of *isagaddán*. According to most of my informants, *isagaddán* (never pronounced *isaxaddán*) means: members of the Christian tribes, especially the Kagayan and the Iloko; while *ibaññán* means: natives, Isneg. In prayers, however, *isagaddán* mostly stands for "the people who offer a sacrifice, who pray, who seek protection from the spirits". Actually these terms are rarely or never used in ordinary conversation. Now, taking everything into consideration, I cannot help believing that originally the term *isagaddán* stood for something like "the faithful, those who pray, those who offer a sacrifice, the devout, the initiated, etc.", while *ibaññán* meant "the outsiders, those who are invited to a sacrifice, the uninitiated, etc.", and that later on the term *isagaddán* came to be applied to those tribes (Kagayan, Iloko) who were recognized by the Isneg as possessing a culture (perhaps) and a power (certainly) superior to their own, and the term *ibaññán* to themselves. With the advent of Christianity, these terms would then have become obsolete in ordinary speech, and the terms Ibanag (Christians) and Isneg would have taken their place. Even now the term Ibanag for "Christian" is becoming more and more obsolete: to the Isneg of the younger generation Ibanag means Kagayan, and the other Christian tribes are known by their own tribal name.

[20] *Pídut* usually means "extracting the sickness from someone's body". In Iloko *pídut* means "picking up".

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197 LINGUISTIC IDENTIFICATION--dominant language or languages; affiliation with other languages; position within a linguistic stock or family; dialectic differentiation; processes of linguistic change (e.g., drift); etc. See also:
Racial affiliations . . . . . 144 Cultural affiliations 171

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THE ISNEG LIFE CYCLE. I. BIRTH, EDUCATION, AND DAILY ROUTINE

By MORICE VANOVERBERGH, C.I.C.M.

Mountain Province, Philippine Islands

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[1] On the habitat of the Isneg of the subprovince of Apayaw, Mountain Province, Northern Luzon, Philippine Islands, see details in M. Vanoverbergh, The Isneg, Publ. Cath. Anthrop. Conf., 1932, v. 3, no. 1, esp. pp. 55–57, map, p. 51: on Isneg language, with phonetic key, ibid., pp. 3–14. [Since writing and forwarding the manuscript of the present paper, Father Vanoverbergh has discovered that what he previously had called the G branch of the O dialect of Isneg is in reality two separate branches which he is now calling the Bayag branch (abbrev. B), spoken in the municipal district of Bayag, and the Abbil (abbrev. A) branch, spoken in the municipal district of Namaltugan. So he is eliminating G and substituting B and A. Detailed data on B and A, received from Father Vanoverbergh since the receipt of this manuscript, will be published shortly.—Ed.] In native words used in the present paper the accent (′) is placed over, instead of after, the accented vowel. Accented *n* (*ń*), however, denotes, not accent, but the ng sound in English "*bring*".

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761 Besides, the objects that are
placed in the coffin at burial are supposed to be used, not by the
775 corpse, but by the *kaduduwá*, so that the connection between the two
764 continues at least for a certain period after death. Add to this that the *balańóbáń* or revivified *innót* is also definitely known to belong to the dead person as well as his *kaduduwá:* this is proved by the fact that the transformation of the corpse into a *bulańóbáń* is supposed to depend on the character of the person, while the latter was still alive, all of which will be explained in due time.

774 Third, the term *kaduduwá* itself. Semantically, and perhaps lin-
197 guistically, the Isneg term *kaduduwá* corresponds to the Iloko term
775 *kararuá*, "soul". Semantically: both terms have probably an identical meaning: anyhow they most certainly refer to one and the same thing: the spirit of man that continues to live after death. Perhaps linguistically: when we compare several Filipino languages with one another, it is clearly seen that *d* and *r* very often interchange; for instance: Ibanag *nararál* and Iloko *nadadáel* (destroyed), Isneg *matúdog* and Iloko *matúrog* (to sleep), Isneg *adú* and Ibanag *arú* (many). *A* and *o* or *u*, when not bearing the accent, are often interchanged, or at least their pronunciation is blurred and they are hardly to be distinguished from one another; for instance: Isneg *maxudódit* and *maxadódit* (to tell a story), *obóbát* and *abóbát* (the ceremony that concludes the period of mourning). And so, linguistically, the distance between Iloko *kararuá* (pronounced *kararuwá*) and Isneg *kaduduwá* does not seem to be very great.

Etymologically, however, Isneg *kaduduwá* and Iloko *kararuá* seem to be entirely different; on the contrary, the Isneg term *kaduduwá* and the Iloko *kaduá* (pronounced *kaduwá*) are one etymologically, although seemingly very different semantically: as *kaduá* in Iloko means "companion", which in Isneg is rendered by *kabbulón*. Both Isneg *kaduduwá* and Iloko *kaduá* are composed of the stem *duwá* (written *duá* in Iloko), "two", partly reduplicated in Isneg, and the prefix *ka*, indicating companionship, concomitance, etc., in both languages.

In view of all this it seems reasonable to infer that the Isneg seem to consider the spirit that continues to live after death, not exactly as a companion (in this case they would call it *kabbulón*), but as a part of something, a counterpart, something that goes with something else (prefix *ka*), and to which, in numbers, it would correspond as number "two (*duwá*)", not in time and successively or consecutively, but concomitantly (on account of the prefix *ka*).

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APPENDIX

Types of Dialogues between a Boy and the Girl whom he is Courting

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

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In my first paper on the Isneg, I divided the Isneg language into two dialects, and I further subdivided one of them into three branches.[1] Since that time I have had the opportunity of making a more complete survey of the whole situation. Consequently, instead of one G branch, as I called it at the time, I find it necessary to count two, as the differences between both are strongly marked. Now, for the sake of clearness, I would eliminate the name "G branch", and substitute two others, namely: the Bayag branch and the Abbil branch. For the rest everything stands as in my first paper.

Thus we have the following outlook:

Language: Isneg.
Two dialects: Bo and O.
The O dialect divided into four branches:
Main branch (abbr. M);
K branch (abbr. K);
Bayag branch (abbr. B), spoken in the municipal district of Bayag;
Abbil branch (abbr. A), spoken in the municipal district of Namaltugan.

The accompanying rough sketch map, which should be used in connection with the more elaborate map that appeared in the aforementioned paper,[2] and the following two schemas of the sequence of the gutturals within the O dialect, will make the matter clear.

[1] Cf. Publ. Cath. anthrop. conf., 3: 13.
[2] Op. cit., 51.

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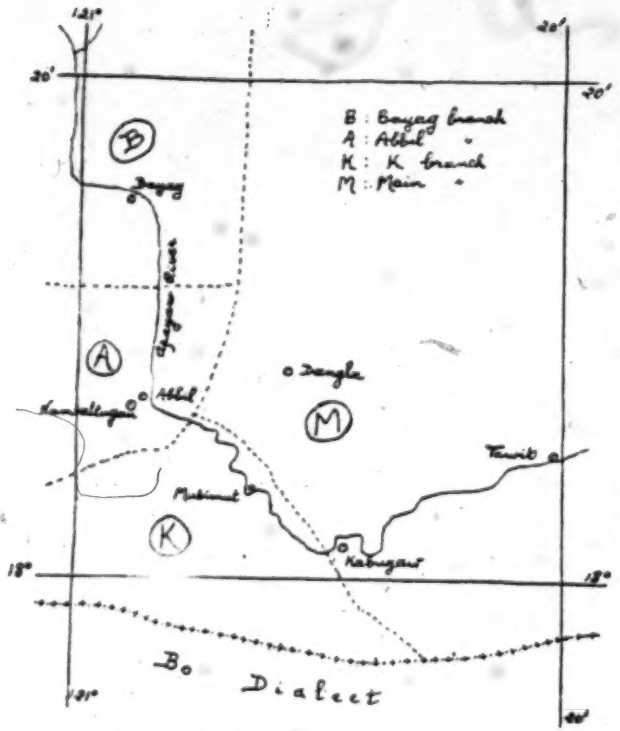

SKETCH MAP OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE FOUR BRANCHES OF THE O DIALECT.

SCHEMA I

Following the course of the Apayaw river

	(to bear fruit)	(mosquito)	(nail)
(B) Bayag:	*makbísi-*	*agoxúp*	*xoxó*
(A) Abbîl:	*magbísi-*	*agoúp* [3]	*oó*
(K) Musimut:	*magbísi-*	*axokúp*	*kokó*
(M) Kabugaw:	*magbísi-*	*axoúp*	*oó*
(M) Tawit:	*magbísi-*	*axoúp* [4]	*oó*

[3] As has been stated before, we do not mark the glottal catch between two vowels, *op. cit.*, 4.

[194] [4] In Tawit the *x* is often scarcely audible, especially at the beginning of a word, and the glottal catch would very often be taken for a *x* by inexperienced ears. So *axoúp* might sound almost as *aoúp*.

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SCHEMA II

Passing the mountains between Bayag and Kabugaw

(B) Bayag:	*makbisi-*	*agoxúp*	*xoxó*
(M) Dangla:	*magbisi-*	*ayoúp*[5]	*oó*
(M) Kabugaw:	*magbisi-*	*axoúp*	*oó*
(M) Tawit:	*magbisi*	*axoúp*	*oó*

In this connection I should like to warn the reader that the text of a given informant does not always and in every particular render faithfully his own special dialect or branch of a dialect, and this for the following reasons:

1. On the part of the informant:

Communication between the different parts of the subprovince is increasing at a rapid pace; and so, except for old women (who are rarely available informants for investigators) and a few exceptionally backward persons (from whom no reliable information can be obtained), the Isneg tends to adopt, at least occasionally, a pronunciation which is not strictly his own. At first, marriage and marriage ceremonies were almost the only means of bringing together persons who pronounced their gutturals in a different way. Later on, however, more extensive travelling brought male representatives of every district into contact with one another. This was mostly due to the gradual elimination of headhunting raids and, although in a less marked degree, to the building of better roads. Now again, with the opening of schools in the larger centers and the introduction of compulsory education, boys and girls flock together from all parts of the subprovince, and differences in pronunciation tend to become obliterated, or rather, the language actually spoken by most of them offers to the ear a confused medley of gutturals.

Besides, an educated Isneg, and, incidentally, a good many others who can lay no claim to education, very often affect the use of Iloko words and sentences, pronounced as in Iloko (*x* none, glottal catch rare), or at least affect the pronunciation of the gutturals as in Iloko, although using pure Isneg words.

[5] This is the *y* of the Anthropos alphabet. For the sake of uniformity, however, and to avoid confusion (as we use the sign *y* for another consonant), we always write *x* for all texts in M of the O dialect, even for those that originated in Dangla and surrounding villages.

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197 2. On my own part:

126 In my dealings with the Isneg I use the Main branch of the O dialect, while in writing I use the K branch for reasons given before.[6] So it may have happened that, in writing down texts, my own ordinary use of M has influenced me to write down a given word as I myself would have pronounced it, or my use of K in writing has caused me to put down K's where they were absent in the informant's pronunciation.

Nevertheless I have always tried to write down texts as faithfully as possible, and now I start publishing them as I have them, without trying to correct anything, even though an occasional guttural that appears in a given term does not belong to the correct language of a given informant.

The above warning is given here once for all, and it refers to all Isneg texts that I shall publish in the future.

TEXT I

[584] This text is a continuous dialogue between a boy and the girl he goes to court for the first time. My informant is Baydan from Tawit [115] (M), and he calls it *maibabbáy*, "courting the girls".

539 1. *Lalái: iápugnā- man ikáw*[7] *ta adú kanó ya mamā́mmo a nā́nda.*
Babā́y: āwán pańalakkā́nta ka mamá ńa ńáxan balái.[8]

2. *L.: nā́mmo ăy pagdamadámagda ńa nagsinśińda ka mamá.*
B.: díta maxańgám no mapooná ńam ăy.

3. *L.: mańuwáa pagká- kiyá atā́n kammalańín simpapadā́n.*
B.: turā́ńka mańuwá ka ibatā́ymo ka asitólăymo.

4. *L.: díka mańaluníb kiyá ittó ya nā́ńko.*
B.: xapó walá xanć ta ummā́nta kiddí ya agdalidálēnta ńa dadúma.

[6] Op. cit., 14.

192 [7] *ikáw*, sometimes pronounced *kaw*, which literally means "you", and which I render by 'you', is a little term which is very hard to translate. The Isneg use it all the time, and always in the form *ikáw*, although when it stands for the personal pronoun, those who use the Main branch pronounce *iáw*. Here thus it stands for something like "come on now", "what is the matter", but it changes its shade of meaning with every context.

[8] *balái* is a term used with affectation; the real ordinary word is *babā́y*; *balái* is made to look similar to *lalái*, "man".

yaos after the principal river in their country. Some say the word Apayao was originated in their fierce battle cry *"Ma-ap-ay-ao."* During this call the hand is clapped rapidly over the mouth so that the cry sounds much like the American Indian war-whoop. This cry is also used at a feast: when a new visitor comes, when the basi is brought in, and when a pig is killed.

I will endeavor to describe, from personal observation of its still numerous cultural remains, something of the life of the Apayaos as it no doubt existed little changed during the long centuries during which their folktales were formed.

The life of these people has much to do with the streams of the country along which most of them live. They do not live on the river flats, but on the mountain sides for safety. Many of their communities are named after the streams near which they are located. A considerable part of the food is obtained from the streams; and they are used for washing, bathing and swimming, as well as for scenery. Much of the transportation is on the streams, and the men are expert boatma nand raftsmen. During the heavy rainy season transportation on swollen rivers is perilous; but it is carried on somewhat. The result is that many a banca has over-turned in the roaring rapids; much valuable merchandidse still lies in the deep pools at the feet of those rapids; and many of family mourns the loss of a loved one. Therefore stories of the streams often occur in the legends of the people.

The people on each stream were isolated from each other for many centuries so that there has come to be quite a difference in their customs and dialects.

000 to be quite a differenc in their customs and dialects.
●197 Along the length of the Apayao River there are three
162 separate groups. They can understand each other about the way that a Spaniard understands an Italian.

DRESS

291 The ordinary dress of the people is simple. The
[302] men wear breechcloths or G-strings, *abag*. They keep their hair long and coil it on the head. It is confined with a length of cloth wrapped turban fashion.
[304] The hands and wrists are tattooed in the boat pattern.
[142] The teeth are blackened. Each man has a small, de-
[276] corated bag, *bulsa*, in which he keeps his betel nut,
[293] *buyo*, lime bottle, tobacco, flint, tinder, and other small belongings. This is tucked, either into the G-string or in a belt woven of rattan. The woman, when about
301 her work, wears only a tapis. She has a necklace of
523 ancestral beads, shaped from chalcedony, silver and carved amulet bones. There are also patterned porcelain beads in the string. Many of these were obtained from the Chinese when they were active traders here some five centuries ago. Gold does not appear
[304] to be used. The woman has boat-pattern tattoo marks
[291] on the back of her hands as an aid to beauty. The
[854] small children make their skins do as clothing. Babies are carried about by the mothers in slings passed over one shoulder.

292 When all dressed up and ready to go to a party,
301 the woman wears a dark tapis, *aquen;* a cloth girdle, *bajacat;* a short-waisted, long-sleeved, black, pull-on shirt, *badiyo*, all characteristically embroidered in red; a head cloth with spangles, *laddong* and *saban*, topped

000 "No, you," said the deaf man. They spent nearly the whole day arguing as to who would climb the tree. At last the deaf man was the one who climbed the coconut tree. When he had nearly reached the coconuts, it happened that he slipped and fell down. He cried, "I am falling."

The blind man began to hunt for the coconuts and found the head of his companion. He took it and started husking it. He took off the hair, then the skin, and then broke open the bone and came to the brain. "This is the best meat of a coconut that I ever ate," he exlaimed, and ate it all. Then he returned home. When the blind man brought what he supposed to be a coconut, the people told him that it was the head of his companion.

NOTES ON APAYAO GRAMMAR

197 The Apayao language is quite complete and is related to the neighboring Ibanog and Kalinga speech.

193 The plural is formed by placing the numerals before the singular. Thus: *babalay* (house) and *opat ñga babalay* (four the houses). In daily speech the Apayao is careless of his figures, which he doesn't use much, or he may just say: *"ada ñga babalay"* (many the houses).

The possessive is formed with the suffixes: *—co* (first person), *—mo* (second person), and *—da* (third person). Thus: *babalay-co* (my house).

The gender is often derived from the context or may be formed by adding *babay* (woman) *la-*

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao OA19
Apayao OA5
Isneg
Kalinga OA24

Manangol, houses whose long girders are supported on six posts and houses whose floor joists are cut into the posts that support the roof are both called *'olub*. The big octagonal houses are called by various names (e.g., *kinipas* in Tanglag, *ginitob* in Dakalan), but *binayon* or *finaryon* is understood through most of Chico Kalinga. It may be noteworthy that the Isneg call their big houses, which are certainly anything but octagonal, *binuron*, and that while modern Kalinga informants distinguish their octagonal houses as being "round" or "eight-sided", older natives characterize them as "big and wooden". There is also a tendency in the common speech of eastern Kalinga and Conner district of Apayao to distinguish the big houses from the *kulub* as *balay*.

Comparison of the terminology of structural parts discloses only a few which are pan-Montane, and these happen also to be pan-Philippine. The cross-thatching which forms the ridging of the roof is called *bubong (bobon)* from Ifugao to Kabugao and the ridgepole supporting it *bobongan, panabfongan, pamabbongan, tampfongan, tappongan,* etc., while the Tagalogs apply the word *bubong* to the roof itself. The grass roofing (Ifugao *atop,* Bokod *atep,* Bangad *otop,* Isneg *atap)* shows up in distant Mindanao as Agusan Mandayan *atep* and Tiruray *atef,* and can even be recognized in Tagabili *kêtêf*. So, too, the walling of the house—it is *dingding* in Tagalog as all along the Cordillera from Apayao to Baguio, with variants like *diding* occuring as far apart as Sagada and Upi, Cotabato. Expert for these examples, however, Isneg architectural terminology has nothing in common with the rest of the Province, unless we hear an echo of their *talaxatag* in the *tarata* floor of the Bangad *'olub*. (It is to be noted, however,

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao OA19
Apayao OA5
Igorot OA20
Nabaloi
Bontok OA12
Philippines OA1

lects (e.g., Ilocano *balay*, Cagayan Negrito *bali'*, Ibanag *bale*) and pretty generally throughout the Philippines (e.g., Mandayan *baey*, Tagalog *bahay*) — to say nothing of far Polynesia (e.g., Hawaiian *hale*, Samoan *fali*). The Bontocs, however, call their houses *afong*.

Bawi is another pan-Montane word which certainly appears to be cognate with *bali*, yet in almost all dialects both words are present and the distinction between them consistent — *bali* is "house" and *bawi* is "hut". More specifically, a *bawi* is a temporary or casual shelter like a campsite; in no dialect is it applied to buildings permanently occupied as dwellings. An element of permanence is incidentally lent some of the *bawi* in the Bontoc area because of the fact that such look-out or omen-seeking campsites on the ridges outside the town limits were prominent features of warfare in the old head-taking days, and trips to such sites have nowadays been fossilized into religious ceremonies which make the *bawi* somewhat shrinelike. Travelers who find themselves in between settlements at nightfall or in the face of threatening thunder-heads may build a grass *bawi*, and so might workers who have to stay all day in the hot sun in the fields. In Apayao the same term is applied to the simple roof erected over a blacksmith's forge. But generally, huts which have even a small permanent role to play in the community life are not called *bawi;* in Kalinga and Apayao, for example, sheds or shelters in the fields from which children scare birds away from the crops are called *sigay*, and in Benguet *abulan*. The Nabaloi do not use the word *bawi* for a campsite hut as such, but have the term as a verbal stem which underscores its basic meaning — to

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
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that the Isnegs also have a smaller house constructed in their plantations for seasonal occupation, whose shorter floor-supporting posts are called *tukid* like the pan-Montane *tokod*, and whose *bansag* bamboo flooring is surely cognate with the *basag*-flooring of the Salegseg house.) Below the roof, there are almost no pan-Montane terms. The Ifugao *bughol* (rafters) reach western Bontoc, and their *kuling* (girders) as far down the Chico as Bangad, while certain Kalinga terms have fairly wide local circulation (e.g., their *bat-ang* joists or *pongo* rafters), but a common feature like the two girders present a whole list of unrelated forms — e.g., from south to north, *ballangan, kuling, ina, pyayon, mamansangan, andixiyan* — and even the two stringers distinctive of the Northern Strain are variously called *tapi, anisil, fuchis,* and *kinalayan*. This variety is to be expected inasmuch as it was not house styles that were transmitted from one people to another, but individual features and building techniques, — for which reason the rather awkward term "strain" has been adopted in this paper rather than "style."

Granaries throughout the Mountain Province are called *alang* except in the Kankanay speech of the western shoulder of the Cordillera which shares the Ilocano *agamang*. The word *agamang* itself is rather mysterious, for the Ifugaos apply it to the communal segregated dormitories whether they occupy big *bale*-style houses or mere *abong*-huts, and the Ilocanos themselves — at least in La Union — distinguish another shape of granary (one with vertical rather than slanting sides) as *salosal*. In the absence of further data, perhaps the following flight of fancy might be entertained as a tentative explanation. *Agamang* was originally a kind of

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198 SPECIAL LANGUAGES--marginal languages (e.g., pidgin, trade languages); languages confined to a particular sex, occupation, social class, or ethnic group; special adaptations of speech (e.g., yodeling, whistling, ventriloquism); etc. See also:

Sign languages 201
Drum languages 202
Writing 212

yaos after the principal river in their country. Some say the word Apayao was originated in their fierce battle cry *"Ma-ap-ay-ao."* During this call the hand is clapped rapidly over the mouth so that the cry sounds much like the American Indian war-whoop. This cry is also used at a feast: when a new visitor comes, when the basi is brought in, and when a pig is killed.

I will endeavor to describe, from personal observation of its still numerous cultural remains, something of the life of the Apayaos as it no doubt existed little changed during the long centuries during which their folktales were formed.

The life of these people has much to do with the streams of the country along which most of them live. They do not live on the river flats, but on the mountain sides for safety. Many of their communities are named after the streams near which they are located. A considerable part of the food is obtained from the streams; and they are used for washing, bathing and swimming, as well as for scenery. Much of the transportation is on the streams, and the men are expert boatma nand raftsmen. During the heavy rainy season transportation on swollen rivers is perilous; but it is carried on somewhat. The result is that many a banca has over-turned in the roaring rapids; much valuable merchandidse still lies in the deep pools at the feet of those rapids; and many of family mourns the loss of a loved one. Therefore stories of the streams often occur in the legends of the people.

The people on each stream were isolated from each other for many centuries so that there has come to be quite a difference in their customs and dialects.

201

201 GESTURES AND SIGNS--patterned expressions of emotion (e.g., affection, aggression, derision, fear, disgust); gestures of affirmation and negation; indications of size and shape; directive signs (e.g., beckoning, warning); sign languages and their use (e.g., by the deaf, in intertribal communication); etc. See also:

Recreation gestures 62
Gestures in dancing, drama, and oratory . . . 63
Nervous gestures 157
Postures 516
Humor 522
Greetings and obeisances 576
Numerical signs 902
Ideas about facial reactions 927
Suggestive gestures 932

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question and bring the water home, when without such trouble, the same, and even a much better, result can be obtained by using the water where it is found

The Isneg wash their hands before meals, or, to speak correctly, dip one of their hands in water with a semblance of washing it: they occasionally tell their offspring to do the same.

In order to satisfy the wants of nature, they always retire far away from the presence of other human beings lest they offend the latters' sense of smell: an Isneg resents nothing more than the disregard of this elementary courtesy, and children receive a severe scolding and sometimes a sound thrashing, if they fail to imitate their elders in this respect. Special closets for the purpose were entirely unknown here until Government officials introduced them by force: there is no lack of space in Apayaw.

Isneg women sweep the house, not only daily, but whenever there is a reason for doing so, and they clean the yard very often. Small girls are regularly told to help their mother or their elder sisters, and sometimes to do the sweeping in their stead, so that they also may learn how to perform the duties of a good housewife.

Let us now pass to the noble sport of *bisndg*. *Bisndg* is very popular all over the northern part of the Mountain Province, while Ibaloy and Kankanay seem not even to know it Among the Isneg, not only boys and young men, but also men of mature age, frequently indulge in it; nay, at stated times, adults take part in it as in a kind of religious rite or ceremony; but more of this later. Isneg youngsters usually practice *bisndg* in imitation of their elders, merely as a kind of play, whenever it takes their fancy to do so. Although this sport is not formally taught, older people often urge boys to take part in it, and they rarely fail to break out into vociferous applause, whenever one of the young braves has performed his part befittingly, in this way encouraging the whole group to do better and better.

Bisndg certainly inures the partakers to hardship and develops their bodily strength, although, to use a minimum of words, one might say that it merely consists in slapping one another's thigh. But such a statement is all too simple; in reality the sport is much more complicated. There must be at least two men in order to play *bisndg* (Figures 1 and 2), and strictly speaking, two men are sufficient: the one who slaps, whom I shall call the agent for short, and the one who is slapped, the patient.

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yourself as best you can. Any kind of excuse will do in order to 576
escape a thrashing or a severe scolding, provided it proves accept- 593
able; but take care not to be caught lying: this could but add to the 577
latter's resentment. To get out of a bad predicament a little deceit 888
is not forbidden, but not everybody can use it with good results; so be careful about it".

Lately, when paying a visit to *Basílig* at Pansian, his daughters set [264]
the table (in the Isneg way, of course) for him, and partook of the food only after their father had finished his own meal, although this is not required by custom.

In general the Isneg have a high regard for their parents and elders, although in our eyes their conduct may sometimes seem to be lacking in outward signs of respect. Their standard of etiquette and [554]
politeness is not exactly the same as our own. An Isneg child calls its parents "father" and "mother", and a usual title of respect for aged people is *kakáy*, but for the rest it is not very demonstrative.

So, when an Isneg mother recently came to visit her son at my house, the other boys repeatedly told him that his mother was there, but he did not move in the least: the old woman had to go and look for him herself somewhere around the house. Nevertheless that boy had asked me on a former occasion to be allowed to stop going to school in order to help his widowed mother with the wages he would be able to earn that way.

To be convinced that Isneg children respect their elders, although 578
most all outward signs common to our own code are usually absent, 577
it is sufficient to observe their behavior and that of their elders, when- 576
ever something untoward has happened. Isneg children look like
angels, if you compare their attitude and whole demeanor with that [201]
of older men and women, who shout and gesticulate and allow the whole neighborhood to know what happened, without having to go out of its way to listen to the conversation. Boys and girls usually keep quiet when their parents are angry, while in the case of older people it is a question of proving who has the loudest voice, the one that carries the farthest: among the Isneg, the biggest shouter usually gains the victory.

An unmannerly person is called *toxároń*; this epithet, however, is 576
only applied as far as I know, to a person who drinks directly from
the *urúd*, a bamboo that is used for fetching water, instead of using 271
a cup.

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lawful revenge for a former injury: a traveler who passes your village is a guest more than anything else, so show him the way with truth and exactitude, whenever you are questioned about it. In a word, be truthful, whenever you have no grave reason to act otherwise; and, with reference to your enemies and the Ibanag, deceit is usually lawful: only special circumstances might oblige you to stick to truth even in their case."

Isneg know little of what we understand by courtesy: they rarely come out of their house, for instance, to show you the way. If you ask them for information, they usually give it to you, truthfully indeed, but without taking the trouble to appear and show the direction by gestures, which would ordinarily be much clearer, at least to a complete stranger, than mere oral indications. Under this respect a Negrito is generally much more correct, at least according to our own point of view.

Now let us consider a few vices and crimes more in particular.

"Never kill or wound a friend: this is a crime that calls for vengeance. Perhaps he was far from right in sustaining the quarrel, but you inevitably put yourself in the wrong by resorting to bloodshed. A homicide or any kind of severe wounding among friends brings in its wake at least the customary looting of the house of the culprit. So beware, control yourself in time, before it is too late to repent. When you are engaged in some dangerous business,—for instance, when hunting,—always be prudent and see that no harm befalls any person. Death by violence is a terrible thing; bloodshed is never allowed among people who are not at enmity with one another".

Two examples will show very clearly how little the Isneg care about intention or purpose; the result of your act is the only thing they consider: if you killed a person, it is wholly immaterial whether you did it intentionally or not, whether it was premeditated or done by accident, whether you could have prevented it or not, whether there was culpable negligence on your part or not.

Last year an Isneg soldier from Musimut went to hunt at night with some friends and relatives. He handed his gun to one of his kinsmen living at Nagbabalayan, gave him the necessary instructions, and then went the other way to drive the game in the direction of the man with the gun. When the latter fired at the deer that ran toward him, he killed the soldier instead: the poor fellow must have lost all sense of direction or forgotten about the place where he left his gun; anyhow he died after a few moments. No sooner was the

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the fact that I had used his daughter. Can you beat it?" Needless to say, the conversation was practically a soliloquy on the part of the policeman. I do not believe though that his action was consonant with the Isneg code of morals; but this incident, and especially the answer of the girl's father, shows clearly how different is the state of man and woman among the Isneg, with reference to sex morality.

It should be added here that the father would probably have objected much more strongly to the man who took such liberties with his daughter, if he had not been a policeman. The latter are supposed to be more or less immune and may take liberties not accorded to others, probably on account of their position. Isneg in general resent that: I have heard them say so more than once; but they are afraid to object too strongly, and so policemen mostly do what they like: their reputation is far from clean all over the district, although I do not believe that they are all equally blamable. Later on I heard that, at the time of the above occurrence, the policeman had intended to make the girl his second wife, an engagement which had been broken off at a subsequent date.

It may be noted in this connection that among the Isneg a man, whether single or married, who commits adultery with a married woman (*manaládag*) is thought to be driven to his crime by some evil spirit. In such a case his guilt would be considerably lessened in our point of view; not so, however, in that of the Isneg: in his eyes, it is only the ultimate act that counts, as has been stated before.

"A fit of anger usually makes a man ridiculous in the eyes of the bystanders. It is true that when there is question of a rightful quarrel, you should never fail to sustain it; to be meek and patient under the circumstances would be mere cowardice. Nevertheless everybody is inclined to laugh at the behavior of an angry man: so, although you be strictly in your right, try to control your anger sufficiently not to cause others to laugh at you.

"You know our belief with reference to people who are wont to laugh at the defects of other persons (*magdóla*): if such people are married, they will be punished by having their children suffer the same defect; if they are still young, the children who will be born to them in the future will be misshapen (*pákań*).

"A certain amount of *básí* is not to be despised, but drinking to excess is always bad. Who respects a drunken man? Besides, think about the consequences: quarrels, fights, bloodshed, revenges, etc. As soon as you feel that you have enough, go away and sleep it off, lest

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592 wife. Especially when the women have attained a more or less ad-
562 vanced age, their tongue usually rules the household; and in this
578 they have a very sharp-cutting instrument indeed. The husband
may occasionally vindicate his authority, but most of the time he
• [201] shrinks from the women's displeasure. Besides, as a last resort, they
always have their tears ready at hand; I have assisted more than
once, although involuntarily, at family scenes in which the quarrel
ended with a flow of tears on the part of the wife and subsequent
awkwardness in the manner of the more or less aggressive husband,
who finally could find no other way out but meekly to explain, to try
to soothe, and to submit. An old woman, be she married or widowed,
has generally more than one say in the family. And if a woman has
been consecrated a shamaness while in her early childhood, then she
commands the respect not only of the household but of her neighbors
as well, or rather inspires them with a kind of reverential awe,
especially if she is advanced in years.

To resume, both parties help each other in their own way: the husband has a woman to look after his daily needs, and the wife, although taking the lion's share of the work, does not lack compensation in the fact that from now on she has a ready listener whenever she wants to pronounce one of her philippics.

837 As has been amply shown in the preceding pages, and as will appear even more clearly from what will be said of divorce, there can be no question among the Isneg of allowing anybody access to one's wife or of exchanging wives with another man.

831 Do Isneg husbands and wives love each other? It has been said
593 about other tribes, here in the Mountain Province, that in their case marriage is nothing else but a juxtaposition of two people, a man and a woman, that the husband is more like a stranger to his wife, that mutual love between husband and wife is something completely unknown. This may perhaps be true with some of them, although I doubt very much if such sweeping statements are entirely consonant with the facts. But does it apply to the Isneg? It must be conceded that in the question of marital love, just as in that of gratitude, outward manifestations are exceedingly sparse among the Isneg. It is also a fact that husband and wife never or almost never work together, which after all is not exactly peculiar to primitive people. But can we truly say that mutual love is unknown between an Isneg husband and his wife? I should answer most emphatically in the negative: Isneg man and wife most certainly love each other. Nevertheless it

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763 755 763 catastrophe by trying to extricate the sickness from the poor man's body in the form of a piece of iron or of a tuft of grass; his family has offered the customary sacrifices of pigs, etc., while the shamaness has performed the ceremonies connected with obsession by a spirit (*maxanito*); but all to no avail. The neighbors come flocking in, mostly intent perhaps on the *bási*, which flows freely on such occasions and of which they partake copiously. The state of the patient has become hopeless. Now and then the bystanders feel his pulse, which is his life (*biyâg*), as the Isneg put it; if its pulsations are still strong, they may try a last *maxanito* performance with occasional sacrifice of a chicken. But the pulse becomes weaker and weaker. *Taxây matâyyin* or *atân matây*, "he is dying", which means that *bitti- ya áñatna*, "his breath is little". More people come in, and more *bási* is distributed. And finally the end (*tápañ*) comes, the man dies (*matây*).

763 201 Now pandemonium breaks loose. All present, more especially the women, break forth into loud lamentations; loud voices, at their highest pitch, resound discordantly all around the dead man; everybody shouts, each person lamenting in his or her own way without caring for the words or the tune of his or her neighbors. The husband, wife, parents or children, as the case may be, anyhow the nearest relative or relatives may go so far as to cut themselves with their knives and to make incisions in their body. They may even threaten suicide, whether by hanging themselves or by throwing themselves into the water, but in this they are of course impeded by the bystanders. And this lasts for a considerable period of time. These outward manifestations of grief are so exceedingly grotesque, and the contortions and vociferations are so much exaggerated, that it is well-nigh impossible to take them at their face value. But such is the custom, and who would dare disobey it?

Similar scenes are enacted and may be witnessed among all the tribes I have had to do with, except that in the case of the civilized Christians a certain decorum is rarely absent, and the lamenting is mostly confined to the near relatives of the deceased. This has led many Europeans and Americans to believe and even to affirm confidently that the natives in general did not grieve very much when death snatched away one of their own, that they were stoics and fatalists to a high degree, that all these loud expressions of sorrow were pure make-up staged for the occasion. I would be the last to deny that the natives possess a certain degree of stoicism and that

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they are fatalists to a large extent, but I have assisted at many death-beds, and, although the shouting and lamenting that goes on after a person's demise are certainly a part of what might be called a customary rite, I am bound to disagree with the statement regarding the supposed absence or shallowness of grief. As evidence, I shall merely adduce two concrete examples.

In August 1930 a little Iloko (Christian) girl of from four to five years old died in the house where I was receiving hospitality at the time. The mother lamented as usual as soon as the child had breathed its last. But for hours before, she had been squatting near her little daughter, weeping silently most of the time, and occasionally giving vent to her feelings in a subdued voice through expressions like these: "Ah, my child . . . . my little Udiang (Claudia) is gone . . . . would that I might die instead . . . . why do you leave your mother? . . . ." Who would dare assert that there was no real and profound grief in that mother's heart?

In May 1924 I happened to enter the house of a Kalinga (pagan) who had just died. A score of women were making a frightful scene, squatting around the dead body and yelling to their utmost; but in a corner of the hut the wife of the dead man was standing all alone and by herself, weeping and sobbing almost inaudibly. Who would believe that the widow's grief was only superficial and that her whole behavior was part of a make-believe?

The question is that under such circumstances a casual looker-on may be led to view only one part of the scene, the one that strikes his eyes and ears the most powerfully; but an unbiased observer must not forget to note even unobtrusive details, and only then will he be able to judge rightly about the matter.

763 171

With some tribes it is customary for those who assist a dying person repeatedly to press the latter's throat with their fingers, just as if they wanted to help him choke to death. This, however, is not practised by the Isneg.

763 195

It should be noted in this connection that an Isneg husband or wife, while lamenting his or her partner, always uses the term *kokóboń* (Bolo, Musimut, etc.) or *óboń* (Dangla, etc.), "partner", not the usual term *atáwa*, "husband, wife".

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If it should happen that a person dies in the absence of his parents, in case these are still living, the latter are said to be *malibátan*. The stem *líbat* means "leaving unawares, without notice".

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formed by any of the shamans. Indeed, why should the spirits be enticed to obsess the shaman at a time when everybody is bent on keeping them at a distance? Besides, the souls of the dead should be left where they are as long as the *inndt* is in the house, probably lest the *kaduduwá* of the deceased be interfered with on its trip to the other world.

Women mourn and lament in a loud voice almost uninterruptedly, usually two or three at a time: when one group is tired, another one takes its place. Men rarely imitate them in this, especially after the first general outburst of grief, that takes place immediately after death is over, but they *magbíbisndg* (slap one another's thighs: the game previously described, CAC-P, 3: 123-26). According to the Isneg, playing *bisndg* is a man's way of showing his grief: a certain chastisement of the body is undoubtedly involved in the whole performance, and just as the near relatives sometimes cut themselves at the death of one of their loved ones in order to show the intensity of their sorrow, so also the men, relatives, neighbors and friends, slap one another's thighs, often until blood spurts out, in order to prove to the whole assembly that they also take part and are far from remaining insensible in the presence of death. That a certain amount of voluntary infliction of pain is at the root of this question, is corroborated by the fact that some women occasionally take part in the *bisndg*, the more so that no member of the weaker sex ever plays the rôle of agent (*maúnd*), but merely receives the slaps (*magtán*) without rendering them. Expressions like the following may be heard frequently among the Isneg: "*Urây magdáxa ya apélko ta xakkánnamagsáñit* (even though my thighs bleed, as I do not weep)". In both cases, namely in that of men and in that of women, the *bisndg* is resorted to more especially by those who do little or no weeping; people, whether men or women, who do a good deal of lamenting, rarely take part in *bisndg*.

It goes without saying that the spirits are wide awake at the death of an Isneg, and that the survivors are annoyed with their unwelcome presence at every turn. Among others the following deserve special mention:

Dupappá-, whose tastes are very peculiar; indeed, he it is who absorbs the decayed matter (*saxó*) that flows from the nose and mouth of the deceased.

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765 515 Widows and widowers are not allowed to take a bath as long as they have to wear their mourning apparel, and, in some settlements, for instance at Karagawan, they are not even allowed to cross a stream.

765 It goes without saying that many of the taboos described above are nothing but signs of mourning; nevertheless there are other tokens that are more clearly and exclusively (at least in our own eyes) distinctive characteristics of the sorrow that affects man when he suffers some bereavement.

And first as to mourning apparel.

765 292 As soon as the body is interred, the nearest relative or relatives don their mourning apparel, they *magwais*. Widows and widowers are of course obliged to do so by custom; for the others, everything depends on their esteem for the deceased. At the death of some persons a whole lot of people wear mourning, while others are barely mourned by a single relative. At any rate, mourning apparel (*kolmót* or *pusá-;* the term *kolmót* more especially refers to men's mourning apparel, while *pusá-* is almost exclusively used for women's mourning apparel; *napusá-* also means "white") once put on has to be worn all the time until the *obóbāt*. In Apayaw the color is white, and nice clothes are taboo. All mourners, men and women alike, wear a white headband (*ábal;* pronounced *kábal* at Bolo), which consists in an *inarosó* (at Bolo; *arinosó*, at Bayag; *rinosó*, at Dangla), a comparatively narrow strip of bark, mostly taken from the *tandáw* tree and especially prepared for the purpose. If the persons in question also abstain from rice and taro (*maúgabí*), they wear, besides the headband just mentioned, a kind of neckcloth, which is just a second *inarosó*, worn around the neck and left loose in front.

765 201 For many days after the burial of a near relative, the mourners go every morning to weep at the tomb of their loved one, be it a husband or wife, a father or mother, or a much beloved child, brother or sister. After *Mámaw's* husband had been buried at Nagbabalayan (beginning of 1926), the widow could be seen every morning, carrying her babe and accompanied by her grown-up son, silently directing her steps toward the graveyard. Once there both the widow and her son would squat down in the immediate proximity of the tomb and weep unceasingly for a considerable period of time, low murmurings and subdued sobs being the only audible manifestations of their grief. While doing so, they usually rested the right elbow on the right knee and extended the right hand over the eyebrows touching the fore-

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head. In February 1929, a man from Aputan had come home from a distant town to find his wife dead and buried. One day, when I was visiting the place, a few days afterwards, I saw him come back from his work some time before noon, and walk toward the cemetery, which was situated at a little distance from the settlement. While on his way, he wept and lamented in a loud voice. After he had reached the tomb of his wife, I could still distinctly hear him lamenting and crying intermittently for about half an hour. The neighbors told me that this had been repeated every day since he came back home and that the same scene would probably be enacted in the same way for several days to come.

And so we reach the close of this most important period, namely the *obóbāt* ceremony which ends mourning once for all. Indeed after the *obóbāt* all taboos cease, *lapát* (tabooed) coconuts have been freed (*inúkas*), all signs of mourning are gone, and if some of the relatives are not yet prepared to forget the deceased, they merely resort to *magló* in order to continue to show their undying love.

During the *obóbāt*, pigs are usually offered in sacrifice, while the *maxaníto* is performed by the shamaness, who at the time is supposed to be obsessed by the spirit or *kadudúwá* of the deceased. The deceased, through her mouth, generally voices all his grievances against the living, whether they be present or absent, and insists on all his dues being rendered him. Nevertheless, if no pigs are killed and a dog is the only animal to be offered in sacrifice, no *maxaníto* takes place.

About the middle of the ceremony, after the killing of the dog, either before or after eating, the mourners proceed to change their apparel, they *magba-bát*. If the deceased was a married person, it is the duty of one of the male relatives, either of the husband or of the wife (no matter which of the two departed this life), to give new clothes and a string of beads to the surviving widow or widower. As soon as the said male relative (*mama-bát*) has handed the new clothes to the survivor, the latter leaves the group and goes into some corner of the house in order to change his or her apparel, which action is always accompanied by a fresh outburst of grief and loud lamentations on his or her part. After the brand-new garments have been donned, he or she again joins the company, and is adorned by the *mama-bát* in person with the string of beads he has brought for the purpose.

202

202 TRANSMISSION OF MESSAGES--signaling devices (e.g., fire, smoke, blinker, semaphore); signal codes (e.g., drum language, flag codes, Morse code); cryptography; use of carrier birds and animals; messengers and courier systems; etc. See also:

Oral communication 191
Travel 484
Post and relay stations 495
Railway signaling systems 496
Embassies 648
Scouts in warfare 728

In the morning the family prepares the food for the guests. The men butcher the dog, chickens, and pigs. They might go out and get a wild pig or two. The women cook the rice, vegetables and meat. Boys carry invitations to the houses of the guests, who begin to arrive about noon, all dressed up in their best clothes. 796 574 252 462 202

When a guest arrives, he is given a drink of *basi* and also food, if he is hungry. Individual servings of rice, together with some meat and vegetables, are wrapped up in sections of bamboo leaf and passed around. One package of food is placed for the family *anito* under the sacred big tree or bamboo clump where it lives, and where it is the custom to hang the heads taken by the family warriors. As the various animals are killed, a little of the blood and liver are placed in a coconut shell or a section of bamboo and hung up for the *anito* of the feast. That is his share. The people eat the rest for him. Also *runo* leaves are hung from a rafter above the stove, one for each pig killed. 796 574 264 782 [778]

Dancing, *talip*, in the house starts early in the afternoon. The intriguing music is supplied by the women, who beat a staccato rhythm on three instruments: the *ludog*, a drum fashioned of a hollowed log with a skin secured over one end; a large, shallow curved-bottomed kettle-shaped bronze gong; and the *ganza*, a smaller, flat-bottomed bronze gong. Each has its own tone (base, soprano, alto) and beat; while the notes are short: quarter, eighth, and sixteenth. Thus the rhythm is fast and intricate: hard to follow. One couple dances at a time. One of the family hands a special cloth to an honored guest. He starts walk- 536 796 534 574 [533] 535 796 574

212

212 WRITING--picture writing (e.g., type, technique, use); written symbols (e.g., ideograms, phonograms); systematization (e.g., syllabary, alphabet); reading and spelling; incidence of literacy; writing materials (e.g., parchment, paper, ink); instruments (e.g., pen, brush); methods (e.g., shorthand, chirography); products (e.g., inscriptions, diaries, letters, manuscripts); clerical specialists (e.g., scribes, stenographers); etc. See also:

Communication 20
Draftsmanship 341
Description of typewriters 405
Description of writing instruments 413
Representative art 532
Forms of literature 538
Signs for numerals 802

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
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524 865 After this the patient takes his turn in playing the rôle of agent, and all excitement, and perhaps filled with a spirit of revenge, he will try to elicit even more applause than his predecessor by the gracefulness and abundance of his contortions, and by the keenness of his final blow. Sometimes both men repeat the performance once and again, and even several times in succession; but the general rule is one slap to each individual.

All the time some of the bystanders are challenging one another to a similar combat and as soon as the two customary blows have been struck, or in case the same two men played the *biindg* several times in succession, as soon as these are tired or otherwise stop slapping one another, the next pair takes to the platform.

B. MENTAL EDUCATION

212 868 Let us now turn to the question of mental education. Here at least we meet with a kind of formal training. To make the matter very simple, I shall begin by mentioning the fact that the Isneg have no system of writing, and there is consequently no room for teaching anything concerned with either reading or writing; and, whereas there are no recognized hereditary chiefs among them, all children are practically on the same level. But all of them have to learn the spoken language of the people, and without the help of someone to teach them, most youngsters would remain ignorant of a good many terms that every decent Isneg should know. Moreover such knowledge has to be imparted to them at the earliest opportunity.

868 855 Here the mother, without being recognized specifically as a teacher, takes upon herself to instruct her child as soon as it begins to be able to talk. She tells it the names of articles of furniture, animals, trees, and whatever comes in their way. This is done formally, but not systematically. I mean that the mother really teaches her child, but she does this only on the occasion of meeting the object whose name she wishes her baby to know. The father also does not fail to teach his boys, who have attained the age at which they leave the usual company of their mother and follow their male parent, the names of some objects of which they might still be ignorant, for instance the names of constellations, and more especially the names of places, brooks, etc., which they meet on their way while travelling. Even in the case of small children of both sexes, the father gladly plays the instructor, whenever there is some occasion to do so, although as a rule the mother is supposed to impart most of that kind of training

000 in these jars, together with the beads. The[1] jars are
523 valued up to ₱200 and bead up to ₱150 each. They
[436] are usually inherited in the family as marriage dow-
[431] ries; but may be received as indemnity for injuries.
[425] Sometimes labels, in the ancient script, are chiseled
[583] on these jars. According to authorities, when the
[681] people came here, they had a high culture and read
212 and wrote fluently in the script; but this culture grad-
178 ually lessened from disuse until now there are only
523 a few treasured ancient manuscripts remaining.

415 One type of basket is used. The lip is circuar-
285 formed on rattan. The bottom is drawn out to four corners on which is secured a rattan base. Both wicker and twilled basket weaves are used, and the best ones are ornamented with colored lines and conventional designs. These baskets are woven in different sizes to fit various needs; so that a good housewife has a whole set of them which will nest together There are also some especially shaped baskets for particular uses.

415 At meal time the cooked rice is ladled out on new
264 banana leaves placed on the floor, and the other food may be placed in polished, half-coconut shells. These are also used as water cups, finger bowls, and general containers. The family squat around and help themselves to the food. Their fingers are washed and, being more convenient, are used in place of forks.

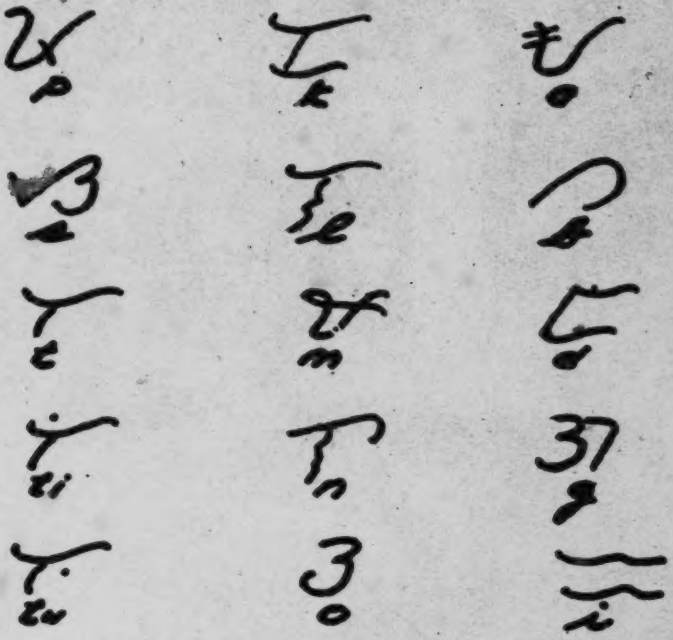
262 The rice has a pinkish hue, is sticky, has a good flavor, and is the basic food of the people. With this may be eaten portions of the flesh of fish, shrimp, snails, crabs, crocodiles, lizards, frogs, ants, chickens, 000 birds, or deer. The vegetables may be: tomatoes, egg-

[1] [ancient Chinese--ANALYST]

212

An ancient manuscript made of the bark of a tree. You read from top to bottom and right to left in columns.

212 The Ancient Script



The alphabet contains 12 consonants and 3 vowels. In writing, points above and below the consonants denote i (or e) and u (or o).

The vowels are written only when they stand alone or at the beginning of words. Each consonant sign stands for the consonant followed by the sound "a".

221

221 ANNUAL CYCLE--seasonal distribution and succession of food-getting and other economic activities; seasonal migrations in the gathering or production of food (e.g., transhumance, nomadism). See also:

Migrations 166, 167
Economic productivity 433
Annual ceremonial calendar 798
Calendar 805

yaos after the principal river in their country. Some say the word Apayao was originated in their fierce battle cry *"Ma-ap-ay-ao."* During this call the hand is clapped rapidly over the mouth so that the cry sounds much like the American Indian war-whoop. This cry is also used at a feast: when a new visitor comes, when the basi is brought in, and when a pig is killed.

I will endeavor to describe, from personal observation of its still numerous cultural remains, something of the life of the Apayaos as it no doubt existed little changed during the long centuries during which their folktales were formed.

The life of these people has much to do with the streams of the country along which most of them live. They do not live on the river flats, but on the mountain sides for safety. Many of their communities are named after the streams near which they are located. A considerable part of the food is obtained from the streams; and they are used for washing, bathing and swimming, as well as for scenery. Much of the transportation is on the streams, and the men are expert boatma nand raftsmen. During the heavy rainy season transportation on swollen rivers is perilous; but it is carried on somewhat. The result is that many a banca has over-turned in the roaring rapids; much valuable merchandidse still lies in the deep pools at the feet of those rapids; and many of family mourns the loss of a loved one. Therefore stories of the streams often occur in the legends of the people.

The people on each stream were isolated from each other for many centuries so that there has come to be quite a difference in their customs and dialects.

IV. *INNAS*

539

First Group: *Ki kayo ñga calagaab*
Intada ñga magdowas
Innas sa ianno onnas inballoballog
ogennas.

2nd Group: *Ay yo diamno dowas*
Aed ac lagud aumicad
Ta piniac makilaglagaak
Ki kao nga kalabeat.

First Group: Oh! beloved brethren,
Let us love one another.
Allright: forget the past and
Let us all love together.

2nd Group: Here I am with you, love;
Yes, I am here with you;
I want to be happy
With you my beloved brethren.

COSMOLOGY

Apayaos say that the earth is flat with edges, off 772
which the water flows and is caught by the moon 821
which returns it to the earth as rain. You can tell 823
when this will be done by observing the new moon. 221
If its tips (forming a container) are horizontal it 241
will not rain. If one tip is down, the water will run 805
out and it will rain. Camotes are planted during the
first and the last quarters of the moon. The positions
of ursa major and ursa minor determine the time of
planting most of the food crops. This is done by co- 476
operative planting, *abugo*.

222

222 COLLECTING--edible materials gathered (e.g., roots, fruits, seeds, seaweed, insects, honey, sap, syrup, eggs); techniques and artifacts employed; economic importance of collecting; organization of activities; division of products; associated beliefs and practices; etc. See also:

Natural resources in fauna and flora 13
Collection of nonedible raw materials and salt . 31
Collection of marine fauna 226
Diet 262

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Isneg

his children earlier and more extensively than any other work. At the same time he believes in the division of labor; so even in this respect, among the Isneg, the two sexes simply complement one another.

The agricultural system of the Isneg is a very wasteful one, as he never plants his rice in the same field for two consecutive years. He has to clear every year a part of the forest or bush: now this work is the exclusive duty of the men. A father tells and shows his boy which part of the forest or bush should be chosen for a future field; then both start the work by cutting down small trees and undergrowth, and finish it by burning the dried plants. The boy imitates his father during the whole procedure, but an occasional hint on the part of the parent is rarely absent, especially in the case of the smaller boys. Then comes the turn of the women, to whom from now on the whole work devolves almost exclusively. The mother teaches her girls how to plant rice, corn, taro, yams, sweet potatoes and the rest, how to weed the fields, and how to harvest the crops. The only time at which the father, with the boys as his pupils, intervenes is when a fence has to be erected around the field.

In brief, almost everything relating to agriculture is formally taught to the children, but it is done in such a way that they can immediately start practising what they have learned, by imitating their elders. The only exception is the original clearing of a chosen field, which is learned by imitation alone; at that time of course the boy should already be old enough to wield at least a small headax, and consequently he must have seen his father at work in former years, and needs no further instruction on the subject.

Pounding rice and preparing the meals are never taught: just as soon as a girl is old enough, she helps her mother, and picks these things up just naturally Even boys learn how to cook a simple meal (and all Isneg meals deserve that qualification) in the same way, as later on, especially when travelling, they will have to do it without the assistance of the women.

Hunting, fishing and preparing trees for apiculture, which are men's pursuits, are learned almost exclusively by imitation: a boy sees what others do, whether they be his older relatives or just some other boys who have already been initiated into the secrets of the game, and he acts like they do. That an occasional word of instruction or warning may be offered the young man, cannot be denied, but as a whole no formal teaching takes place.

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in the power of my drugs instead of following exclusively his own superstitions. At least I inferred from his conduct that this was his state of mind; and I believe I was not far from the truth. Similar cases are frequent also among the Isneg: doctors and sanitary inspectors know all too well about them.

"Be generous toward your friends. A miser is abhorred among us. If you bring down a wild boar or deer in the forest, share your good luck with your relatives and friends. These things were not worked for by you; fate brought them into your hands. If you have tobacco, share it with your friends; be a generous companion to every Isneg. When you offer a sacrifice be not stingy with the *bási*, and give everybody who happens to come along his share of rice and viands. Would you be happy if somebody prevented you from participating in a feast? Would you like to be excluded at the distribution of food and drink? Never cause your companions to say that you *umaráwa* (or *iuráwa*, "to put away dainties when a visitor is seen approaching the house, lest one should have to let him have a share in them") or *gumiádd* (to close the doors at the appearance of a stranger while eating some delicious food, for the same reason): these are very opprobrious terms. With reference to the Ibanag, remember that those in authority have come here to help us, and more especially the white man: he has unbounded riches, and he has come here for the evident purpose of spending it upon us. Even though some of us are considered rich among ourselves, they are poor when compared with him. Let him pay double the price for whatever he needs. Is he not rich beyond anything you can imagine? Do not exclude him from your feasts, if he wants to participate in them, but expect him to be generous toward you in all transactions and business affairs."

Kaddw, who is considered the richest man in Apayaw, has come to my house more than once in order to sell articles which he could not get rid of elsewhere, and he usually charged us twice the regular price. When we told him that he is a rich man, which by the way he likes to hear very much, and that he at least should remember how we feed many of his people without remuneration, when we told him that he should help us in order to be merciful to the poor Isneg instead of taking advantage of our good will, he invariably retorted by saying that we have money galore, and what should we do with it except distribute it to the Isneg. Is this not the reason why we live among them? And *Kaddw* is not the only Isneg who entertains such an opinion.

223

223 FOWLING--birds sought; methods and techniques (e.g., nets, snares, birdlime, decoys); special elaborations (e.g., falconry); organization of labor and division of catch; associated beliefs and practices; regulation (e.g., game laws); etc. See also:

Native fauna . . . . . 136 Weapons 411

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The following terms have been heard at Talifugu (Bó dialect):

	Common language	Reapers' cant
Dog:	*áto*	*alíal*
Hog:	*ábuy*	*dinakán*
Chicken:	*anú-*	*kăyabkáb*
Monkey:	*ayóñ*	*kilsáp*
Cat:	*kusá*	*lannáñ*
To eat:	*mañán*	*mañunág* [55]

This is also the time[1] for proposing riddles (*baníko*), a pastime that is taboo in other seasons. Most of these riddles are stereotyped and well known all over the district, otherwise the solution of some of them would be absolutely impossible, as they consist of words that have become obsolete or that are entirely without meaning. Nevertheless new riddles are always welcome, and so the inventive genius of some of the natives is given much scope.

In order to avoid crowding into this paper too large a number of native texts, I refer the reader to a paper to be published subsequently, in which I give a long list of riddles and of their answers, all of them gathered during my prolonged sojourn in Apayaw.

It is also customary among the natives to set snares (*ílug*) for jungle fowls all around the *kómān*, at the time of the harvest, when these birds are especially bold. An Isneg never fails to improve the opportunity of getting a few choice morsels at little cost.

Harvest time is the season in which most spirits, good and bad, are abroad, and so the Isneg has a busy time, first to force his protectors to come and help him, and then to propitiate or drive away the evil imps that are intent either on stealing or harming his paddy, his most valued possession, or on playing all kinds of mischief and mean tricks. Besides these, in almost every village, we find one or more dwelling places of special *aníto* (spirits) that have to be remembered at this time of the year. At Dangla, for instance, the reapers never omit to pay their respects to the genius who lives at *Pinaxolowán*, by offering him *inapúxān* (betel for chewing).

When offering *inapúxān* to the spirits, at harvesting time, some or all of the following prayers may be recited:

Iápugko ikáw ulât ta umad-adăyyóka kadakamí (I offer betel [for chewing] to you, Famine, so that you be going away from us).

[55] *Maxunág*, in ordinary language, means: to enter the house.

1 [i.e., at harvest time -- Analyst]

224

224 HUNTING AND TRAPPING--animals sought; hunting methods and techniques (e.g., stalking, collective drive); description and use of traps and snares; use of domestic animals (e.g., dogs, ferrets); special elaborations (e.g., trapping for the fur trade); hunting trips; economic importance of hunting; organization of labor and division of catch; associated beliefs and practices; hunting for sport; regulation (e.g., game laws, open seasons); etc. See also:

Native fauna 136
Transportation of animal carcasses 483
Weapons 411

226 Sometimes the fish are poisoned with tobacco
[827] or the juice derived from the berries of the *tuba* bush. Also several types of fish traps are used.

● 224 Deer and wild pigs are hunted with dogs. Wild pigs are also trapped in their runways. The meat thus obtained is divided with fellow hunters and among neighbors. The hunting technique is quite communistic.

SOCIETY

621 The government of the Apayaos is simple. In
622 each family the man rules supreme and orders his wo-
[593] man what to do. This is the unit.

[361] A group of from 15 to 30 families build their houses near each other, *babalay*, being joined together for mutual aid and protection under one head man,
[157] *maingel*, who holds his position because he is the na-
[554] tural leader, is wealthy, and is the stongest and fiercest
622 warrior. The *maingel* wears a red turban on his head
624 and his arms are tattooed to the shoulders. He is absolute ruler; but has several advisory assistants, *pangmarwan*, who likewise have won their position through ability. The next best man to the *maingel*, is his number one assistant and so on. The common man may advise a *pangmarwan*. Upon the death of the *maingel* the number one *pangmarwan* takes his place.
627 The *maingel* and *pangmarwans* sit as a court to judge
692 any one who has broken the common law. Disputes between individuals are settled by intermediary peace
681 makers. It is notable that the fines are not paid to the government, but to the injured party, who receives the suitable indemnity. This may be in the form of jars, beads, animals, and other valuables.

000 Unfortunately they had no means to produce fire. Moreover, the weight of the beast was beyond their strength to bring home. They sat down for a while and considered what they would do about it. "Should the greedy giant know about our catch, he would come and get it," they figured. "Well, let me go to beg fire from him and tell him that we are to roast locusts," said one. "All right, but you must be watchful; otherwise he will catch you. Just stay below the ladder," advised the other one.

Then the brave brother departed for the giant Guisorab's house. When he had arrived at the place, he stood silently, fearing that the giant was not in a good mood. At last he spoke: "Oh master, will you kindly give me fire?" "Ah, what are you going to do with it, little fellow?" Asked the giant. "It is for me to roast locusts", was the answer. "Oh, I like locusts very much. I must come with you," exclaimed Guisorab. "No master, I forget to tell you that I am going to roast crabs," spoke the little one. "What did you say? crabs! crabs! Those are even better than locusts. Let me go along with you then", declared the giant.

"Well, it is a wild pig, sir, that we are to roast with the fire," the brother said. "Certainly, little fellow, I will give you fire; but carry this basket for me. Just show me the way and I will lead. Pig's meat is the best of all for me," roared the giant.

224 So they proceeded to the place where the great boar lay. Fire was soon flaming. The boar was roasted. "Well let me divide the pig into pieces little fellows," said the giant, putting the basket beside him.

The two brothers began to feel discontented upon see- 224
ing the giant putting almost all of the good meat into his basket. At last, they were given their tiny shares. Both were very silent. But before the greedy creature 000
could depart, they suggested to him that they go bathing in the river. The giant consented to go with them.

When they were in the river, they arranged to have a race swimming under water. At a given signal, they all dove; but the two brothers hurriedly got out of the water and then rushed to the giant's basket. They opened the basket; took out the meat and put stones back instead o fthe meat. The meat was hidden while the giant swam down, down the river with the idea of winning; but that was not the true object of the race. Before the giant could return, the brothers climbed up a big tree standing by the river.

Finally the man-eater came back and took up his heavy basket, expecting to have a nice dinner. Upon his arrival home, he ordered his wife to place the pot on the stove. Soon the water was boiling and the wife, not knowing the real contents of the basket, lifted it up and dumped its contents into the pot. So all of a sudden, the stones went through, the pot and put out the fire. The giant, Guisorab, who had fallen asleep after his arrival, was awakened by the noise produced by the stones pouring into the pot. "Cursed be those little fellows. Why did they fool me?" roared the giant. "I will search for them and eat them."

Then he ran back to the place, full of anger. He looked toward the sun; but he sneezed so much that he was forced to look into the water. There he saw the shadows of the brothers in the tree. "Ah, there you

226

226 FISHING--species sought (e.g., fish, shellfish); gathering of marine fauna; fishing methods and techniques (e.g., hook and line, nets, poison); description and use of traps and weirs; special elaborations (e.g., fishing for sport); economic importance of fishing; organization of labor and division of catch; associated beliefs and practices; fishing for sport; regulation (e.g., licenses); etc.

See also:

Native fauna 136
Manufacture of poisons 278
Net manufacture 286
Boats 501

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his children earlier and more extensively than any other work. At the same time he believes in the division of labor; so even in this respect, among the Isneg, the two sexes simply complement one another. 462 241

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In brief, almost everything relating to agriculture is formally taught to the children, but it is done in such a way that they can immediately start practising what they have learned, by imitating their elders. The only exception is the original clearing of a chosen field, which is learned by imitation alone; at that time of course the boy should already be old enough to wield at least a small headax, and consequently he must have seen his father at work in former years, and needs no further instruction on the subject. 868 462

Pounding rice and preparing the meals are never taught: just as soon as a girl is old enough, she helps her mother, and picks these things up just naturally Even boys learn how to cook a simple meal (and all Isneg meals deserve that qualification) in the same way, as later on, especially when travelling, they will have to do it without the assistance of the women. [252]

Hunting, fishing and preparing trees for apiculture, which are men's pursuits, are learned almost exclusively by imitation: a boy sees what others do, whether they be his older relatives or just some other boys who have already been initiated into the secrets of the game, and he acts like they do. That an occasional word of instruction or warning may be offered the young man, cannot be denied, but as a whole no formal teaching takes place. [222 226]

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After the death of one of their relatives, the Isneg also *lapatán* or taboo some of the coconut trees that belonged to the deceased. Such trees are easily recognizable, as one always finds a certain quantity of strips of bamboo or of thorny branches or of both, tied all around the tree, at the height of one's shoulders. I know of a couple of Iloko teachers who, knowing nothing about this custom, climbed a tabooed coconut tree, in order to drop down some of the fruits and eat them; unfortunately they were caught by the owners and got free only after the payment of a heavy fine. If they had been natives of the district, they would not have escaped so easily, although I doubt very much if an Isneg would ever dare break such a taboo.

Coconuts that have been gathered at the time of the owner's death are also declared taboo, and nobody is allowed to partake of them until the time of the *obóbāt;* if no such ceremony takes place (which must be a rare contingency) the fruits are left to decay. At the time of the *obóbāt*, however, they are declared *inúkas* or free, and everybody is allowed to consume them.

The following are the *lapāt* or taboos that have to do with fishing:

1. It is usually forbidden to catch fish in that part of the river or brook that passes near the settlement in which a person died. This taboo is lifted only at the time of the *obóbāt*. The tabooed section, which is said to be *mabalsiyán*, is marked off at both ends by green leafy canes of bamboo grass (Miscanthus sinénsis) stuck in the bottom of the river or brook.

2. If the relatives of the deceased claim the exclusive right of fishing in a certain part of a river or brook, this section or *anáwań* remains tabooed until the *obóbāt* or completion of the mourning period.

It is forbidden to work on two days, namely on the second day after the funeral, the *taribukáy*, and on the day following the *obóbāt* ceremony. This obligatory rest is called *núlin*, and any work done on such a day is considered useless and inevitably subject to being completely spoiled.

A widow or widower is forbidden to visit the relatives of the deceased husband or wife for the whole period that elapses between burial and *obóbāt*. Infringement of this taboo would cause the whole body of the culprit to swell up. The same punishment would be inflicted on a widow or widower who would dare eat mushrooms (*óoń*) or *úbud* (young shoots of some palm trees, as the *aníboń* or fishtail palm, etc.).

The cats and dogs are kept fed and are treated 231
more as pets by the Apayaos than by most Orientals.
The women refuse to eat the flesh of the dog at feasts.
All the livestock are treated kindly. The men work [461]
industriously while at it; but take plenty of time for
leisure and companionship. They could all become
relatively wealthy in this land of plenty but are usual-
ly content with enough to satisfy their simple wants;
and thus they might be called well-to-do.

The general utility tool is the *aliwa*: a thin-bladed, 412
somewhat rhombic-shaped axe with the back point
drawn out. Another type is sort of cleaver shaped
and is called a *badang*. The head is affixed to a well-
shaped hardwood handle. It is nicely balanced and a
very handy tool. The man carries this axe, *aliwa*,
with him everywhere. It is used for all cutting pur-
poses. The blacksmiths do excellent work. Hard 325
stone anvils and hammers are used. The bellows are
two hollow wooden cylinders set on end. They are
fitted with feather-ringed pistons pumped alternately
by the blacksmith's helper, giving a steady forced
draft on the fire. Smiths have been manufacturing
aliwas, spear heads, hoes, and other implements here,
from time immemorial.

The primitive method of fishing is to dive down 226
in a deep pool in the river where the fish are lying.
Down there, they are not frightened by another body;
so a good fisherman can grab one in each hand. How-
ever, a short, light, barbed arrow shot from a bam-
boo bow is generally used. During the dry season a
pool in the stream may be drained and the fish picked
up. Sometimes the fish are poisoned with tobacco 000

226 Sometimes the fish are poisoned with tobacco
[824] or the juice derived from the berries of the *tuba* bush. Also several types of fish traps are used.

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[554] tural leader, is wealthy, and is the stongest and fiercest
622 warrior. The *maingel* wears a red turban on his head
624 and his arms are tattooed to the shoulders. He is absolute ruler; but has several advisory assistants, *pangmarwan*, who likewise have won their position through ability. The next best man to the *maingel*, is his number one assistant and so on. The common man may advise a *pangmarwan*. Upon the death of the *maingel* the number one *pangmarwan* takes his place.
627 The *maingel* and *pangmarwans* sit as a court to judge
692 any one who has broken the common law. Disputes between individuals are settled by intermediary peace
681 makers. It is notable that the fines are not paid to the government, but to the injured party, who receives the suitable indemnity. This may be in the form of jars, beads, animals, and other valuables.

Banaba kept looking for food for his brother and sister. They lived on shoots of bamboo and some fruits; while the mother in the house just slept and ate; not thinking a bit of her hungry children, who were lost in the forest.

After three nights under the tree, an old man appeared to the children and said, "Live here and I will take care of you." He stayed with them and built a house. As he left, he gave them an *aliwa* which had the property that, whenever the *aliwa* should cut anything, it would give the children food, clothing, pigs, chickens; in fact, every thing which they needed.

Then the old man left and the lost children became well to do while the mother began to suffer hunger, as she had eaten all the provisions which her late husband had left. She heard of the wealth of her children and came searching for them. She found them and lived with them ever after.

THE STORY OF THE SKELETON

[226] There was a man, Donkoan. His wife died, leaving several children. He arranged with one son to go fishing in the night. They prepared rattan to string the fish on, and dried sticks for the torch. Then they went and caught many fish. The load became heavy for the son and he wanted to go home; but the father wanted more fish. So they string some of the fish on the rattan in the water and fished on up the river. Thus they came to a far place where there were houses. "See the light in the houses," said the son. "Those are only our relatives, my son. I will go and

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231 DOMESTICATED ANIMALS--captive and tamed animals; domesticated insects (e.g., silkworms, bees); pets (e.g., dogs, cats); domestic animals; special treatment and uses of each; taming and training; care and feeding; grooming; slaughtering; associated beliefs and rituals; economic and social importance of animal husbandry; diseases; etc. See also:

Work in furs, hides, and skins 281
Work in bone and horn 321
Animal shelters 343
Use of animals in transportation 492
Names of animals 552
Animals as wealth 556
Ethnozoology 825

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241 Here I shall merely mention those that are of a general nature and liable to attack any kind of plantation.

241 The wild boar (*lamán*) is without doubt the enemy par excellence.
136 The Isneg farmer dreads it more thany any other, and not without reason: it respects absolutely nothing, and its depredations are sometimes very great. Next to it you have the deer (*ugtá*), which devastates rice fields, plantations of sugar cane, and the rest. Both these animals prowl about mostly at night, and this makes them the more dangerous, as darkness is their strong auxiliary, while it leaves the field or garden and its owner almost defenseless. The only thing for the Isneg farmer to do is to be diligent in watching his crops. Now and again he must go and visit (*so-bán*) them, and see if any damage has been wrought by roving animals. Should it happen that a wild boar has attempted to enter or has actually entered his field or garden, he must not fail to go on succeeding evenings to lie in wait (*manákar*) at the place where the animal has left signs of its presence, and kill it or at least badly frighten it at its first appearance.

In the daytime you have the jungle fowl (*ditálon*, *itálon* or *kasí*), which, although less destructive, may easily bring to nought the work of several days, especially in fields that have been sowed recently or whose plants are still very young.

241 Even domesticated animals sometimes imitate their wild forbears:
● 231 the hog (*ábuy*) and the barnyard fowl (*aná-*) have to be watched almost as carefully as those just mentioned.

241 Add to these the rats, which are often a pest that should be exter-
781 minated at any price.

More subtle enemies, however, are the *arrád*, a kind of green caterpillar that devour the leaves of young plants. The best and easiest way to get rid of them is to place a *lattón* in the infected field. This *lattón* is a little jar filled with an assortment of small herbs and covered with a red cloth: it causes the *arrád* to decamp at once and to look for safer quarters.

789 Besides these well-known enemies, the fields have a good many others that are not so easily detected. These are your own neighbors who feel jealous of your prosperity, and consequently practise all kinds of incantations in order to destroy (*sagsaggán*, "to impede the growth") [17] the young plants of your field or garden. These malevolent persons are said to *manadál* (to destroy with the use of herbs, etc.). Paddy affected thereby becomes yellow and dies.

[17] The same term also means "to make a girl pregnant".

342 arch, and the end peaks of the ridge are extended out-
335 wardly to a remarkable distance. The roof line runs from these peaks in long, graceful inward curves down to the corners of the building. Two by four inch purlins spaced at about six feet are placed on the trusses; and over these are bent the two by two inch roof rafters, spaced at about a foot, on which is laid a mat of *runo* (a tall reed-like grass) stalks. On this support is fastened, shingle-fashion, a thick layer of *runo* tops, which have long leaves. This thatch will probably last for fifteen years before it needs renewal. Durable rattan is used for all fastenings. The two by twelve inch floor joists are set about a foot apart on heavy sills some twelve feet above the ground. The flooring is a mat of long lengths of pencil-sized round rattan. The floor sills are secured to the insides of
[352] the posts; while the wall sills are on the outside. The two-foot space between is finished in a low, raised platform running around the four sides of the room. This is used for sitting, and for storage of various articles, leaving the floor clear. The walls are of hewn inch boards placed perpendicularly and set in grooves cut in the top and bottom sills. There are three very small windows on each side of the house and one small door on one side toward an end. The wooden cover-
[417] ings of these openings, close flush with the walls. En-
[353] trance to the door from the ground is gained by a
[231] ladder which is pulled in at night. There are also several dogs which start howling at the slightest unusual noise. Thus, the occupants are quite secure from their enemies at night.

[352] There is little furniture in the house. On the
354 floor near one corner, opposite the door, is placed a

The cats and dogs are kept fed and are treated more as pets by the Apayaos than by most Orientals. The women refuse to eat the flesh of the dog at feasts. All the livestock are treated kindly. The men work industriously while at it; but take plenty of time for leisure and companionship. They could all become relatively wealthy in this land of plenty but are usually content with enough to satisfy their simple wants; and thus they might be called well-to-do.

The general utility tool is the *aliwa*: a thin-bladed, somewhat rhombic-shaped axe with the back point drawn out. Another type is sort of cleaver shaped and is called a *badang*. The head is affixed to a well-shaped hardwood handle. It is nicely balanced and a very handy tool. The man carries this axe, *aliwa*, with him everywhere. It is used for all cutting purposes. The blacksmiths do excellent work. Hard stone anvils and hammers are used. The bellows are two hollow wooden cylinders set on end. They are fitted with feather-ringed pistons pumped alternately by the blacksmith's helper, giving a steady forced draft on the fire. Smiths have been manufacturing *aliwas*, spear heads, hoes, and other implements here, from time immemorial.

The primitive method of fishing is to dive down in a deep pool in the river where the fish are lying. Down there, they are not frightened by another body; so a good fisherman can grab one in each hand. However, a short, light, barbed arrow shot from a bamboo bow is generally used. During the dry season a pool in the stream may be drained and the fish picked up. Sometimes the fish are poisoned with tobacco ooo

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241 TILLAGE--plants cultivated and their relative importance; special treatment accorded each crop; intensity of cultivation (e.g., brand tillage); clearing of land; soil preparation (e.g., hoeing, plowing); use of fertilizers and irrigation; planting; care and protection of growing crops (e.g., weeding, fencing, scarecrows); tools and implements used; economic importance, and adequacy for needs, of agriculture; organization of labor and production; distribution of products; agricultural beliefs, taboos, and rituals; etc. See also:

Agricultural tools and appliances 41
Annual cycle of economic activities 221
Landuse 311
Irrigation systems 312
Granaries and barns 343
Fertilizer manufacture 387
Manufacture of agricultural machines 392
Agricultural machines 407
Fences 417
Ceremonial calendar 796
Ethnobotany 824

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462 I: "Of course, why shouldn't you:"

He: "But I never did that; I do not know anything about it."

I: "That is very easy though; and you are not too old to learn. Can you not do like this?" [Here I mimicked the action of a woman who makes holes in the ground for planting the seeds].

He: "Wouldn't that be funny. Have you ever seen a man doing a woman's work?"

I: "I do not see anything funny about it, if you need to do so in order to live."

He: "No, sir, that is not our business; that is woman's work; without a woman we can do nothing. I cannot help it, but that is the custom. Woman's work for a woman, man's work for a man."

856 It is also a fact that boys help their father and girls their mother
861 as soon as they are able to do so. No sooner have they gained the required strength but they will be given some necessary implement in
[868] order to learn its use. Very often, especially in the case of the headax (*aliwá*) of men, which is of universal use and serves almost any purpose, the instrument at first will be a small or light one, provided it serves the purpose, to be superseded later on by a heavier one of the same nature. Whereas a child usually accompanies, first its mother, and later on one of its parents according to its sex, it is but natural that it should also offer them its help, as soon as it has gained sufficient strength. Although at first the help may be very slight and insignificant, the Isneg does not lose sight of the fact that this early exercise and practice will be of great benefit to the child, and that in the end it will accrue to his own advantage.

861 Imitative types of play are very little practised, as may be deduced from the above: the children very soon have to do the real thing, why should they occupy themselves with imitations? Nevertheless it may happen that they imitate in play a certain work which is still beyond their strength: so I have seen little Isneg girls playing at pounding and winnowing rice, with sand for rice, a small hole in the ground for a mortar, a stick for a pestle, and some large leaf for a winnow;
[524] but these are exceptions, and not at all frequent ones. Incidentally it may be mentioned that dolls are unknown to our little Isneg maidens; a real child will be thrust upon them as soon as they are able to carry it.

462 And now as to the sundry occupations of the Isneg.

241 An Isneg is a farmer above anything else, so no wonder that agriculture is not only his chief pursuit, but also that which is taught

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his children earlier and more extensively than any other work. At the same time he believes in the division of labor; so even in this respect, among the Isneg, the two sexes simply complement one another.

The agricultural system of the Isneg is a very wasteful one, as he never plants his rice in the same field for two consecutive years. He has to clear every year a part of the forest or bush: now this work is the exclusive duty of the men. A father tells and shows his boy which part of the forest or bush should be chosen for a future field; then both start the work by cutting down small trees and undergrowth, and finish it by burning the dried plants. The boy imitates his father during the whole procedure, but an occasional hint on the part of the parent is rarely absent, especially in the case of the smaller boys. Then comes the turn of the women, to whom from now on the whole work devolves almost exclusively. The mother teaches her girls how to plant rice, corn, taro, yams, sweet potatoes and the rest, how to weed the fields, and how to harvest the crops. The only time at which the father, with the boys as his pupils, intervenes is when a fence has to be erected around the field.

In brief, almost everything relating to agriculture is formally taught to the children, but it is done in such a way that they can immediately start practising what they have learned, by imitating their elders. The only exception is the original clearing of a chosen field, which is learned by imitation alone; at that time of course the boy should already be old enough to wield at least a small headax, and consequently he must have seen his father at work in former years, and needs no further instruction on the subject.

Pounding rice and preparing the meals are never taught: just as soon as a girl is old enough, she helps her mother, and picks these things up just naturally Even boys learn how to cook a simple meal (and all Isneg meals deserve that qualification) in the same way, as later on, especially when travelling, they will have to do it without the assistance of the women.

Hunting, fishing and preparing trees for apiculture, which are men's pursuits, are learned almost exclusively by imitation: a boy sees what others do, whether they be his older relatives or just some other boys who have already been initiated into the secrets of the game, and he acts like they do. That an occasional word of instruction or warning may be offered the young man, cannot be denied, but as a whole no formal teaching takes place.

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/For detailed information on Isneg agriculture, which has been filed in other specific categories, see category 116, the entire source/

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THE ISNEG FARMER

By MORICE VANOVERBERGH, C.I.C.M.
Mountain Province, Philippine Islands

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The Isneg are farmers. It is not necessary to have lived a long time among them to know that: the fact is patent; it obtrudes itself almost at every step, almost at every moment.

The chief crop of the Isneg is rice. This is evident not only from the fact that their staple food is rice, but also from the minute care they bestow on their rice fields. All other products of the soil are subordinate to rice, and nothing is left to chance when there is question of raising a good rice crop. They are so meticulous about it that, in a study of their farm activities, all other plants seem to be of little or no importance. The truth of this statement will thrust itself upon anybody who peruses the following pages.

I shall first make a few remarks about Isneg farming in general. Then I shall describe as accurately as possible the Isneg method of raising rice. After that I shall say a few words about other products

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is who finds a means to keep the wolf from the door. On occasions like these, it is clearly apparent how training and experience have rendered the Isneg girl fit for meeting almost any kind of emergency, while the customary indolence of the male makes him an easy prey to downheartedness, so much so that he becomes utterly unable to save himself and his family from the pangs of hunger.

If we come to consider the situation from the point of view of the Isneg, it is not to be wondered at that nowadays famines are of rather frequent occurrence in Apayaw. Indeed, foreign authorities have invaded the land: not understanding the position of the Isneg with reference to the tutelary spirits of the country, they have all but extirpated headhunting. What can be expected after this? Being denied their usual offerings, the spirits stop protecting the crops. It is true that the Isneg does not cease to propitiate them by all possible means, but the great sacrifice has been rendered almost impossible, and so the fields have become a prey to evil imps, while the protectors of the rice, the purveyors of the Isneg, have become either powerless or indifferent.

Nevertheless, under ordinary circumstances, the average Isneg raises enough rice to last him and his family for a year. He may not be able to store it up for future consumption, but what he has usually keeps him alive from one harvest to the next, and besides almost always allows him to offer an occasional sacrifice to the spirits and to invite his relatives and neighbors to the ceremony. Such is the normal state of affairs with the great majority of the people.

Now in almost every agglomeration one will find at least one man who is styled "rich" (*ba-nóń*), a man who raises rice in abundance (*arayammáy*) and consequently is able to offer one or more solemn sacrifices every year and to provide food to the inhabitants of several villages for days at a time. However, these so-called rich people do not fare any better than the average citizen, as their surplus is easily consumed at their *sáy-ám* or solemn sacrifices.

On the other hand, there are always a few who may be called poor (*nakimrút*): their rice, if they raise any at all, never lasts them the whole year round, and, in the meanwhile, they have to content themselves with Indian corn, yams, taro and the rest; but only in times of famine, are they obliged to feed on coconut flowers and other outlandish foods. Others again seem never to be able to make both ends meet: these are the *síbud*; their rice, which should be sufficient for ordinary persons, is usually gone almost before they are aware of it,

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When you have to start a certain work and want it finished quickly, go and look for a little herb, called *tagalárat* in Bayag: it is about five or six inches tall, has comparatively long leaves, and grows almost anywhere. After you have found it, take it along and put it down somewhere near the place where you begin working: in less than no time you will be through with everything.

In order to assure the healthy growth of any kind of plant, before you start sowing or planting, stick some part of a *litáw* in the ground somewhere at the place where you begin. The stem and the leaves of the *litáw*, which is a climbing plant, are both of the same color: they are uniformly green.

When your plants have taken root (*naggamút*), or, which amounts to the same, if they live (*mabiyág*), it is the farmer's duty to see that they become strong. The surest way to obtain such a result is to go and look for a herb, called *tagabilag* at Bayag, and to attach it to one of the plants in question. It causes the whole field or garden to be covered with the most luxuriant vegetation and to produce a growth that can weather almost any storm. The *tagabilag* may be found all over the district: it is rather tall, some ten inches, and bears white flowers and red fruits.

Another herb, called *gátud* at Bayag, of the same habitat as the preceding, but rather low, may be used with profit in connection with the gathering of crops. It should be tied to one of the plants that have to be reaped, and if nothing untoward intervenes, the farmer may rest assured that his soil will yield a most bountiful harvest.

To avoid the occurrence of landslides, which often play havoc not only with plantations, but with dwellings and granaries as well, the Isneg plant *nagbăyúgan* on or near the spot they want to protect: one single plant is sufficient, and it is not necessary to have it multiply. The *nagbăyúgan* is a stout herb, usually some two feet tall: it spreads a very agreeable odor, has comparatively long leaves, and, according to the natives, bears no flowers.

But the enemies of a man's fields and gardens are numerous and powerful: some of them are able to destroy in less than one hour what it has taken you weeks and months to build up. Therefore all Isneg farmers should know who they are and make a thorough study of all the means at their disposal for combating them and protecting the fruit of their labor. The dangers that threaten the life or growth of any particular kind of plant will be treated in their proper place.

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241 Here I shall merely mention those that are of a general nature and liable to attack any kind of plantation.

241 The wild boar (*lamán*) is without doubt the enemy par excellence.
136 The Isneg farmer dreads it more thany any other, and not without reason: it respects absolutely nothing, and its depredations are sometimes very great. Next to it you have the deer (*ugtá*), which devastates rice fields, plantations of sugar cane, and the rest. Both these animals prowl about mostly at night, and this makes them the more dangerous, as darkness is their strong auxiliary, while it leaves the field or garden and its owner almost defenseless. The only thing for the Isneg farmer to do is to be diligent in watching his crops. Now and again he must go and visit (*so-bán*) them, and see if any damage has been wrought by roving animals. Should it happen that a wild boar has attempted to enter or has actually entered his field or garden, he must not fail to go on succeeding evenings to lie in wait (*manákar*) at the place where the animal has left signs of its presence, and kill it or at least badly frighten it at its first appearance.

In the daytime you have the jungle fowl (*ditálon, itálon* or *kasí*), which, although less destructive, may easily bring to nought the work of several days, especially in fields that have been sowed recently or whose plants are still very young.

241 Even domesticated animals sometimes imitate their wild forbears:
231 the hog (*ábuy*) and the barnyard fowl (*aná-*) have to be watched almost as carefully as those just mentioned.

241 Add to these the rats, which are often a pest that should be exter-
781 minated at any price.

More subtle enemies, however, are the *arrád*, a kind of green caterpillar that devour the leaves of young plants. The best and easiest way to get rid of them is to place a *lattón* in the infected field. This *lattón* is a little jar filled with an assortment of small herbs and covered with a red cloth: it causes the *arrád* to decamp at once and to look for safer quarters.

189 Besides these well-known enemies, the fields have a good many others that are not so easily detected. These are your own neighbors who feel jealous of your prosperity, and consequently practise all kinds of incantations in order to destroy (*sagsaggán*, "to impede the growth") [17] the young plants of your field or garden. These malevolent persons are said to *manaddl* (to destroy with the use of herbs, etc.). Paddy affected thereby becomes yellow and dies.

[17] The same term also means "to make a girl pregnant".

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A shaman, for instance, who envies the result of your labor, may pronounce the following words:

"Napiyá no lamúsan náyá kalkaltóń" (It would be good if the *kalkaltóń* ate it), and these insects will start destroying everything, cutting down not only the tender stalk of the rice, but even the sturdy petioles of the taro.

Or any ill-intentioned person may take it into its head to throw *aníág*-herbs into your fields or gardens. The *aníág* is a very low herb that grows almost in any place, and looks very innocuous; but if it touches any of your plants, these will soon be devoured by a whole legion of rats, wild boars, and the rest. Indeed, this herb proves such a strong attraction to them that the Isneg put it on their *balét*-traps in order to cause wild boars to come along and be caught.

One might easily become disheartened when seeing how easy it is for an evil-minded person to cause the destruction of a field that is most promising; but this should not be so, because you must always remember that the good and kind-hearted spirits have provided you with a remedy for every evil. And so, if you see that there is something wrong with your farm, go and gather *bali-*, a kind of woody vine that grows in the forest and is covered all around with thorns that face the roots. As soon as any part of this vine is placed in your field, it immediately wards off all danger and transfers the latter to the farm of your neighbor. Then it is up to the latter to look out for himself. The same *bali-* has also the virtue to save you from being poisoned: it merely transfers the danger to somebody else.

All this goes to show that the career of an Isneg farmer is not as easy as it looks. Nevertheless he does not seem to mind, and he continues to live a care-free life. In Apayaw, the soil is usually fertile; plots that are exceptionally bad are easily detected by the presence of *anamág*-ferns, which thrive only on ground that is absolutely useless; and rainfall is abundant. Therefore the Isneg is able to raise almost any kind of plants at the expenditure of a minimum of exertion. Should incantations and evil imps haunt him, he has simple means to counteract their influence: his own magical practices and the help of the good spirits, his protectors. One thing, however, is of capital importance, namely his yearly rice crop; if it fails him, ruin stares him in the face.

And so we have come to the most important part of this treatise: rice.

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243 There are a few other amulets that may be placed on the palay in
789 the granary, at any time:
782 *Aggassip*: A low herb with white flowers, found all over the district. It causes the rice to last long.

Amagpaggáń: A herb, some twelve inches tall, with small leaves, growing in forests.

Anaxupgá: A herb, some twelve inches tall, with small leaves, red flowers and brown fruits. It is found in the forest and, placed in the granary, helps the owners to economize their rice.

Anúyug: A herb, some eight inches tall, growing in forested areas.

Indág: A low herb, found almost anywhere.

Rakkád: A herb, growing all over the district.

When all the rice has been garnered, a small *báńa*-jar containing rice pudding is placed in the filled *álań* (granary), as an offering to Pilay. It is called *túxan*, the same name as that of the food brought to the reapers by a man (*manúxan*) from the village.

Finally the Isneg close the door of the granary and provide it with *takkág*-ferns and *adás*-sedges (Scleria sp.), at the outside.

III. The Isneg Garden

241 The garden or *kadánan* is a plot of ground where some time in the past rice has been grown. No garden plants are raised on virgin soil; rice always precedes them. Sometimes the *kadánan* has already served that purpose for one or more years, sometimes it is merely a *kómān* or part of a *kómān* from which rice has just been harvested.

Except for the necessity of having palay precede all other plants, the possibility or probability of raising successfully some special kind of plant on a given plot of ground is the only determinant for the choice of a garden plot. The Isneg merely studies the nature of the soil and its adaptability to the growing of certain products, according to his own experience or that of his elders.

The Isneg garden is always surrounded by a fence, either the usual one (*abút*) or, in case the man is too lazy to make a regular fence, the *balakkuwit* (strips of bamboo stuck in the ground at both ends so as to form a series of arches).

To prepare a garden, the first thing to be done is to clear the ground (*mańadánan*). When the garden is built on level ground, this work is called *maxónut*, just as in the case of a *kómān*. If the garden is new, that is, if it is made from a rice field that has just been harvested, the bulk of the weeds consists of *daxádag* (rice straw) or *sápi* (after-

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math of palay or rowen); if old, any kind of herbs and bushes may have been invading the soil.

Once the plants have attained a certain height, the Isneg proceeds to the weeding of the garden: this is called *magkípug*, the equivalent of the *ballát* (weeding) of the *kómān* or rice field.

There is no comparison between the value of a *kómān* and that of a *kadánan* in the eyes of an Isneg. Therefore, although a good deal of work is equally spent on both, the numerous amulets and magical practices that have been recorded in the description of the growing of rice, are reduced almost to zero when there is question of raising garden products. The spirits themselves seem to look disdainfully at anything but palay. The spirit *Agabáān* is the only exception: he does not care a fig for rice, but kills unmercifully anybody who dares steal products of the garden that have been left behind after the general harvest. Consequently he takes his abode there only after the fruits have been gathered; and then he probably considers as his own whatever has been left.

The Isneg raises a great variety of garden plants, the most important being: Indian corn (*maít*),[73] taro (*síwāy*), sweet potatoes (*kamusí*), sugar cane (*undt*), bananas (*báxat*) and yams (*úbi*). I shall treat each of these in detail, and then give a complete list of the rest.

Although I call them all by the general name of garden products, that does not mean that some of them may not be planted in other places besides the fenced *kadánan*, at least in reduced quantities. Indeed, it is not a rare occurrence to find a limited number of stalks of sugar-cane, a few bananas, etc., in or around the house yard, and yams are grown almost anywhere. Everything depends on the nature of the plant in question and on the danger of devastation by obnoxious animals: small quantities of any kind of garden plant are easily guarded even though unfenced, when they are grown near the house, while large plantations of sugar cane and sweet potatoes, for instance, are liable to be ravaged by wild boars if kept unfenced, and the room they need can hardly be found except at some distance from the village; and yams are much more resistant to the depredations of animals than are most other *kadánan* products.

Before I proceed, allow me to explain how Indian corn, taro and

[73] In some places the name *kadánan*, "garden", is not applied to fields of Indian corn.

The vegetables may be: tomatoes, eggplants, squash, peppers, corn, beans, camote, gabi, or yams. Fruits may be: bananas, coconuts, pineapples, jack fruit, oranges, lemons, guavas, melons, *lucban*, mangoes, or papaya. The beverages may be: coffee, cocoa, or water. Honey is included in the diet. From sugar cane are produced candied fruits and vegetables, molasses, *basi*, and vinegar. A strong tobacco is raised and smoked—sometimes in a small pipe; but generally one leaf is rolled into a small cigar. Both men and women smoke. Boys and girls start smoking at an early age.

In growing these things, the people do not use irrigation; but follow the *kaiñgin* method of farming. A suitable piece of wild land is selected. The vegetation is cut down, allowed to dry, and then burnt. Seeds are planted in the ashen earth by making a hole with a sharp stick and dropping a seed in it The plot is is enclosed with a bamboo fence. The men clear and fence the land, while the women do much of the rest of the work. In two years the soil has become leached and packed by the heavy tropical rains and so sterile that a new *kaiñgin* is made elsewhere.

The rice is an upland variety which does not require much water. The seeds are planted during the beginning of the rainy season in April and May. When ripe, the heads are cut off by hand, using a miniature *aliwa*. These heads are gathered into bundles, tied, and then stored in a specially built square granary whose architectural design follows that of the house. Tobacco and vegetables are usually planted during January after the harvest, in the *kaiñgins* where rice was grown.

When the woman wishes some rice to cook, she threshes several bundles on a mat or skin with a club;

773 it struck the sky. The sky became frightened and
821 raised up, causing a great commotion, and the trees were torn out of the ground.

776 To the family of Hatan, I will add the names of
[771] some other *anitos*. The tendency is for them to lessen in scope, in number, and in interest (i.e.—toward monagony). First I will mention some good *anitos*.

776 *Kaybacan* is the guardian of the house. A feast,
527 *pildap*, is given to him upon completion of a new house.
242 Small spears are placed there in the house where he stays. Whenever there is meat, a small portion is placed on the spears. Otherwise the family will get
[704] sick. No eels, deer, or mud fish are brought into the house; for the *anito* dislikes their smell and would run away, leaving the family to sicken and die.

776 *Pilay* is the guardian of the farm. He lives in
241 the granary. If a stranger touches it, he becomes lame. A small feast, *pespes*, is given to him at the beginning of the harvest.

Ambungan is the guardian of the rice harvest. Before harvest one must mix some burnt rice with shredded coconut and eat it under a certain big tree
[821] where he is. If the owner does not do this, strong winds and rain will come and blow down the grain.

776 *Danag* is the guardian of the fishermen and hunters; while *Ayan* induces the wild pig to run into the trap; but *Siwasion* helps the wild pig and deer to avoid the hunters.

Daguan makes one strong to work, and *Manglanbang* is the guardian of the warrior; while *Panugatang* is the guide. *Sangasan* guards the entrance to the *barangay*.

241

Sugar-cane and tobacco growing in a kaingin. Coffee, banana and orange trees are also there.

787 on the way. So he must return, sit down, and wait awhile before setting out again.

If a man on his way to make *kaiñgin* meets a rat or hears a deer barking, the rat or the deer will eat all the rice plants in that place. So he must start another *kaiñgin*. Also, if he should happen to break his *aliwa*, some one in his family will die if he does not make his *kaiñgin* in another place.

784 Moreover there are many things which one is prohibited from doing. Some of these taboos are:

Do not leave the windows of the house open at night. If you do, a ghost, *alolag*, will come in and kill the people.

Do not cut your finger nails nor pull out any of your hair while working. If you do, you will get sick.

Do not leave while one is still eating in the house. If you do, you will get sick.

784 Do not eat the heart of a pig when a little child.
262 If you do, you will have misfortune.

Do not eat sour things if some one has died in the house, unless he is a relative.

Do not eat venison during the harvest season. If you so, your stomach will become large like the deer's, and you will consume too much rice.

784 Do not speak angrily at a rat. If you do, the rats will eat all there is in the house.

784 Do not laugh while planting *ubi* or *camote*. If
241 you do, these root vegetables will laugh so that all their skins will be found to be burst open when you harvest them.

Do not look up while planting bananas. If you do, the plants will grow so tall that it will be hard to pick the fruit.

IV. *INNAS*

539

First Group: *Ki kayo ñga calagaab*
Intada ñga magdowas
Innas sa ianno onnas inballoballog
ogennas.

2nd Group: *Ay yo diamno dowas*
Aed ac lagud aumicad
Ta piniac makilaglagaak
Ki kao nga kalabeat.

First Group: Oh! beloved brethren,
Let us love one another.
Allright: forget the past and
Let us all love together.

2nd Group: Here I am with you, love;
Yes, I am here with you;
I want to be happy
With you my beloved brethren.

COSMOLOGY

Apayaos say that the earth is flat with edges, off 772
which the water flows and is caught by the moon 821
which returns it to the earth as rain. You can tell 823
when this will be done by observing the new moon. 221
If its tips (forming a container) are horizontal it 241
will not rain. If one tip is down, the water will run 805
out and it will rain. Camotes are planted during the
first and the last quarters of the moon. The positions
of ursa major and ursa minor determine the time of
planting most of the food crops. This is done by co- [476]
operative planting, *abugo*.

241 784 527 Harvest is started in the wax of the moon. In each *barangay* there is a chosen woman, *gomanay* (beginner of harvest) who goes ceremoniously to each field in turn and cuts the first bundle of rice and stores it in the granary. She must observe many taboos and no one else may come near the field for two days prior to cutting. During the first five days of harvest no one visits the owners house nor asks for fire. No fuel is cut nor rice pounded. The *anito* must not be frightened. Otherwise planting and honest are gala seasons.

[805] Each full of the moon is observed as a holiday; also as the first thunder and first rainbow in the season. In the full of the moon the granary (in which all the rice cut has been stored) is first opened by another chosen woman, *Manginas*, who goes ceremoniously, before dawn and takes out three bundles only, which she pounds and cooks. She eats first; but she must not take a bath nor eat fish nor chew betel-nut [479] all that day. Those who worked in that rice field then receive their share of the crop.

821 784 During an eclipse of the moon no work is done and likewise during an earthquake, which is caused in this way: deep under the earth in great cave, there lives a huge eel and a crab. When the crab pinches the eel he wiggles, and so shakes the earth.

821 Once the sun and moon had a quarrel. The moon beat the sun with a broom; and so the sun struck the moon with a fire brand giving it a dimmer light and leaving a scar where it struck.

242

242 AGRICULTURAL SCIENCE--practical and scientific knowledge of plant breeding, soils, and parasites; related practices (e.g., seed selection, hybridization, crop rotation, spraying); agricultural experiment and extension work; organization and specialized personnel; etc. See also:

Conservation policy 185
Veterinary science and stock breeding 232
Applied science 816
Ethnobotany 894
Agricultural education 874

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One of the greatest enemies of the Isneg farmer is the locust (*dódon*), and consequently it will not seem strange that he is usually well acquainted with the names of several varieties of rice that can withstand these pests most effectually. We have, among others:

The *paturdy*, without awns (*ibo*);

The *ortó-*, also awnless, and with rather small kernels: it is said by the Isneg to remain on the field even though all other varieties be consumed by locusts;

The *kuritdy*, which has very tough leaves, no awns, and thin elongated kernels: it is comparatively rare and often used for purposes of divination. Knead a ball of cooked *kuritdy*-rice and throw it a certain distance: if it falls down in a compact mass, you are sure to live long; should it break up or be smashed to pieces, the span of your life will be a short one.

In the same line may be mentioned the *binoóxan*, which is supposed to be immune from the depredations of wild animals.

Then we have the *madíliya* (evidently from the Spanish *medalla*, "medal", which may be the reason why it is used for an amulet, as will be seen under the description of the preparation of seeds for planting), a kind of *dékat* or oily rice. The sweets made from this variety remain soft for a considerable time, even to the third and fourth "night", as the Isneg puts it, who counts by nights, not by days.

The tallest and largest variety of rice is called *tayútay*: its husk is very light-colored.

The *xirxirá-* is the despair of the housewife, as it is exceedingly hard to pound: its husk is variegated and it has no awns.

It sometimes happens that the Isneg plants several varieties of rice or palay [18] in one and the same field; but, if he does so, he is always careful to keep each variety to its own patch of ground and not to plant them indiscriminately all over the field. In this case, each variety is known by the name of *xánan*. Thus, when the Isneg says that he has three *xánan* in his field, he means that his field is divided into three sections, each of them planted with a different variety of palay. It should be noted though that the name *xánan* is applied to the rice that grows there and not to the patch of soil in which it is planted.

[18] A name which is used extensively all over the Islands and means "rice in the husk or paddy".

243

243 CEREAL AGRICULTURE--specialized cultivation of cereal crops (e.g., maize, millet, rice, wheat); techniques of planting and harvesting (e.g., transplantation, threshing); use of specialized tools, equipment, and machinery; organization of labor and production; etc. See also:

Milling industry . . . . . 256 Harvesting and threshing machinery 407

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II. Rice

243 192 In the estimation of the Isneg, rice is paramount. Even though no other proofs of this statement were available, the fact that, in Isneg, rice has three different names would suggest it. And by this I do not mean that there are three kinds or three varieties of rice, as in reality they are legion, but that the general English term "rice" has three Isneg equivalents.

Paddy, rice in the husk, unhusked rice, whether growing or cut, is called *ammáy*. Once it has been pounded or milled, it goes by the name of *baggát*, thus "rice" as it is known to most people of Europe and America. Besides, this same term *baggát*, which primarily refers to husked rice, is also applied to a good many other things, with the meaning of "substance", "most important part (edible root of a plant, etc.)", "fruit", etc. Then we have unhusked rice or paddy that is *nabgát*, "well filled", in contradistinction to that which is *lappit*, "empty". A third name, *nabáw*, is the exclusive appellation of "cooked rice". And so no Isneg, even though he were the most ignorant of his tribe, would ever think of saying that he is going to cook or eat *ammáy*, to harvest *baggát*, or to store up *nabáw* in his granary. He harvests *ammáy*, cooks *baggát* and eats *nabáw*.

In general the Isneg distinguish between *bukaká* (whether *ammáy*, *baggát* or *nabáw*), the usual food, and *dékat* or *díkat* (whether *ammáy*, *baggát* or *nabáw*), very oily rice, chiefly used for puddings and the like. Each of these two, especially the *bukaká*, has a great number of varieties, which it would take me too long to enumerate in detail, the more so that in different villages the same variety is often known by entirely different names. It would take a conscientious investigator more than a little of his time to write down in all Isneg agglomerations the names and the distinctive characteristics of each and every variety of rice known to the inhabitants; and, even though he had the leisure and inclination to do so, I doubt if the list would ever be complete and the description entirely accurate, as now and then new names have a way of popping up unexpectedly, and one and the same variety of rice may be known to two individuals by two different names, while the same name may sometimes be applied to two or more varieties by people living considerably apart from one another.

Nevertheless I shall give here the names of a few varieties of rice that have some outstanding characteristics.

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One of the greatest enemies of the Isneg farmer is the locust (*dódon*), and consequently it will not seem strange that he is usually well acquainted with the names of several varieties of rice that can withstand these pests most effectually. We have, among others:

The *paturây*, without awns (*ibo*);

The *ortó-*, also awnless, and with rather small kernels: it is said by the Isneg to remain on the field even though all other varieties be consumed by locusts;

The *kuritây*, which has very tough leaves, no awns, and thin elongated kernels: it is comparatively rare and often used for purposes of divination. Knead a ball of cooked *kuritây*-rice and throw it a certain distance: if it falls down in a compact mass, you are sure to live long; should it break up or be smashed to pieces, the span of your life will be a short one.

In the same line may be mentioned the *binoóxān*, which is supposed to be immune from the depredations of wild animals.

Then we have the *madíliya* (evidently from the Spanish *medalla*, "medal", which may be the reason why it is used for an amulet, as will be seen under the description of the preparation of seeds for planting), a kind of *dékat* or oily rice. The sweets made from this variety remain soft for a considerable time, even to the third and fourth "night", as the Isneg puts it, who counts by nights, not by days.

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The *xirxirá-* is the despair of the housewife, as it is exceedingly hard to pound: its husk is variegated and it has no awns.

It sometimes happens that the Isneg plants several varieties of rice or palay[18] in one and the same field; but, if he does so, he is always careful to keep each variety to its own patch of ground and not to plant them indiscriminately all over the field. In this case, each variety is known by the name of *xánan*. Thus, when the Isneg says that he has three *xánan* in his field, he means that his field is divided into three sections, each of them planted with a different variety of palay. It should be noted though that the name *xánan* is applied to the rice that grows there and not to the patch of soil in which it is planted.

[18] A name which is used extensively all over the Islands and means "rice in the husk or paddy".

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243 A certain amount of rice (or Indian corn) that consists in a mixture of kernels of different colors, white (or yellow) and red, is said to be *naburábur*.

243 192 While other fields have either a common name, or a special name that is derived from the plants that are grown in them, a rice field is universally known all over Apayaw by the very specialized term *kómān*. This term is never applied to other plantations, even though they were formerly used for growing rice; as soon as they are planted with some other product, they cease to be *kómān* and become something else. The same happens to fallow rice fields: as soon as they have been abandoned, they automatically change their name. A former *kómān* that has been left unproductive for one year, is called *balnás*. Should it have remained in that state for over one year, it is an *ublág*. In case it has been abandoned for a long time, so that it is already partially covered with young trees, it is known as a *bannuwág*.

In the same way, the sides or edges of a field (whether rice field or not), a garden or an orchard, are known under the general name of *bíkat*, whereas a rice field has the distinction of possessing two sides or *bíkat* that are clearly differentiated by name. The lower part, or rather the edge of the rice field where the man starts his clearing of the ground, is called *atád*; and the opposite or upper edge is the *arpád*; while the common name for both the *atád* and the *arpád* is *nami-tán*. The two other sides, the one to the left and the one to the right when going up from the *atád* to the *arpád*, have to content themselves with the common appellation: *bíkat*.

A *kómān* in which both man and woman have the time of their life to make it productive, is said to be *napgús*, which I am tempted to translate "recalcitrant", or, if you prefer a milder term, "unresponsive". Clearing such a field, weeding it, fencing it, reaping it, every single piece of work that has to be done in it, can be brought to a successful issue only with the utmost difficulty.

312 225 Should it happen that your rice field is situated far away from any kind of source or brook, whether you overlooked this item when making your choice of a patch of ground to be turned into a *kómān*, or because it nevertheless seemed to be the best available for this time, there is an easy way to supply that deficiency: look for a *kumó*, a kind of crab speckled yellow and red, and when you have found it, dig a hole in the ground somewhere at or near your field, and thrust the crab into

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with the choice of a patch of ground to be cleared for a future rice field, and ending with the storing up of the harvest in the granary.

1. PREPARING A RICE FIELD

The first arduous work that we have to consider is the clearing (*mañumá*) of a patch of ground in order to prepare it for a future rice field, and this is the exclusive work of the men.

The last days of February or, more generally, the month of March, is the time at which the Isneg usually commence this business. But to know the exact time of the year appropriate for this kind of work, the Isneg has a few *taxímmatón* or signs of his own.

One of them is the appearance of the *bakákaw* or *limbakákaw*, a kind of low herb that is found almost anywhere and is easily noticed on account of its color, which is red throughout, flowers included. The Isneg call it "the sign of the coming of the year (*magdaxún*)", because the time of the first work that has to be done in the field is considered as the beginning of a new year.

Another sign, usually more conspicuous but less common, is the flowering of the *tablán* or coral tree (Erythrina sp.), that bears large scarlet papilionaceous flowers. When this tree is in full bloom, however, it is often considered as a *taxímmatón* or sign for subsequent work, as will be seen in its proper place.

The *basiñalán*-tree also serves to announce the coming of the same season: when the native sees its leaves crumbling, he knows that the time has come for making the first preparation of the ground.

Some time before that, however, the Isneg will have been on the lookout for a favorable spot in which to start his prospective *kómān*. Formerly, of course, he had to choose a part of the forest, as originally the whole of Apayaw must have been covered with woods. But actually he may select a patch of ground, either in the forest (*rinúbāt*), which he rarely does on account of the difficulty of cutting down the big trees, or in the bushes (*sirāt*), mostly sections of the mountain slopes that have been cultivated in former years. On no account, however, is he allowed to pick out a former rice field that has not been abandoned for at least three consecutive years. And so, because rice is only planted once on the same field, the work of clearing the ground is always a more or less arduous task, which it would be hardly possible for a woman to perform; but, even though she could do it, custom forbids, and this work is the exclusive privilege or duty of her husband and sons.

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243 Very often two or more Isneg contrive to have plots of ground that are contiguous, so as the better to be able to withstand the inroads of wild animals. "Union makes might": the Belgian motto is true even in Apayaw. Another point not to be overlooked in this connection is that, by working on the same mountain slope, there springs up between the men a kind of rivalry, as each Isneg tries to emulate and to outdo his companion, which results, of course, to the advantage of all concerned. In such cases, however, they always leave a strip of ground uncleared to serve for a natural boundary (*naglatân* or *papandanân*) between two contiguous rice fields.

243 When the time has come to begin the all-important *mañumá* (clearing), no conscientious Isneg embarks upon a venture that means so much to himself and to his family, before he has taken all possible precautions. Therefore on the day on which he has decided to tackle this job, he first of all spends a considerable time in observing the flight of the omen-bird (*labág*) or, to say it in Isneg, he *mañlabág*. To do this, he leaves the village and sits down somewhere at a place outside of the group of houses, where he is morally sure of seeing *labág*-birds. Once he has espied one of them, he carefully observes all its movements: should it stay where it is, or at least always remain at the same side without crossing in front of him, the omen is good, and he may safely go ahead. The same is true if the bird flies across from the left side to the right, which is called *púlad* or *ulád*. Should it pass the other way, that is from right to left, this is a bad omen, which is called *pákam* or *akám* (in Main branch: *páam* or *aám*; in Bayag: *axám*), and the Isneg must wait until the next day before he tries his luck again. A prudent farmer, however, spends a good many hours in observation and does not rest content with the favorable answer of one single bird; he usually tries to have the omen of the first one confirmed by one or more others of the same kind. Should the omen have been bad from the beginning, it would be useless, of course, to wait any longer; the only thing for him to do is to go home and come back the next day.

243 On the day a favorable omen has been granted and not contradicted, the Isneg, armed with his *aliwá* or hatchet, proceeds to his future *kómān*, and does what they call *manatálon* or *talónan*. This consists in cutting down (*magpatpát, patpátān*) the bushes (not the trees) grasses, sedges, bamboo grass (*bassáw*, Miscanthus sinensis),[26] etc.

[26] Called *pattár*, if old and dry without having been cut.

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the latter being usually the most plentiful, over a small space called *tálon*. This *tálon* is generally not much larger than one square yard, and so the first day's work is finished within a comparatively short time.

Besides the observances that are usual for all kinds of work, and which have been mentioned previously, here are a few practices that are peculiar to the *mañumá* (clearing), which it is good for the Isneg to heed. And so, before beginning to cut anything, he should perform the ceremony called *sapsapó*. This consists in strewing a certain amount of ashes, brought along for this purpose, first to the left, then to the right, and finally behind his back, in order to avoid, if not the approach, at least the bites of mosquitoes for the entire duration of the *mañumá*. Besides, if he is a careful man, he will have provided himself with one or more of the following: *alimbódo, anagláw, talésăy*. The *alimbódo* is a kind of herb that keeps you from any kind of harm, from anything that might hurt you, provided it be placed at the spot where you begin your work. The *anagláw* is a low herb with comparatively long leaves, that grows all over the district, and is put down at the same place as the preceding, for the benefit of the worker and his *kómăn*. The *talésăy* also is a small herb, and serves the same purpose as the *anagláw*, but it is found only in forested areas. At the same time the following prayer may be recited. The text was given me by *Yadán* from Nagbabalayan (O dialect, K branch).

Dinakami paipalagmán kiyá sípāt năyá inammăyán (Do not disobey us at the clearing of the rice field).

Now pronounce the word *óka* or *póka*, and begin attacking the bushes. This word should be pronounced every day before the first stroke of the hatchet, until the whole field is cleared. Its pronunciation will help you to go up the slope in a lively way and to finish the work quickly. Should somebody come along and pronounce the same word, while you are busy cutting the bushes, its pronunciation will have the same effect, making the work easy for you.

The next day, that is the day after the *tálon* has been cleared, the Isneg *xumowáń*, which means that he stays at home and does nothing: he makes it a holiday (*ńílin*). Woe to him if he infringes this taboo. What would befall him, nobody really knows, as it has never happened yet that this holiday was not kept: no Isneg willfully disobeys any of the customs of his people, and this special taboo is known by everybody.

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243 The third day, or the next day after the enforced idleness just mentioned, is called *sarsár*. Now the Isneg *manarsár*, which means that he begins work in earnest, starting for his field early in the morning.

The farmer begins clearing his field at the lower edge (*atád*), near the *tálon*, or small patch cleared two days previously, and gradually climbs up the slope, until he reaches the upper edge (*arpád*). Should the field be level, the Isneg call this work *maxónut* instead of *mañumá*. While cutting the grasses, he causes them to fall to the left or to the right, but always backwards, that is toward the *atád* or lower edge, so that they will not interfere with his subsequent work. All large trees are left standing, nothing is torn down but what can be cut either at one stroke of the hatchet (*magtaggád, taggadán*), or at least with little difficulty, so as not to hinder considerably the progress of the work. Usually in this kind of work the Isneg has two hatchets in his possession, the second one or *takám* being used in case the first one becomes dull.

[776] The spirit that is to be feared more than any other at this time of the year, is *Pagpaxasápat*, a killer of men at the time of the *mañumá*.

An accident that may easily befall the Isneg at this juncture is the snapping of the helve of his *aliwá* at its junction with the blade, inside the iron ring or *palábo*. In this case the wielder of the hatchet is said to *magpañúd* and the hatchet itself is *napñudán*. Should such a catastrophe (and it is no exaggeration to call it by that name) occur on the day of the *sarsár*, the farmer is obliged to abandon the whole business and begin all over again, going in search of another field, observing the omen, cutting the *tálon* or first patch, *xumowán* or resting the next day, and so on. But this is not obligatory if the same accident happens on some other day after the *sarsár*, and not without reason: otherwise he might be obliged to clear fields until doomsday, as the helve of an Isneg hatchet, if used more or less carelessly, is apt to break very easily at this point, the thinned fork of the helve being very brittle at the place where the iron tang is fixed into it. This also may be a practical reason for leaving comparatively large trees intact for the time being.

243 824 When clearing a patch of ground that has been left untouched for several years, the Isneg is liable to come across all kinds of plants. Whereas his principal aim is to make the work progress as quickly and smoothly as possible, and to cut down whatever comes in his way, the

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larger trees excepted, nevertheless there are a few objects about which he should be extremely careful.

First of all we have the *amitál*, a kind of woody vine with elongated leaves, that may be found in almost any brake or bushy plot of ground. In case the Isneg comes upon it while busy clearing his field, he should stop immediately, go home, and stay there all through the next day, making the latter a *núlin* or holiday. This *amitál* is by far the worst of all, as it retards the progress of the work considerably; others are not so bad.

The *lapát úlag*, for instance, a kind of tree usually growing to a considerable size if left to thrive without interruption, must not be cut down in the *kómān* under any pretext whatsoever, because if the Isneg fails to heed this prohibition, the rats will inevitably destroy the rice that might happen to grow on this field. The *lapát úlag* is easily noticeable by its absence of branches, all leaves growing directly on the trunk, and by its large leaves which measure approximately fifteen by five inches.

Then there is the *lúbo-*, a herbaceous vine that grows in forested areas: not only must it remain untouched, but the place where it grows should be excluded at any price from the *kómān* or rice field, otherwise a member of the owner's family will die before the end of the season. Consequently the *lúbo-* often obliges the farmer to alter completely the shape of his *kómān*, so as to keep the ground on which it grows at the outside of his future rice field. In some districts the same nefarious influence is attributed to a herbaceous vine which the natives call *bitál*, but which is probably the same as the *lúbo-*: the name *bitál* may have been given to it on account of the properties of the *bitál*-knot of vines, which will be described presently.

Another taboo has to do with the *pirúy*-instrument which the farmer is absolutely forbidden to carry or play in the field, for the whole time that elapses between the *sarsár* and the end of the harvest. Even a stranger who happens to have a *pirúy* on his person, when entering the field, must be warned not to play it; usually, however, he will know about the prohibition without needing a warning. The reason of this taboo is that the sound of the *pirúy* attracts the birds and causes them invariably to come and ravage the field before the end of the harvest. This *pirúy* (fig. 3) consists of a small piece of bamboo in which two parallel slits have been cut lengthwise, without entirely severing the intervening portion from its adjacent parts; this central part is then lifted up by means of a small stick, that has been slid

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under it and that produces a slight sound when pinched on either end. It is also absolutely forbidden to pare one's nails in a new-made *kómān*.

A very favorable omen is the meeting of a nest of *amsí-* in the future rice field. The *amsí-* is a stinging medium-sized red-and-black ant, very thin between thorax and abdomen. Such a find forebodes the lusty growth of rice and of all plants that may subsequently be raised in this field.

Another happening that is eagerly looked for is the finding of a jungle fowl's nest. At such an occurrence all work is momentarily stopped and the only concern of the Isneg is to count the number of eggs it contains, each egg presaging the harvest of one hundred bundles of rice.

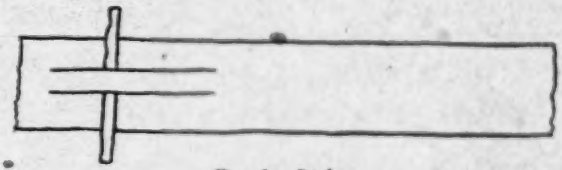

Fig. 3. *Pidy*.

When the day's work is over, the Isneg goes home to enjoy a well-deserved rest. Here, however, he should be careful, when partaking of a meal, not to eat the crust of the rice (*assíp*), that is, the rice that is next to the pot and has become brown and hardened, because, if he did so, the palay on the field would *umsíp*, which means that it would refuse to grow after having sprung up lustily, and would then wither and become yellow and die. This taboo, however, has to be observed only at the beginning of the *mañumá* or clearing of the field. On subsequent journeys to the field for the purpose of continuing the clearing of the ground, it may happen that one sees along the road a *bitál* (also called *bitúl* and *binituldn*), that is: a cluster of vines or rather a considerable amount of strong vines that have become so intertwined as to form a huge knot. This knot could not have been there before, as it could not have escaped observation, so it is only reasonable to conclude that it has formed after the *mañumá* has been started. In this case the Isneg should retrace his steps and make that day a holiday (*ńílin*). If met in the rice field itself, however, such a knot may remain unheeded, as it has not the slightest influence on the man and his *kómān*.

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And so, after several days of hard work, perhaps interrupted occasionally by a holiday, in order to follow the rules laid down by his ancestors and the spirits, the Isneg finally reaches the upper end of his field, the *arpád*. Once there, he has to leave untouched a small section of his intended rice field, usually about one square yard, the *nañarpadán*. Later on, after a resting period of from three to five days, he is allowed to go and clear it with the rest (*pammalínán*, "to finish, to end").

The field is now *inumá*, which means that all the grasses, shrubs, canes of bamboo grass, saplings, etc. have been cut down: the first important work is done. It is for the sun now to do its part by drying up everything as soon as possible, man being a mere looker-on. This does not mean, however, that nothing has to be done before there is an opportunity for burning the *kómān*.

First of all, the farmer makes a survey of the *kómān* that is now in the *inumá*-state, carefully cutting down in the meanwhile anything that might have been overlooked, most especially at the center, the sides being of less importance: this is called *manábal*, a term that is also used for the finishing touch given by a woman to the rice field after it has been weeded.

After this comes the *tádaw* or the cutting down of all the branches of the trees that have been left standing in the field. The *lapát ñlag* mentioned before forms really no exception to this rule, as it has no branches. The *tarimmatón* or sign for this work, which is usually performed some time in March, is the blooming of the *tablán* or coral tree, referred to under the *tarimmatón* of the preceding work, the *mañumá*. Another sign for the beginning of the *tádaw* is the *lumbá-*, a tree whose flowers are much sought after by honeybees: when the *lumbá-* begins to bear fruit, the Isneg knows that it is the *agtatádaw* or time for lopping the trees in his *inumá*.

This also, of course, is a man's work; but, because most all Isneg are able to climb any kind of tree, the work is not considered hard, provided there are a couple of good sharp hatchets ready at hand. The *kumilá*-tree, however, is usually left with its branches intact, because the boughs are very brittle and it is rather dangerous to climb the tree and cut them; but nothing prevents the Isneg from cutting it down in its entirety, at the time of the *mañumá*, provided it be not too large. The *kumilá* is very straight and its bark is fragrant; it rarely grows very thick, although it may reach a great height. In Dangla,

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243 the cutting of its branches, not the felling of the whole tree, is tabooed in the *kómān*.

243 TR The spirits whom the farmer has to fear at this time of the year, are *Dalipunáw* and his aid *Agpáw*, who are intent on killing people at the time of the *tádaw*.

Should the Isneg know of a tree where the spirit *Pinańgáw* has taken his abode, he must skip it and leave it intact; besides, even though he tried to lop (*magtádaw*) it, he would never be able to do so.

243 Anything that is left untouched, not cut, for any kind of reason, is called *pinuró-*. To leave any kind of plant standing in the *kómān* is *purokán*.

162 Almost immediately following the *tádaw*, we have the *maggańát*, also a man's job. This consists in cutting up the trunks of small trees and the large boughs that are strewn all over the field after the *tádaw*.

And now, at the first opportunity, the Isneg burns his field, *manidúg* or *sumi-dúg*. This of course mostly depends on the weather, because, if the grasses and canes are not thoroughly dry, they will hardly catch fire, and if the wind does not blow from the right direction, it is no use trying to start a blaze. Indeed, the fire is always started at the lower end of the *kómān*, after which helped by the wind it creeps up the mountain slope devouring everything in its wake, and scorching (without destroying) all the neighboring parts of the forest and bushes, including the *naglatán* (or boundary of untouched bushes between two contiguous fields) mentioned before.

It is really an awe-inspiring and never-to-be-forgotten spectacle, when all around, as far as the eye can reach, the mountain slopes are converted into huge bonfires. At every gust of wind and whenever the flames have met some fresh heap of fuel more especially ready for the conflagration, the whole valley is filled with a crepitating and roaring noise intermittently brought to a climax by loud reports of bursting bamboos.

It is useless to say that this work, which again is a man's job, has to be planned and executed with the utmost care, not only to insure the best results, but also to prevent the burning of houses, granaries, orchards, gardens, etc., lest, besides bringing a blessing to the future rice field, it happen to be a curse to the neighbors and to the owner himself, who must repay his countrymen for all the damages wrought through his carelessness. Such a danger, however, is rather remote, as Apayaw is sparsely inhabited and the Isneg is usually an expert in the choice of a well-located field and in everything that pertains to

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its preparation. In case he were not, he would be wise enough to invoke the help and counsel of other men, who are always willing to offer their services in this respect.

But I believe I am anticipating, and so let us begin with the beginning. The *taxímmatón* or sign for the *si-dúg* or burning of the fields is the *lumbá-*, a tree mentioned before, when it is covered with fruits. This generally happens in April or, at the earliest, about the end of March.

Should it happen that one of the trees that were left standing in the *kómān*, is inhabited by *Danág*-spirits, the Isneg, before beginning to burn his field, goes and looks for a *bátań*, a kind of rather large bracket fungus in the shape of an ear, very hard and not edible, that grows on trees. This he hangs somewhere in the tree inhabited by the *Danág* in question, with the inevitable result that the latter get frightened and either decamp or, at least, leave the owner in peace.

Before applying the torch, the Isneg pronounces the word *silām* so that all canes and branches be nicely burnt and there remain as little residue as possible. If he fails to pronounce this magic term, he might have to spend several days in gathering and burning the remainder of the rubbish.

Let us now make the acquaintance of a spirit who is a big help to a farmer in possession of a field under clearance. His name is *Alipugpúg* and he occasionally shows his presence in the *kómān* in the shape of a little whirl of wind or eddy (which is also the meaning of his name), that causes leaves and small twigs to whirl around. If he is seen playing in the rice field at any time after the *si-dúg* or burning, this presages a lusty and robust growth of plants. Never forget though that the day following the appearance of this favorable omen must be kept as a holiday: you must stay at home and stop all work, whether you be man or woman.

In case *Alipugpúg* shows himself immediately after the burning of the field, with the fresh ashes turning in a circle, go immediately to meet him and get some of the whirling ashes, applying them to your forehead, as a prophylactic against the headache. Then, on the next day, observe the customary holiday.

And now the Isneg farmer may contemplate with pride the result of his exertions. The field is almost ready for the women to start their work: nothing remains but a few dry half-burnt sticks scattered all around, a few heaps of partly consumed canes of bamboo grass, and

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243 here and there a tree seared and partially blackened, a *lappúg*, a pitiable victim of its most powerful enemy: fire.

A field that is littered out of proportion with rubbish, branches and canes (*xakáb*), is said to be *naxubsí*, and that means a few days of extra work for the Isneg. Should there be one or more *ruúdd* (big trees, left standing, but dead and partially burnt or blackened) in the *kómān*, the Isneg must beware of cutting them down, as such huge black masses will serve for scarecrows against wild boars and deer, and keep them at a distance.

The only occasional exception to all this desolation is the tree inhabited by *Pinañgáw*, an outstanding witness to the power of its protector: the fire passed it without leaving any enduring mark.

243 As soon as the burning is done, everybody who is interested, goes and takes a look at the place, which can now be done without hindrance, as everything is open to view. In case the wife of the Isneg who prepared this *kómān* makes some statement intimating that their *kómān* is small, the husband *mañanasá*, that is, he cuts down either a small or a considerable part of the withered grasses and sedges at the edge of the burnt field, so as to satisfy both his wife and custom, the latter obliging him to act that way under the circumstances; and this he may not do remissly, because, if the *añanasá* is performed carelessly, nothing will grow at that place, which after all is easily understood.

243 The morning after the burning of the field, a few seeds are confided to the ground. This is called *magpaðyab*, and the ceremony consists in scattering from six to ten seeds somewhere in the *kómān*. It may be performed by either men or women, but it must be accompanied by an appropriate prayer. In some districts, for instance at Bayag, this ceremony is performed the day before the first planting: this will be mentioned at its proper place, and there also will be given the prayer that accompanies the *agpaðyab*.

The only thing left to be done is the cleaning of the field after burning; this is called *manudú-*, and generally husband and wife, sons and daughters, in fact the whole household, help one another to bring it to a successful issue. The larger boughs and branches that have withstood the conflagration, are mostly piled up in stacks, to be used for fuel: this is called *maxaróboñ*. The other rubbish, canes of bamboo grass being usually the most abundant, is gathered into heaps and then burnt: this is what the Isneg call *maxopó*, a term applied to the

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burning of a heap of any kind of rubbish, whether in the field or in the house yard.

2. PLANTING RICE AND OTHER ACTIVITIES IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING

The Isneg plant their rice in the months of May and June. But before that they have to prepare the seeds (*maxaggí-*), which is usually done at home by the women, and is a quite elaborate process, as will be seen anon.

The seeds (*aggí-*: a general name for seeds of rice, Indian corn, beans, peas, and the like) are simply the rice kernels shelled off from the ears. A mat (*abá-*), mostly an old one, is spread over the floor for the purpose; a few bundles of rice, the number varying with the amount of rice seeds that are needed, are brought into it from the granary; and these are shelled by treading on them and pressing them under the feet, until all the kernels are separated from the straw (*agkuláw*). The mat in question is called the *agaggikán*.

To make the matter more complicated, a number of things have to be observed, on which depends the success of the whole business. Now let us see in detail what has to be done lest the crop prove a failure.

After a small amount of seeds has been made ready, these are placed in a basket (*la-bá*), and all further progress of the work is stopped until they have been blessed. The woman who shells this first rice and performs the blessing ceremony, is ordinarily of mature age, although not necessarily a shaman, and is called *maňoddál*. The seeds having been gathered in the *la-bá*, this woman *maglubí*, which means that she mixes with them a whole assortment of objects, while reciting at the same time an appropriate prayer, for instance, one of those given above and addressed to *Pílāy*. The following are the ingredients that are absolutely necessary:

Inapúxān, described before;
A piece of *landíg* or husk of a ripe betel nut;
One or more of the following:

Aňlubí: A small herb with elongated brown flowers, that grows in the forest. In Bayag they use the *lubí*, a small herb with diminutive red flowers, that grows almost anywhere;

A section of *banatá* cut into pieces. The *banatá* is a tall herb, about two feet high, with large round leaves and fruits resembling those of the betel pepper; it grows all over the district;

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243 A part of the fruit and leaf of the lemon;

782 A few seeds of *laññá* or sesame: these seeds have a peculiar [82] aptitude for "teaching" the rice how to grow vigorously;

A seed of *oldiyátan*, in order to guard the spirit of the rice, lest it leave the rice and the ears become empty. The *oldiyátan* is a forest tree with a thorny stem and round seeds that are used for toys;

A piece of zedoary or rhizome of *kannig* (Cureuma sedoaria [Berg.] Rosc.), which grows wild;

[303] A piece of galangale or rhizome of *disól* (Kaempferia galanga, L.), cut into small pieces. This plant is often cultivated, as old women use it for perfume;

Some pudding made from *madiliya*-rice, mentioned before.

All these are amulets (*tánib*) that insure the nice growth of the palay.

243 The seeds of this *la-bá* are now kept apart, and they will be planted in the field before any other ones.

Then the work of shelling goes on and, whenever there is a sufficient amount of *aggi-*, it is transferred to a bamboo tube, called *agaggikán* like the old mat itself. The term *agaggikán* consists of the stem *aggi-* and the locative combination *ag . . . an*: when referring to the mat, it means "the place where the woman *maxaggi-* or shells rice"; when applied to the bamboo tube, it means "the place of the *aggi-*". In some localities, instead of using a bamboo tube, the Isneg wrap the seeds in the leaves of the *asipúlo* or *sipúlo*: a forest tree with very large round leaves; its bark is sometimes used for chewing with the betel nut.

When the time of planting (*tognó*) draws near, the Isneg puts the finishing touch to the cleaning of his *kómān*. Some of the plants that had been cut during the *añumá* or clearing, have sprung up again (*rumsi-*), after the field was burnt. And so the man takes his hatchet and the woman her *paló-* (hoe), which will be described presently, and proceed to the field in order to clean everything thoroughly before the planting is begun: this final preparation is called *magpatari-si-* (*tari-si-* means: young shoot of plants in general).

[462] For the planting or *tognó* (a term used for rice and Indian corn, not for beans, etc.), which is the exclusive work of the women, the latter need a special implement, namely a dibble.

412 Here I shall give the description of the aforementioned *paló-* (hoe) and of the two kinds of dibble used for planting rice, the *saguwá-* and the *xódań*.

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412 portion. The blade consists in a thin piece of iron, about two inches broad over its whole length, sharp at one end, and provided at the opposite end with a hollow socket that encloses the end of the handle. The handle is made of any kind of wood. The *saguwá-* is used for planting (*magtognó, tognowán*) rice and Indian corn.

The *xádań* is another kind of dibble which consists merely of a straight stick of hard wood, about one yard long and pointed at one end. It is used, like the *saguwá-*, for planting rice and Indian corn.

243 415 When the Isneg woman goes planting, she also takes along a receptacle for seeds, called *tupáń*, which is just an ordinary *dúyog* or coconut shell. She ties it somewhere at her waist in such a way as to be easily reached with the left hand. The *tupáń* is used for holding seeds of rice or Indian corn.

The *tazimmatón* or sign for the *agtotognó* (time of planting) is the appearance of the *biyóń* or pods of the *tablán* or coral tree, which has been mentioned formerly under the same circumstances. As soon as the coral tree is covered with fruits the Isneg woman understands that it is time for her to confide the *aggi-* (seeds) of rice to the soil.

Planting is done like this: the woman holds the dibble (*saguwá-* or *xádań*) in her right hand and bores a hole (*magtuná-*) in the ground; at the same time she gets a few seeds (usually three) from the *tupáń*-cup and drops them into the hole, with her left hand; then she covers the hole and fills it up with her right foot. The whole work is done standing, and if any kind of stooping is necessary, it is very slight, so that an experienced planter can finish a large plot in a comparatively short time. The holes are usually bored in such a way as to form more or less parallel rows (*tarintén*), which are rarely straight: the only aim of the woman is to render subsequent work in the field easy for herself and safe for the plants. The distance between the plants is mostly about one foot (*tańadapán*): if the planter is still a novice, she measures the distance with one of her feet, while experienced planters scorn to do so.

243 782 As soon as the *agtotognó* or time of planting has come, the Isneg merely waits for a favorable opportunity to begin the work. In some places, at Bayag for instance, the man or the woman goes to the field on the day that precedes the *alápat* (which will be described presently) in order to perform the *agpadyab*, which has been mentioned before in connection with the *si-dúg* (burning). Once there, a few grains of rice are thrown into the field, and one of the following prayers is recited:

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Ne ma- úlag ta umad-adăyyóa[27] (Here then, rat, so that you be going away).

Ne ma- ómăn ta magla-la-nás-a (Here then, rice field, so that you be [planted] quickly).

These texts were given me by *Pokól*, a Bayag man (O dialect), who claimed that the second prayer was regularly used by his father.

Both these prayers may also be used by those who *magpaḍyab* immediately after the burning of the field.

On the first day of the regular planting (at Bayag, the day after the *agpaḍyab*), the woman *mazalópat* (*magalompapát* at Bayag): some time in the afternoon, she goes to the field and plants about one square yard (in some places only two or three *tognó* or holes); after which she goes home and does no more work that day. But before she starts on that business, she has to offer *inapúzăn* (betel for chewing) to a few spirits that are either favorable or bent on mischief more especially at the *agtotognó*: while doing so she recites a prayer appropriate to the occasion.[28] The spirit that always heads the list is *Róyo*. After him are invoked or propitiated one or more of the following: *Ikkúl, Tukká, Xusín, Do-ráw*. The last is begged not to follow the planter, lest no palay be harvested that year.

Next to the first hole she bores in the ground, a zealous Isneg woman places one or both of the following amulets:

One or more leaves of the *taxalítaw* vine (Hoya sp., or very near), a very sturdy asclepiadaceous plant with thick leaves often used for decorating purposes. Its leaves being placed next to the first plant cause the leaves of the palay to be green and full of life;

A part of the *sapitán*-herb, a cultivated plant about two feet high, with leaves resembling those of cogon-grass.

The following prayer may be recited when the first seeds, whether of rice or, more especially, of Indian corn, are confided to the soil. My informant, *Dagámi*, a Bayag woman (O dialect), entitled it:

Maktuná- (To start planting [corn, rice])

Imúlaka ta maktubotúboa magbúñaa magbăybăyágka; daăyó maggiyán kiyá al-alawagán ta áwánnu pagan-anítan ya múlao; umadăyyóăyo[29] *a maggiyán kiya adanní năyá múlami; dídaxami pagda-*

[27] The initial u is scarcely audible.

[28] These prayers may be found scattered all over this treatise: any prayer that accompanies the offering of *inapúzăn* will do, only the name of the spirit has to be changed in order to fit in.

[29] Cf. footnote 27 supra.

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243 722 *gaiún daŋyó maggiyán ki airát* (I plant you so that you shoot up, you bear fruit, you be lasting long; you who reside on the earth, so that you have no reason to destroy [36] my plants; go away, you who reside near our plants; do not give us a fever, you who reside in the bushes).

243 784 In the evening of the day of the *agalópal*, [1] the woman, owner of the field, *magsima*, which means that she is not allowed to give away anything from the house, not even a leaf of tobacco, and that she may not permit anybody to enter the house. The next morning, however, these prohibitions cease, but at the same time this day has to be kept as a holiday (*úilin*). The real work of planting begins only on the third day, after which planting is done unremittingly until the end.

If the planter is accompanied by children, these should be warned not to shout in or about the field on account of the spirit *Paranánay*, who has taken his abode at the outskirts of the *kómän* ever since the burning of the field, and who stays there until the *tognó* is finished.

243 462 776 While planting is going on or, at the latest, immediately after it is finished, the Isneg cut out again the young shoots of bamboo grass that have sprung up in the meanwhile: this plant has a very tough resistance and is subdued by the farmer only after many exertions. To cut out isolated shoots of *bassáw* or bamboo grass, is *magsilsil*; if they grow in clusters, to cut them out is *magtappil*, and this is much more thorough than *magsilsil*, as the roots are taken out as well as the rest. Both men and women perform this job, the first using their *oliwó* or hatchet, the latter their *paló-* or hoe.

At the time of planting one must especially beware of an evil spirit called *Bibiritän*, who roams around to kill people during the *agtotognó*. About the same time also reigns *Bakákaw* (which is also the name of a bird mentioned before), a spirit who is always carrying a heavy load of *agkukiw* or rice straw (from which rice has been shelled).

Later on, when the paddy has been sprouting all over the field, the woman goes to see if there are any voids in the rows, and if she sees that shoots are lacking here and there, she goes home and prepares for a communication with the spirits (*maranito*). If she is a shaman, she does it by herself; if not, she calls a *dorarákit* (shaman) for the purpose. After this she goes to the field and fills up the gaps: this is called *magtagnáp*.

243 In the meanwhile the men also are busy, and between the *si-dúg*

[36] Literally: to cut off, to rub off.

1 [i.e., first planting -- Analyst]

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(burning) and the *tagnáp* just mentioned, they attend to several important duties. 243

First of all, the trees that grow around the *kómān* have to be eliminated, as the rice would hardly be able to thrive in their shadow. And so the Isneg takes his hatchet and cuts them down (*maydalnég* or *magpalléd*), so that they die and do not interfere with the growth of the crop.

Then a fence has to be built around the *kómān*, and the *aízāy*-hut has to be constructed inside. The latter work is rarely protracted beyond planting time, while fencing can be dispensed with whenever there is a natural barrier that renders it superfluous, for instance a very steep decline. Sometimes the *kómān*, and occasionally other fields, are left entirely unprotected; this, however, is rather exceptional: even though no regular fence be built, there is usually at least some temporary barrier, any of those that will be mentioned presently.

Whereas there are several ways of hedging a rice field, and besides a fence has also to be built around gardens and fields where other plants are grown, I shall give here, once for all, the description of the different kinds of fences built by the Isneg, whether around garden or rice field, whether to protect sweet potatoes or Indian corn.

The first way to safeguard a field or garden from wild boars, deer, etc., is to heap up (*magbambán*, *bambannán*) canes of bamboo grass, banana stems, etc. (*bambán*) all along its sides. This, of course, is only a temporary barrier that has to be replaced later on by something more durable.

Then we have the *balakkuwit* (fig. 5), which hardly deserves the

FIG. 5. *Ballakuwit.*

name of fence. It consists of strips of bamboo (*nasi-lát a bólo*) stuck archwise all around the field, sometimes in such a way as to produce a guilloche effect. The *balakkuwit* rather serves for a scarecrow, as the whiteness of the fresh strips of bamboo frightens wild animals away. It goes without saying that this is only a temporary device, as very soon the color of the bamboo turns brown and consequently loses all its effect.

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243 417 Let us come now to the regular fence, the *abút*, and see how it is made.

To build (*maxabút*) an ordinary fence you need a large amount of canes of bamboo grass (*bassáw*) for the uprights, which form the bulk of the fence, and a few more for the transverse pieces (*pakán*), a certain amount of sturdy sticks for props or supporters (*túkid*), a good quantity of vines or other materials for tying purposes, a large wooden hammer (*bakéta*) for driving in the supporters, and, last but not least, a hatchet or *aliwá*.

Those are the usual materials and implements used in making an *abút*. Sometimes wooden sticks are used instead of canes, with strips of bamboo (occasionally) for the transverse pieces. Sometimes bamboo tops with their branches intact are simply stuck in the ground for a fence, called *sarańsáń*. Sometimes a fence is built by means of entire bamboo stems or bamboo stems cut lengthwise into two or more parts, and kept in place horizontally one above the other between an occasional combination of two upright wooden sticks, to which they are tied in such a way as to leave only a narrow space between each of the component parts (as is customary with fences built around the house yard and described in another paper [21]). But all this is rather extraordinary and may be dismissed without further explanations.

With reference to the supporters (*túkid*), any kind of wood may be used, provided it be hard and durable. The stems of the *baggút*, however, which is only a small tree, are very appropriate to the purpose.

Any kind of tough vines, strips of rattan, etc., may be used for tying. Among others, strips cut from the white bark (*labdó*) of the *bo-nóń*-tree are very much esteemed.

The *bakéta* consists in a heavy block of wood, into which has been inserted a comparatively long straight handle. It is a very handy implement for driving in the *túkid* or supporters.

This is the way to proceed in order to make a good *abút* (fence). After having gathered some bundles of canes of bamboo grass, whether or not sufficient for the whole fence, and a certain amount of vines or strips for tying, bring them to the place where the fence has to be built. Once there, stick the canes in the ground, upright and close together. If necessary, sharpen them at the lower end; if the ground is very hard, it is preferable first to dig a little groove, which afterwards is filled up by pressing the earth with the feet on both sides of the fence. Go on like that until there is a row at least as long as one

[21] Cf. Publ. Cath. Anthrop. Conf., v. 3, no. 1, p. 62.

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of the tallest canes. Then tie one or two canes horizontally on either side, a little higher than the center of the uprights, or even nearer to the top: these canes form the *pakán*. When this is done, go back home and keep the next day as a holiday (*ńílin*). This first day's work is called *mańgapó*.

All during the next day, the holiday, it is absolutely forbidden to approach the place where the fence is. Should anybody dare infringe this taboo, he is said to *mananút* (destroy the value of ?) the fence, and he will suffer the wrath of the owner, if nothing worse befalls him. This same term *mananút* is also used for people who approach a rice field where the first weeding (*ballát*) has been done, as will be seen in due time.

On the third day, continue the work and go on until it is completed, without fear of any bad effects on account of somebody coming to talk to you or to lend a helping hand.

When the whole fence has been built according to this plan, or at least when a considerable section has been completed, plant the *túkid* or wooden supporters, which have been gathered either before or in the meanwhile. The first thing to be done is to sharpen them at one end (*magsíxād, sixádān*), after which they are driven forcibly into the ground (*magtaïná-*). A few subsequent strokes with the *bakéta* will keep them strongly in position. These *túkid* are placed near the fence of canes, at regular intervals, mostly only on one side, sometimes on both, and they are tied strongly to the parts of the fence nearest to them, usually at the intersections of uprights and transverse canes or *pakán*.

If, in the course of time, some part of the fence is destroyed by wild boars, the only thing to be done is simply to repair it (*magrassó*).

The Isneg also make great use of the *túxa*, short sharp sections of a cane of bamboo grass, stuck in the ground in a slanting position; these weapons of defense are very dangerous to anybody, whether man or animal, who trespasses on the ground wherein they are to be found. If they are stuck in the soil immediately behind the fence, inside the field, they are called *palăyáw*, and woe to the wild boar that jumps through a fence and lands on them. The *palăyáw* are used with the best effect in places where the Isneg knows, through former experience, that the wild boar is wont to make himself a passage into the field or garden.

The space all around the fence, at the outside, is called *alasiyáń*; it is generally cleaned (*maxalasiyáń*) to the breadth of about one

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243 yard, and this work is mostly done before building the fence. This *alasiyáń* serves several very useful purposes: it allows the builder of the fence a clear space for his work and the occasional passerby an easy passage; it prevents the vines from overgrowing the fence and ultimately bringing about its downfall, not exactly on account of their weight, but by causing it to rot through an excess of moisture; and finally it serves for a scarecrow to wild animals, because, when they emerge from the bushes, this clear path barred by a fence of canes always looks suspicious to them.

243 343 And now as to the *síxăy*-hut, without which no rice field is complete. The *síxăy* is a hut, either big or small, raised on posts, but not as high above the ground as an ordinary house, and made of light materials, as bamboo, canes of bamboo grass, rattan, cogon-grass, leaves, stems of young bamboo grass, palm leaves, etc. The posts are often nothing but stems of the *lańpá*-palm (Livistona rotundifolia, Mart.). The only distinctive features of the *síxăy* are: that it is built in a rice field and that it is square in shape (*magbakál*). If length and breadth were not equal, the Isneg believe that everything would go wrong with the crop.

Here the farmer and his family find shelter from sun and rain. Here they often take their midday meal for weeks at a time, even sometimes for a whole month or more, according to the work that has to be done. Here on certain occasions, for instance when guarding the ripening crop or when lying in wait for wild boars and so on, they pass the night (*magtáw*).[32] Later on the *síxăy* will be the starting point of the reapers. Here palay will first be stored up, etc. I shall mention this hut again when I describe the harvest. Here I shall only remind you of a few observances that have to be attended to when occupying a *síxăy*.

343 782 Whenever you move to a new *síxăy*-hut, the first time you go to occupy it, you must offer *inapúxăn* (betel for chewing) and *aludákid* to the *Kapónăn*-spirits. The *aludákid* consists of a narrow strip (about half an inch) of coconut meat, cut out around the edge of a nut that has been divided into halves, and retaining its full thickness.

[32] This term *magtáw*, which usually means "to pass the night in the *síxăy*", also means "to die (under certain circumstances)": if it happens that, leaving your house in the village where you are actually living and going to your field in order to look it over, you hear the chatter of monkeys on your way, that is a sure sign that one of your housemates will die (*magtáw*). Does it mean that his spirit left home to wander about in his field and take his rest in the *síxăy* (*magtáw*)? Perhaps.

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Both these offerings must be hung on top of a long pole stuck in the ground somewhere near the *sízăy*. The *Kapónăn*-spirits reign over flowering bamboo grass, which they use for paddy, without ever consuming it: they are much to be dreaded, as they deeply resent the destruction of their property and revenge themselves by causing the culprits to become sick. Now, as almost anybody occasionally cuts down one of these canes in flower, the only way to avoid their wrath is to do as has been told whenever you move into a new *sízăy*-hut.

When you enter your *sízăy* for the first time, especially if you have children with you, hang a small piece of *binaladdibód*-pudding somewhere above the door, as an offering to the tutelary spirits of the hut. Besides, whenever you go to your *sízăy* accompanied by one or more children, take along a little pudding and strew it along the road, lest the little ones become *masi-mát* (sickness caused by spirits); but if you have no youngsters with you, it is not necessary to do this. In case there is no pudding at hand, leave your children at home.

The spirit who takes all huts under his protection, whether they be *sízăy* or *báwi*,[33] is called *Baláwi*: he resides in the mountains, and must be propitiated by the offering of *inapúxăn*, lest the owner of the hut become sick.

An appropriate prayer to go with the offering that is made on the occasion of a new *sízăy* or *báwi*, is the following: it is one of those called *pisi-* (offering), and the text was given me by *Uwil* from Bolo (O dialect, Main branch).

Nénu anito ta umad-adăyyókăyo kiyá paxag-agiyanánmi (Here is for you, spirits, so that you go away from our dwelling).

Whenever the husband brings home *nízăy* [34] for his family to eat, if the meal takes place in the *sízăy* (not in the house), a small part of each *nízăy* must be thrown away as an offering to the spirits, lest any member of the household present at the time be *mabalsíkăn* (sickness caused by spirits).

The presence of an *arípit*-bird near the *sízăy* is usually disastrous to the owners of the *kómăn*. Indeed, should its cry happen to be heard at that place, while work is being done in the field, whether planting or anything else, the crop will certainly be spoiled; if heard at planting time, nothing will spring up; if later, no rice will be harvested.

[33] Temporary huts built on the ground, not raised on posts, in any place except the rice field.

[34] Living beings caught for food, as fishes, birds, deer, etc., not insects.

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243 Once the rice field has been abandoned, after the rice has been stored in the granary, the *sixăy* also is completely neglected. It is not wilfully destroyed, but it is simply allowed to fall into ruin by decay. The place where such a hut was standing in former times is called *nagsixăyān*.

243 189 Before going over to the next work of importance, the *ballât* or weeding, I shall set down a few rules for the preservation of the field, so that the paddy may thrive, foes may be kept at bay, etc. Some of these rules are of general import for the well-being of the *kómān*, whatever the stage of growth of the rice; others are especially intended for a field that has not yet been weeded. Rules that have to do more directly with a rice field that has passed the *ballât* (weeding) stage will be treated in their proper place.

All Isneg farmers should have an intimate knowledge of the different kinds of amulets that may be placed in a rice field in order to keep it in fine shape, because, without them, their own practical exertions will rarely be sufficient. These amulets are:

Leaves of the *anañá kapónān* (literally: raincoat of the *Kapónān* spirits), a kind of rattan, useless for tying purposes: its leaves are whitish at the lower side, and it grows in forests. One of these leaves, when placed in the *kómān*, strengthens the young palay and causes it to grow up into robust stalks.

The *taxa-lig*, a low herb, growing almost anywhere.

The *añgipxípi*, a herb some two feet tall, growing in forested areas.

The *surni-*, another small herb, found all over the district. It also serves for an amulet in the granary.

The *unât aníto* (literally: sugar cane of the spirits), a kind of grass resembling sugar cane, but with a very hard stem yielding no sugar. It may be met with in abandoned gardens, and should be planted (living) in the rice field, all around the *sixăy*-hut.

Except the *unât aníto*, none of these amulets is planted in the rice field; they are simply placed somewhere in the *kómān* and left there to die and to decay. The same rule applies to the amulets that will be enumerated in the following pages, apart from exceptions that will be especially noted.

Other amulets have a medicinal value:

If your palay is dying and threatened with destruction, use the *dalapnât*, a low herb with very small round leaves, growing almost anywhere.

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If the young palay becomes yellowish and dies all over the field, stick *tazańlappúg* (or *tazanappúg*) in the ground. This is the name of the leaves of the *dítán*, a kind of fragrant rattan.

If your rice plants are not looking strong and start withering all around, have recourse to the *sárut*, a herb some six inches tall, that grows in the forest.

Palay whose leaves are becoming dry may be cured by placing a piece of the bark of the *maradanipgá*-tree in the field. This tree, which has very large leaves, may be met with almost anywhere.

Whenever the growth of your rice is bad and is not what it should be, you have the choice between the *anappúl*, a sturdy herb growing in forested areas, and the *balluwát*, a herbaceous vine with a very thorny stem and small leaves, which is found in almost any place. The *balluwát* may be used in two ways: it is either planted (whether it remains alive or dies afterwards has no bearing on its curative value) or crushed and scattered in the *kómān*.

If up till now you have always been blessed with an abundant harvest and you foresee that in the present instance the outcome will be very different, get some *talóbas* from the forest and place it in your rice field, in order to bring back your customary good luck. The *talóbas* is a herb, some eight inches tall, with rather small leaves.

Now let us see what can be done to prevent or to counteract the depredations of animals.

When your palay has been attacked by worms or insects, get some *ańlattóń*, a herb some eight inches tall, bearing white flowers and thriving in taro fields, mix it with *bási*, an alcoholic beverage obtained from the juice of the sugar cane, and sprinkle this mixture over your field. Worms will die and insects will be driven away.

Should insects have started destroying your rice, use the *lázib* amulet; this is a low herb with small elongated leaves that can be found almost anywhere.

Wild boars are driven away by either of these two: the *palég*, a low herb with small leaves, very fragrant, growing on trees, or the *páḍin*, a herb some six inches tall, found almost anywhere, and bearing sweet-scented flowers.

Should a deer have come repeatedly to browse in your paddy, call a shaman and ask her to come to the rescue. She will fetch some *rírad* herbs, place them in a very small *báńa*-jar, and twist three strips of cloth, one red, one black, and one white, around the neck of the jar.

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243 Then accompany her when she goes to place it in your field: the next
787 time that deer comes again, it will die inside your *kómān*.

The *sakórāń* is a section of a bamboo stem that has been split at the top into many narrow strips, which in turn have been spread open so as to take the shape of a funnel. A *sakórāń* is very often stuck upright in the center of a rice field in order to frighten away wild boars and deer. It is even more effective if you furnish it with an herb, some twelve inches tall, also called *sakórāń*, and growing in forested areas.

781 The worst enemy of your field, however, is the locust (*dódon*; young
789 locust: *annón*), and this subject needs a more extensive treatment.
243 Swarms of locusts have infested the district, every four or five years, ever since the occupation of Apayaw in 1913, and whenever they pass at the time of the year when rice fields are clothed in green, which is usually the time when they do, it means famine for the country. These pests clip the paddy (*ratudán*) as nicely as a lawn mower, so that nothing remains but the *ratúd* (what remains after the grass has been cut close to the ground), and the field is *naratudán*. What has been left untouched is called the *íńab* of the locust.

Everybody knows that prevention is better than cure, and so, in order to save your field from the alighting of the locusts, whose presence has been ascertained in the district, make immediate use of one or both of the following amulets: the *anódon*, a creeping herb found in almost any place, which, when placed in the *kómān*, prevents it from alluring the locusts; leafy branches of the *alsít*, a hesperidious shrub bearing small bitter fruits, not larger than a fingerlet, and growing in forests: when stuck in the soil of your field, they keep the locusts at a distance.

In case they are already very near, you may have recourse to either or both of the following expedients:

Place some *tagága* (Bayag pronunciation) in your field to prevent them from alighting. The *tagága* is an asclepiadaceous vine, clinging to trees, and much used for decorating purposes: its opposite leaves growing close together on both sides of the stem give it the appearance of a thick ribbon, deeply indented all along its edges.

Go and put *takkír álig* [85] in the place where the locusts are for the moment, so that they fly away out of your own neighborhood. The *takkír álig* is a low herb that grows in forests.

[85] Literally: with which the *álig* drives away its companions. The *álig*-bee is supposed to keep ants at a distance.

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Should they come along anyhow, either through negligence on your part, or because you have been taken unawares, as soon as they start alighting in your field, take a *balandân*-blanket,[38] thrust one of its corners in the end of a long pole, which you have split for the purpose, and erect this improvised flag somewhere in your *kómān*. The higher the pole the easier it will be to frighten the locusts away. If there is no pole at hand, tie the blanket to the top of one of the trees that have been left standing, provided it be a tall one. This stratagem is called *magdattág*.

Once the locusts have taken possession of your rice field, the only way to drive them off is to throw *aksumĕg* (Bayag pronunciation) among them: this is a low herb with small hairy leaves that grows all over the district.

Here in Apayaw the Isneg do not live close enough together to be able to imitate the inhabitants of other parts of the Mountain Province, where large groups of people, equipped with small nets, go to attack the enemy. But, after all, these expeditions are rarely very effective, and usually the only result, perhaps the most important in the eyes of the improvident natives, is the catching of a large amount of viands without any cost and with comparatively little trouble. The Isneg also considers a locust as a dainty and may for a few days look with dry eyes on the disaster that has been wrought in his beloved *kómān*, only to expiate later on by a prolonged fast the few happy hours of satiated gourmandizing

But let us revert to our rice fields, and see how the Isneg tackles the problem of defending them against the jealousy of his neighbors, who either use natural means to destroy the paddy, which they rarely dare to attempt, or resort to occult powers to play havoc in a *kómān*, which is of much more frequent occurrence.

If you mix the barks of the *pannó*, a forest tree, and of the *karrâñ*, a leafless plant, some twelve inches tall, growing in forests (the name means "scaring away"), and place this mixture in your field, the person who ventures to harm your crops, will die instantly and without any previous illness, as soon as he gets home.

If, instead of the barks, you use *annoná*, a low herb growing in forests, the villain will be killed in an accident.

Now it may happen that you think about it only after some harm has been done already. In such a case insert a *binusírān*, a kind of

[38] Indigo, ornamented with purple thread at the seams.

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243 754 *mandíñ* bead,[37] in the soil of your *kómān*, and very soon the culprit's eyes will become swollen, so that he cannot hide his guilt any longer.

If you happen to know that your enemy is the owner of the field 243 789 next to yours, the best way to take your revenge is to place *da-líg-* herbs in the patch of uncleared ground that separates both your fields: after that his crops will be tampered with instead of yours.

These are the plants which are the most frequently placed in a neighbor's *kómān* with the purpose of injuring the rice crop:

The *agdadál*, a climbing plant, that grows in thickets of bamboo grass, and bears white flowers resembling those of the *pulút* (a middle-sized forest tree) and brown fruits: it renders a rice field absolutely valueless. The name itself is indicative of the effect it produces: "destroying".

The *taxa-siyát*, a creeping herb, found on level ground: placed in a neighbor's field without his knowledge, it allures noxious animals to come and ravage the crop.

The *anappudappúg*, a low herb, found in abandoned gardens: it causes the rice to *magdappúg*, "stop growing and die".

The *dalañidāñ*, a low herb with yellowish leaves, growing almost anywhere: it causes the young paddy to grow yellow and wither.

The *assáp* or *kassáp*, another low herb with the same habitat as the preceding: it causes the death of the palay in the whole field.

Here is a rather innocent means to get the better of one's competitors: the *battoál*, a little herb that grows in forested areas and bears white flowers, when placed in a *kómān*, causes the latter to yield a better harvest than a contiguous field. This amulet is obviously of no value to isolated *kómān*.

3. WEEDING AND SUBSEQUENT CARE OF THE RICE FIELD

243 In the months of July and August we have the *agbablát*, which means "the time of the *ballát*, the time of weeding". At this time of the year the young palay is cleaned thoroughly, lest it be choked by useless weeds (*kaddát*). Plants that start sprouting only after the *ballát* has been finished will never be able to catch up with the growth of the paddy, and so will do it no harm.

With the *umá-* (clearing), followed by the *si-dúg* (burning), and the *tagnó* (planting), this is the most important work that precedes the

[37] The *mandíñ*, which is a very precious kind of bead, at least in the eyes of the Isneg, has the shape of a small cylinder consisting of two almost equal parts, one of them more or less blackish, and the other of a much lighter color.

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crowning of all efforts, the *xáni* (reaping). Like the *tognó*, the *ballát*[1] is performed exclusively by women. The particular implement used for the purpose is the *paló*- or hoe, although the *ikó*-knife, which never leaves a woman's headband, may be resorted to occasionally.

Magballát means "to weed the field": this is a general term that is also applied to a man who cuts out weeds with his *aliwá* (hatchet). When referring to a more thorough cutting out of weeds, the Isneg use the term *magkirkér*, "to grub up weeds roots included".

There is no special *taxímmatón* or sign for this kind of work. The size of the paddy is the only criterion, and everybody must use his own judgment, lest beginning the *ballát* too early, fresh weeds are allowed enough time to grow strong and harm the crop, or lest postponing it too long, some of the paddy has either been exhausted beyond recovery or has become too old and consequently unable to lift up its head after having been trampled upon by the weeders.

After it has been decided to start the weeding, the woman proceeds to the field, usually in the afternoon. Before reaching her *kómān*, she closes the road with a *waláwal*, lest somebody come and unknowingly trespass (*mananút*) on forbidden ground. The *waláwal* consists in a couple of sticks that are placed in the form of a St. Andrew's cross somewhere across the path that leads to the field. Once there, she puts down the amulet called *tapuyá*-, a very low herb that grows in forested areas, and weeds a small patch. After that she comes home and stops there the next day. In the meanwhile nobody is allowed to wander about that particular rice field.

On the third day the *waláwal* is removed and the weeding begins for good. From now on it will be continued until the whole *kómān* is thoroughly cleaned.

The weeds that have been removed are thrown over the fence, at regular intervals, by means of a stick (*magtuwál*), except where it is easier to dispose of them in some other way, for instance by throwing them into a nearby precipice.

Among the insects that are come across in the field at the time of the *ballát*,[1] the following are noteworthy:

The *kibbótot*, a leaping insect, much smaller than the locust: its color is brown except the wings, that are black. It makes a person who eats it sick with the colic, and chickens who feed on it get a swollen belly.

1 [i.e., weeding -- Analyst]

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825 The *păyakán*, a kind of winged ant, that builds its nest preferably in clusters of young bamboo grass. This insect is edible, and even considered as a dainty by the majority of the Isneg.

The *ag-agammáy*, a kind of mantis, mentioned before. If you get hold of it at the time of the *ballát*, take its neck between your fingers, turn it with the legs upwards, and say: "*Pizá ya ammáy-o* (How much palay will I have?)." If it moves one leg, it means *mô̱po* (one hundred *ísiń*-bundles); if two legs, *duwá ńópo* (two hundred bundles); if it moves all its legs, it means *annám ńópo* (six hundred bundles). One hundred *ńópo* is *matúńal* (ten thousand bundles).

776 At this time of the year one should beware of the spirit *Dalánap*, who kills people during the *agbablát* (weeding time).

243 789 As soon as the weeding is over, place some *ibasán* in your field, so that the paddy grow up into sturdy and robust stalks. The *ibasán* is a kind of grass that resembles the sugar cane, but yields no sugar, and grows in abundance all over the district.

After that make a minute inspection of the whole field, and cut down all weeds that may have been overlooked. This second cleaning is called *manábal*, a term also used to mean "putting the finishing touch to the *umá* (clearing the ground)", as has been mentioned before.

The *agbablát* (weeding time) is followed by the *dawdáwat*, when people occupy themselves with the weaving of baskets (*magláza*). Although this business may be accomplished at any time of the year, nevertheless the period that elapses between the *agbablát* and reaping time, is the most suitable, and consequently it has been set aside by custom for that kind of work, and it has been given a special name: *dawdáwat* or *aglaláza*.

All through the *dawdáwat* a diligent Isneg does not fail to *magso-báń* (a term never used for the same kind of work done before weeding time) or go and see if perchance some palay has been harmed through one cause or another. Indeed from now on everything depends on the vigilance of the farmer, as a legion of enemies are ready to pounce upon the field, especially at the time the ears begin to form. But let us not anticipate.

When the paddy is about half grown, it is advisable to place some *apniyán kapónān* in the field, in order to cause the rice to reach its full height quickly and also to keep away harmful insects. The *apniyán kapónān* is a kind of rattan whose bark is reddish and whose leaves are very white underneath.

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If some stalks of palay at this same stage of growth seem affected by the heat of the sun and threaten to wither and die, plant a *ratúb* in the middle of the field and everything will come out all right. The *ratúb* is a kind of headless *bólo*-bamboo (Schizostachyum mucronatum, Mack.), namely one that was found headless before it was cut, for instance one whose top had been blown off by the wind. 243 789

Should the paddy be very weak and a good many stalks have fallen down already, put some *xánăy* among the latter, so that they will rise again and be able to ear at leisure. The *xánăy* is a sturdy kind of grass that grows in forests and reaches a height of two yards; its leaves are covered with hair and comparatively very broad.

Palay that is overhanging a path along the field, without being protected by a fence, should be kept upright by means of a *săysáy*, which consists of bamboos tied at a convenient height to a few sticks stuck in the ground, at regular intervals, all along the path. The *săysáy* prevents the rice from being spoiled, for instance by being trampled upon by passers-by.

In order to cause the paddy to flower quickly, it is advisable to place *amusabúsa-* in the *kómān*. This is a grass that grows in the forest and is some fifteen inches tall; its leaves are red underneath, and its inflorescence resembles those of the ditch millet and of the joint grass.

As soon as the ears start flowering, wrap a *pantád* in a piece of cloth, and tie it to the first flowering palay you come across. The *pantád* is a kind of branchless madrepore that must be fetched from the seashore.

When preparing rice pudding at this time of the year,[1] a part of the same should be offered (*písi-*) to the spirits, while reciting the following prayer. The text was given me by *Umilá* from Abbil (O dialect). 782

Ne ma- awámo abulbulón ditálon ta dia umad-adamní kiyá ómānko (Here then, this is yours, companion of the jungle fowl, so that you be not approaching my rice field).

The Isneg distinguish four stages of the rice when it is earing, namely: 243 789

Maxabu-sít: "To be pregnant" (also said of animals), when the ears are still covered, but their presence is already clearly apparent.

Maxabótog: when the ears are peeping out, but as yet without spreading.

Nabuyág: when the ears are spreading and ready to flower.

[1] [i.e. weeding time, August -- Analyst]

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243 789 *Nadâtag*: when the whole field is covered with ears and the palay is beginning to ripen.

From now on new enemies are making their appearance, and it is the duty of every Isneg farmer to know them and to learn how to frustrate their evil-intentioned endeavors.

The first to appear at this season are the stinkbugs, who empty young ears of rice by sucking out their milky grains. These bugs, when numerous, are able to ravage within a short time the most promising field of palay. When you remark that your paddy *maxalixa* (is attacked by stinkbugs), get a bamboo tube of *bási*-beer, *aúlattóñ*-herbs, and a small chick, mix the *aúlattóñ* with the *bási*, place the tube and its mixture somewhere in the center of your *kómān*, and tie the chick next to it. After one night go and bring back the chick, which must remain alive, and leave the tube where it is. This is a sure remedy against stinkbugs and their depredations.

Then we have several kinds of rats:

The *dasság*, a large rat, resembling a vole or field mouse, but with a long tail; it lives in the bushes, and is very destructive.

The *du-mág*, another large vole or field mouse, said to be a spirit, which, when very big, the Isneg are afraid to kill.

The fruits of the *pa-li*, a kind of slender and very hard spiny bamboo; when dropping on the ground, these fruits change into mice, not larger than a finger, and completely destroy the neighboring fields.

To exterminate these pests, get *latúb*, a low herb that may be found almost in any place, and put a whole plant somewhere at the foot of one of the rice stalks. With this one *latúb* the whole field will be protected, and all rats and mice that dare gnaw any of your palay will be killed.

243 857 After the rats come the birds, two kinds of which are especially destructive:

The *ballit*, a very small passerine bird with a short white bill and brown-red plumage; it is very gluttonous and usually appears in large flocks.

The *sigkaraw* (so called from its cry), also a passerine bird, and almost as much be feared as the preceding.

To frighten them away, scarecrows should be put up all through the field. Any kind will do: old rags, long strings stretched over the paddy, empty tins making noise when moved by the wind, etc. But

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these are rarely sufficient, as the birds are usually very numerous and they soon get used to what they feared at first. So the only real remedy consists in watching the field and driving the birds away by shouting (*makasáraw*), by throwing missiles at them, by pulling strings that set scarecrows in motion, etc. This is of course a very tedious process and it would take much valuable time, were it not that it can be done by the children, without any trouble on the part of the parents, except that of going now and then to see if the youngsters are not napping. The latter, however, generally enjoy this kind of a job, and get lots of fun out of it, the more so that they usually find leisure to obtain an occasional dainty, either by hunting for it in the near-by forest, or by pilfering it from an adjoining garden. Besides, they are rarely alone, and a group of Isneg boys and girls is never at a loss to find amusement in some kind of game or play, in order to fill up the time between an occasional shout, the throwing of a pebble, or the pulling of a string connected with scarecrows. The latter contrivance is one of the most convenient, as it allows the watchers to lie down, when they grow tired: the only thing for them to do is to attach the end of the string to one of their toes and to move the leg from time to time.

It also happens that the ears of rice are attacked by the *duńgali*, a kind of smut fungus; but fortunately this occurs very rarely and always in rather isolated cases, which is probably due to the Isneg system of farming: fields that are scattered and are never planted with rice twice in succession.

Finally we have the most cunning of all foes, man.

A passer-by may become envious of your splendid crop and, full of spite at your prospective luck, nip (*magbu-síl*) one of the young kernels, without detaching it from its ear. Such a proceeding causes the *kómān* to be ravaged by birds.

Or a woman who has little rice herself, may be coveting yours, and stick some *aŋrappút*-herbs in your field, pouring coconut oil all around them. In this way she causes your palay to disappear and to be lost to you.

When damage has been done in your rice field by evil spirits, you should go and plant a spear in it, offer *inapúxān* (betel for chewing) and pray:

Italná-ko ya orúŋān ta dumálo ya atoná dăyá maŋrawát (I drive the shaft [of a spear] into the ground so that the poison of the destroying spirits gather here).

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243 The text of this prayer was given me by *Bǎydán* from Tawit (O
782 dialect, Main branch).

Before finishing this subject, allow me to warn you against the spirit
776 *Darantán*, who throws stones at people who emit a shout when reaping time approaches.

4. HARVESTING RICE AND STORING IN BARNS

243 The Isneg reap their rice (*maggáni*) some time in November or December. The terms *záni*, *zaniyán*, *maggáni*, are used exclusively for harvesting rice.

There is no special *taximmatón* or sign for harvesting time (*aggazáni*), as everything depends on the ripening palay, and this can be examined in the field without the help of other indications. Nevertheless it is said by the Isneg that reaping time in general begins with the appearance of the *papparazǎy*[38] or fruit of the *tabbág*-tree (a species of Ficus with fruits growing on the stem and the main branches), but this is only a very vague indication of the time for beginning the harvest, as the fields are not all ready at the same time, so that each particular *kómān* has to be inspected by itself.

243 Reaping, like planting and weeding, is a woman's job. In other
462 parts of the Mountain Province, the men, although much less dexterous than the women, do not scorn to help the latter in this all-important work; but, in Apayaw, no Isneg worth the name would deign to enter the field with his wife and the girls in order to cut down a single ear of rice.

243 The reaper cuts off each ear of palay separately with the help of her *ikó*-knife, held in her right hand, and gathers the ears in her left hand, as many as she can clasp. When the cannot grasp any more, she binds (*magbattá-* or *mamtá-*) them into a small bundle (*battá-*) and throws the latter behind her on the ground. The culm is cut some five inches below the neck or junction of ear and stalk: the part of the culm that remains attached to the ear is called *ákaw*, the rest is the *daxámi* (called *daxádag*, as long as it remains on the field).

There are always several women working together; if there are not enough girls in the family, some of the neighbors come to the rescue. The reapers stand in a row, not very far apart from one another, and go on straight ahead. Behind them the bundles of palay are lying

[38] Children use it for a toy by piercing it with a wooden pin and making it spin like a top.

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on the ground in rows more or less at right angles to the line of the reapers.

Besides her *ikó*-knife, the reaper carries a small basket (*arín*) attached somewhere at her waist by means of a strip of rattan, and used for storing *xúput*, that is, detached branches (of ears), ears that are cut too closely to the neck making it impossible to tie them with the rest, and immature ears that could not be kept for any length of time. The *arín* is a basket, square at the rim and round at the bottom, from twelve to fifteen inches deep, with a diameter, at the rim, of from eight to ten inches.

The reapers generally protect the calves of their legs by winding rags around them: these rags actually go under the pompous name of *sipátut* (from the Spanish *zapatos*), "shoes".

Now let us consider the preparations that have to be made before harvesting is begun.

First of all, materials have to be gathered (*manalibtá-*) for making bands (*battá-*: the same name is applied to the bundle itself), of which each reaper always has a certain quantity about her person. This gathering of materials and the making of the bands, which consist of thin strips of bamboo or bark, about half a yard long, are men's duties, although women occasionally lend a helping hand in putting the last touch to the thinning of the strips.

The kinds of bamboo preferred by the Isneg for this particular purpose, are:

The *kawâyan* (Bambusa blumeana, Schultes. f.), the ordinary spiny bamboo.

The *bólo* (Schizostachyum mucronatum, Mack.), the ordinary unarmed bamboo.

The *pasíñan*, differing from the *kawâyan* in its walls that are lined with a membrane.

The *bâyug*, a kind of unarmed bamboo with very thick walls and a comparatively narrow cavity.

The *ballowít*, a kind of very slender unarmed bamboo.

Besides the bamboo, the Isneg also use the *sirút* or bark of the *sinalíxān*, a forest tree; and some people even consider this as the best material.

Should anybody sneeze (*maqbanân*) when starting to gather these materials, they must not go on, but wait until the next day, lest one of them die and be unable to partake of the new rice.

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243 772 415 Then the *sízāy*-hut has to be looked over, and if anything is wanting, it must be brought in. In each *sízāy* there should be a *dapág* or hearth, with fire (*apúy*), but no taxáń (three stones for supporting cooking utensils), as no cooking is done there.

A mortar (*altóń*) and one or more pestles (*alló*) must also be present, but the former may find its place at the outside.

Before the harvest begins, the following objects have to be brought to the *sízāy*:

The *subná-*: a bunch of betel nuts and one of betel leaves (no lime). The *subná-* is put down on the floor of the hut, near the fire, and every day, as long as the harvest lasts, some part of it is used for the *inapúzān* (betel for chewing) of the spirits.

A *patuzáw*: a large basket (ordinary type: square bottom, round rim) for storing the *zúput* or immature rice and the rest, that has been collected in the *arín*-baskets of the reapers, mentioned above. It is placed near the fire, and people are absolutely forbidden to walk over it, on pain of causing the spirit (*kaduduwá*) [39] of their rice to leave and to go over to someone else's rice. At each meal eaten in this hut, at harvesting time, the Isneg place *inapúzān* and a few ears of palay in the *patuzáw*. This basket is not removed from the *sízāy* till after the harvest, when the *inapúzān* it contains is thrown away, and the palay is roasted over the fire, pounded and eaten.

Last but not least, the *aligmamán*. Strictly speaking, the *aligmamán* is a small basket of the ordinary type (square bottom, round rim), and is of daily use for storing betel, lime and so on. In the *sízāy*-hut, however, it is used for storing amulets, and the name *aligmamán* is given to any kind of small basket, whether the *aligmamán* proper or some other one, for instance the *sinálimbáń*, which is a kind of small fancy basket of different shapes, made from sundry materials, and consequently rather ornate. At the beginning of the harvest, and later on, at any time as long as palay is being cut in that particular field, amulets are placed in the *aligmamán*, so that very soon there is a whole assortment of them. They may be chosen from the following list:

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Xippazippáw: A kind of herb placed in the *aligmamán* on the first day, before any reaping has been done.

Karráń: A leafless plant, mentioned before. A whole basketful of these is placed in the hut on the morning of the first day of the

[39] The same term is used for the spirit of man.

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harvest; it is thrown away when the palay is transferred to the granary.

Pamaldóń: A low herb with small leaves, found almost anywhere, to be placed in the *aligmamán* at the beginning of the harvest.

Barāyábāy: A kind of herb, some eight inches tall, growing in forests. Wrapped in a piece of cloth and placed in the *aligmamán*, it dispels rain.

Mámaw: A kind of herb, some two feet tall, with red leaves. When placed in the *aligmamán* with the preceding (not wrapped), it causes rainfall. If you wish the rain to stop, throw it out.

Burińgót: A herb that causes the reaping to go on nicely.

Dugań-: The dayflower (Commelina sp.). It increases the harvest.

Xaddáto: A low herb, found almost anywhere. It causes the increase of the palay that is being reaped.

Doxódog: A herb, some eight inches tall, growing in the forest. It causes the increase of the palay.

Paxāypāy: A mosslike plant (Selaginella sp.). It causes the increase of the palay that has been grown.

Abokā: A low herb, with yellow flowers, found in reedy areas.

Alipánāy: A low herb, growing in forests.

Anipúud: A low herb, found in the forest.

Ańgoóń: A kind of grass, whose stalks never grow close together.

Ańdy: A low herb, with comparatively long leaves, to be found in forested areas.

Apigpigkó: A kind of creeping herb, with small orbicular cuplike leaves, growing all over the district.

Apitpít: A low herb, found in gardens.

Asu-ráw: A low herb, with needlelike leaves, found in reedy areas.

Leaves of the *bádo taxokó-* (literally: "coat of the *taxokó-*", a bird): A middle-sized forest tree; the leaves are red underneath.

Balsáńan: A herb, some five inches tall, found in the forest.

Barániw: A kind of herb.

Basáńal: A creeping herb, with small red leaves, found in gardens.

Bawígān (Bayag pronunciation): A low herb, bearing only two leaves, red underneath; it grows all over the district.

Binakág: The sunflower (Helianthus sp.).

Dazádag: Rice straw, remaining on the field after the harvest.

Dalimpózo: A herb, some twenty inches tall, with small red flowers, growing almost anywhere.

Daraará-: A herbaceous vine, found in almost any place.

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Dozínăy: A tall herb, growing in forested areas.

Kaddát agnâyan (literally: herb of the spirit *Agnâyan*): A small flowerless climbing herb, whose leaves look as if they were withered and dry.

Kaddát dalaxétăn (literally: herb of the *dalaxétăn*-bird): A low herb, growing almost anywhere.

Lixawás: A low herb, growing on river banks.

Liplipáw: A kind of herb.

Lumlumáy: A low herb, found in grassy areas.

Maraawíg: A creeping herb, with yellow flowers, growing anywhere.

Márabarăyábăy: A creeping herb, with very thick small leaves, found all over the district.

Maradaúraw: A herb, about two feet tall, with large leaves, growing in almost any place.

Maradíla: A creeping herb, with small tonguelike (hence its name: *díla*, "tongue") leaves, and small white flowers, growing on river banks.

Opépat: A very small herb, with white flowers, growing in rocky places.

Opépăy: A shrub, with small shiny leaves, found in forests.

Paxaútúd: A low herb, with white flowers, growing all over the district.

Paxatpát: A creeping herb, with small shining leaves, climbing over rocks and stones.

Palabni: A very low herb, growing in the forest.

Parbuwáy: A kind of herb, some twelve inches tall, growing in forested areas.

Patáyag: A herb, some ten inches tall, growing almost anywhere.

Pawpáw: A kind of forest tree, resembling the mango tree, but with fruits smaller than the cultivated mango.

Păyáw: A herb, some eight inches tall, growing almost anywhere.

Puúútăn: A low herb, found in the vicinity of brooks.

Sissixáwan: A kind of herb.

Taxalópit: A herbaceous vine, found on river banks.

Taxasidát (Abbil pronunciation): A creeping herb with red-and-green leaves.

Takkág or *sakkág*: A kind of schizaeaceous fern (Lygodium sp.), differing from the *nito* (another Lygodium), especially in its uselessness for binding purposes.

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Takkág líńān or ***kaddát líńān*** or ***kaddát ińáto*** (literally: takkag or herb of the spirit Lingan, of the spirit Ingato): A kind of scandent vine, resembling the *takkág*, but with smaller leaves, found in rice fields long since abandoned.

Tallá: A low herb, growing all over the district.

Tańtáń líńān (literally: Lingan's calabash for storing lime): A kind of fungus consisting in a white ball supported by a stipe, and parasitic on the stem of other plants.

Turátud: A kind of herb, some six inches tall, with very narrow leaves about two inches long, growing in rocky places.

Before going to the field to start reaping palay, the women have to *magdaán*, that is, to prepare everything the men need at home: they pound enough rice to last them until the end of the harvest, they gather vegetables for viands, leaves to be used for plates, etc., so that the men will have nothing to do but to cook for themselves and for their families, no real cooking being done in the *síxăy*-hut.

Here follow the names of most of the spirits who come around at this time of the year:[1]

Abád: Helps the reapers.

Abalád: *Inapúxān* (betel for chewing) is offered to him.

Aglalannawán: Helps the reapers.

Alipuńdán: Causes the reapers' toes to get sore all over and swell.

Ańáp: Kills people at the time of the harvest.

Ańát: A female spirit helping the reapers. If the women dream about her at night, they will offer her *inapúxān* in the *síxăy*-hut the next day.

Ańrixád: Increases the palay. Women often dream about him; when they do, he tells them that they will reap nothing, but they know that it is just the contrary.

Arúriń: When the Isneg take their meals, if they fail to give this female spirit a share, they will not harvest anything.

Babalasińnád: Lives in the *síxăy*-hut.

Bannít: Is angered by the failure of the Isneg to sacrifice a pig at the beginning of the harvest, in which case little rice is raised.

Binu-sílān: Helps the reapers.

Bońós: Is invoked by the shaman and comes at the sacrifice that takes place before the harvest.

Dagdagamiyán (Bayag pronunciation): A female spirit who makes children sick who play where people are busy harvesting.

Dalimáń: *Inapúxān* is offered to him, lest he come near.

[1] [i.e harvest time in December.--Analyst]

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Xinuúdān: Is driven away at the beginning of the harvest, lest he come to measure the receptacles for palay, and the latter dwindle.

Magkáwăy: *Inapúxān* is offered to him.

Magwáñag: *Inapúxān* is offered to him.

Nappiyá: Spirits living in the rice field.

Palpálād: *Inapúxān* is offered to him.

Punáy: Resembles a bird. *Inapúxān* is offered to him at the beginning of the harvest.

Sían: A companion of Pilay, at the time of the harvest.

Síbo: A good spirit; always accompanies the women when they are reaping, rain or sunshine.

Sildádo (from the Spanish *soldado*, "soldier"): Spirits resembling horses. If children play boisterously near the house, these spirits will cause the death of one of them.

Sípa: *Inapúxān* is offered to him in the rice field, on the first day of the harvest.

Sipñút: *Inapúxān* is offered to him, on top of the house ladder, at the beginning of the harvest.

Taxokó: *Inapúxān* is offered to him.

A nameless female spirit living at the *Nanánan* brook, behind the mountains, on the opposite bank of the Apayaw river from Bayag. She counts the palay while wearing a raincoat; as soon as she is approached by any of the people who live there, she disappears.

When everything is in readiness, the Isneg proceed in the following way.

First of all, a pig is sacrificed, while a *dorarákit* or shaman *maxaníto*, "communicates with the spirits". During this ceremony, a leaf of the betel (*xawád*) is torn up and one of its shreds, called *binurián*, is placed near the hearth. One of the animal's legs (*lótub*) is placed in a small *báña* (earthen pot used for cooking rice, etc.), and the latter is put down on the floor of the granary (*álañ*).

The following prayer, whose text was given me by *Uwíl* from Bolo (O dialect, Main branch), is one of those that are recited during this sacrifice. The spirit is supposed to pronounce the words through the mouth of the shaman.

Mapáñko pẽ ya dordorerémān yo maggiyán kadăyó isagaddán,[42] *ta*

[42] Cf. footnote 19 supra. I think that the following free translation of this prayer comes very near to the meaning intended by the Isneg: I come to take my abode amongst you, my faithful people, lest you be bewitched by the other spirits (or: by the Christians).

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243 782 789 *mañsiñta pē ña mabalsiān kiyó am-ammowán dăyó ilañitān*[42] *ña isagaddán* (I shall go now to approach residing among the Christians, as we are afraid now to be made sick through the knowledge of the heavenly Christians).

Once this indispensable business has been duly attended to, an old woman, not necessarily a shaman, makes ready to arrange the *pinudóñ*, which will be explained presently. Before leaving the house, she offers rice pudding to the Pilay-spirit who resides on the *páza*-shelf above the hearth, and recites the following prayer, called *pisi-* (offering food, etc. to the spirits):

Ne uwámo ilăy ta batbattuxámmo ya an-anâ-o, uwaámmo ka mabtúgda péyañ (Here, this is yours, Ilay, so that you satiate my children, make that they be always satiated).

The text of this prayer was obtained from *Uwil*, a Boîo man (O dialect, Main branch).

The same woman also takes a little of the new rice that has been toasted over the fire, and puts it in a small *bakóba-* (a dry calabash used for storing rice). Then she places the latter near the hearth, where it has to remain indefinitely; that rice is never eaten. The calabash with its contents is called *indág*.

In the meanwhile, a man has gone to bar with a *sarañásañ* the path that leads to the *kómăn*, in order to warn all passersby not to approach the reapers. This barrier remains from three to five days, after which it is removed together with the taboo. There are two ways of building a *sarañásañ*:

One consists in placing two or three bamboo sticks spaced one above another, across the path.

The other way consists in fixing a single bamboo stick, provided at one end with an ax (*parakól*) and at the other end with a hatchet (*aliuá*), across the path.

At about 5 o'clock in the evening, the old woman proceeds to the field (*mañútud*) taking along the following objects:

A *damáxan*, a small basket, round and almost spherical.

A leaf of the *táraw* palm (a fan palm, probably a species of Livistona), that serves for a cover to the *damáxan*-basket.

One or more sections of *bulálaw* or *bokáñ* (two varieties of sugar cane).

A bunch of *takkág*-ferns, mentioned before.

[42] *Láñit* means: sky, heaven; *ilañit*: resident(s) of the sky, heaven, a class of spirits; *ilañitān*: heavenly, beautiful, majestic, etc.

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Some *namandanán* or sea sand, of which a certain amount is always kept in the house. 243 782 789

One internode of a *túboń* cane filled with sea sand. The *túboń* resembles the *bassáw* or bamboo grass, but its leaves are larger.

A few amulets that will be mentioned presently.

After she has arrived in the rice field, she places the *túboń*-internode filled with sand in the *sizăy*, and the *damázan*-basket with its cover and its contents of *takkág*-ferns, together with the sugar cane, behind the *sizăy*-hut. Then she goes to the stalks of rice that grow next to the *sizăy* and sprinkles them with the *namandanán*-sand.

Others, instead of sea sand, use *rabráb*, "sand gathered at the source of a brook"; in which case they wrap it in a piece of cloth, cut one stalk of rice, and tie both cloth and stalk to one of the posts of the *sizăy*.

In other places again, they use a *tupáń*, which consists in the lower section of a *túboń*-reed, whose upper part has been removed by accident, and whose hollow has been filled up with sand without the help of man. This they tie, by means of *takkág*-ferns, to a stalk of palay, together with the other objects that will be mentioned presently.

After the sprinkling of the rice with sand, the woman *mazapaapúg*, that is, she ties one or more of the following amulets to the nearest stalk of palay, at its base, using *takkág*-ferns for bands:

Inapúzăn, never omitted.

A-mám: A kind of hard black lichen growing on wet rocks.

Ańinamáy: A kind of herb. It is used with both palay and maize, and causes them to last long.

Taximbáńon: A kind of amaranthaceous plant, one yard tall, with dark-brown leaves, red underneath. It is extensively cultivated for ornamental purposes.

In case the woman happens to own more than one rice field, a stalk of palay is provided with *inapúzăn*, *takkág* and the rest, at the corner of each field. After the harvest, the ears of these stalks and the three bundles (*battá-*) that will be mentioned presently, are bound together by means of *takkág*-ferns, and placed in the granary before all other palay. This belongs to Pilay, it is the spirit of the rice; and, whenever an old granary is abandoned for a new one, Pilay's property is transferred to the latter. Even though it may have accumulated into a comparatively large amount, it is never consumed but always transferred from one granary to another.

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243 782 784 Each of the stalks just mentioned, and also each bundle (*battá-*) made from their ears, are both called *pinudóń*. The same name is also applied to the *damáxan*-basket and the rest, behind the *sixăy*-hut. This third variety of *pinudóń* is prepared in the following way:

When the old woman is through with the ceremonies at the first stalk or palay, she harvests three small bundles (*battá-*),[44] and brings them behind the *sixăy*-hut. Here she lays the sugar cane on the ground, and superimposes the *damáxan*-basket filled with *takkág*-ferns, among which she has thrust the customary *inapúxăn*. Then she arranges the three bundles of palay around the basket in such a way as to keep the latter in the middle.

I shall give here the names of a few more amulets, some or all of which may be used in this connection:

To be placed in the *damáxan*-basket:

A *paggá*, a small brown pebble from the river; never to be omitted. After the harvest, when the palay is transferred to the granary, this *paggá* is put in a small *báńa*-jar, and placed in the granary. The same pebble is used every year for the same purpose, so that it is not necessary to get a fresh one from the river.

Tazalítaw: A plant mentioned before.

To be tied to the first of the three *battá-* (bundles of the *pinudóń*):

An *abatbattúg*-insect wrapped in a piece of cloth. This is a very small brown wingless insect that moves along jumping.

Amsíń: A low herb growing all over the district.

To be tied to, stuck in, or placed on the *pinudóń* (stalk, bundle or palay behind the hut):

Ańńodán: A herb some twelve inches tall, with white-and-blue flowers. When placed on the *pinudóń*, it brings heavy rainfall.

Ammodońán: A creeping herb with small white flowers, growing in the forest.

Ańigáw: A herb some four inches tall, found in forested areas.

Balásań: A kind of herb not growing at Kabugaw.

Dćnăy: A low herb with small leaves, found all over the district.

Inindaggán: A plant, some four inches tall, with five or six red leaves, and flowers hanging down; it grows in dense forests.

Inuglây: A low herb with very small leaves and spiny fruits, growing almost anywhere.

[44] Four *battá-* equal one ordinary bundle or *ésiń*. One hundred *ésiń* or four hundred *battá-* equal one *ńópo*.

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Marabatónit: A herb, some five inches tall, with white flowers; it resembles the globe amaranth, but has smaller leaves. 243 782 789

Takkág líńān: A plant mentioned before.

Tóyug: A very tall herb with white flowers and red fruits, found almost anywhere.

Turátud: A plant mentioned before.

One or more of the following amulets may be placed in the *síxāy*, on the floor:

Labní: A herb, some five inches tall, growing in forests. It increases the palay.

Ambág: A herbaceous vine with white flowers, found all over the district.

Labiyáń: A low herb growing in forested areas.

Besides these, another amulet may be placed at random somewhere in the rice field, namely: the *maradúra-*, which is a herb some six inches tall and grows in forests.

While the old woman offers the *inapúxān* to the spirits, at the time of the preparation of the *pinudóń*, she recites one or more or the following prayers. The texts were given me by *Lampá* from Dangla (O dialect, Main branch). 243 781

Ne uwám andáyo maggiyán ka tańaluxagtáp ka ńódo (Here, this is yours, Andayo, who reside in the [visible] sky above).

Iápugko ikáw íilíilá dapán ta umad-adăyyóka (I offer betel [for chewing] to you, Yellow-soled [spirit], so that you be going away).

Iápugko ikáw maggiyán ka íli lixáyan ta dínā- balbalsiánan (I offer betel to you, who reside at the town of Ligayan, so that you do not make us sick).

Iápugko ikáw maggiyán ka laáy ta iddánā- ka bittć- ammáy (I offer betel to you, who reside at Laay, so that you give me a little rice).

Iápugko ikáw alindodóăy umáńmo ipóăy ya sinotŏnmo ńa ammáy (I offer betel to you, Alindodoay, come and drop the rice you carried on your head).

After the completion of all these ceremonies in the *kómān*, the woman comes back home.

In Apayaw customs differ with regard to the time and the circumstances in which reaping is begun in earnest.

In most places, the Isneg start on the morning following the *pinudóń*-ceremony, and reap palay for about an hour. The next day, they remain in the field until noon; and after that, they stay the entire day: this lasts until all rice has been cut.

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243 782 Elsewhere, they go to the field on the day after the *pinudóñ*-ceremony, either in the morning or in the afternoon, and harvest one basketful of palay (*manalégat*: Bayag pronunciation). But after that, they stay at home for three whole days without repairing to the *kómān*. Then finally they go again (*mamalánon*), and this time continue the reaping until the whole work is done. The palay of the first basket is not pounded in the regular way, but simply roasted over the fire, and the rice is put in a calabash and placed over the hearth. When the harvest is over, this rice is pounded and eaten just like ordinary rice.

In any case, on the day following the *pinudóñ*-ceremony, the reapers take with them to the field a *sípañ* (young coconut) and place it in the *sixāy*-hut. This *sípañ* must be so young that it could not have formed before the *agtotognó* or time of planting. At Bayag, and only there, if the *sípañ* is all too young, the old woman takes it with her on the day of the *pinudóñ*; if not, they do as elsewhere and take it with them the next morning.

After the reapers have come home in the evening of the first day (the day following the *pinudóñ*-ceremony), the owner of the rice field, the man, takes a coconut and divides it (*magbakká*) with his hatchet, while he pronounces the following words:

To di bakkánnu aníto ta dínu bakkán ólomi (Divide this, spirits, so that you do not divide our heads).

Then they cut out the *aludákid* (a narrow strip of coconut meat mentioned before) or *ludákid* around the edge of one of the halves, bind it into a bundle together with some palay, some charcoal, and a short slender stick cut out of bamboo, and hang it on a cane of *bassáw* or bamboo grass stuck in the ground among the bushes, not far from the house. The whole outfit is called *bāyúbāy* and should prevent the reapers from getting sick. If this ceremony were omitted, there is every reason to believe that some of the women would fall victims to disease.

755 Should it happen that a member of the household, whether a reaper or not, becomes sick at the beginning of the harvest, the Isneg perform the *púpug*-ceremony. A chicken is caught by a shaman; she kills it inside the house and recites the usual prayers; then the meat is consumed by the inmates of the house, both men and women. While the women of the immediate neighborhood, no others, are allowed to be present, all men who do not belong to the house, are strictly forbidden to attend the *púpug*.

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In case you are mourning a member of your household who died at reaping time, you must reserve the *tagăytăy* (Bayag pronunciation) for him, before you begin to harvest your fields in earnest. The *tagăytăy* consists of four very small bundles of palay, not thicker than one's finger, that have to be placed near the *sizăy*, at the outside.

When rice pudding is offered to the spirits at the beginning of the harvest, the following prayers (*pispísi-*) may be recited:

Ne uwámo ńa dadam-án ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, Dadam-an,[45] so that you go away).

Ne uwámo ńa napiyá ńa aníto ta umáńnă- sidúńăn (Here, this is yours, good spirit, so that you come under my house [to help me]).

Ne uwámo ńa naggupán ka laxíma ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, you who use a *laxíma*-pot[46] for a plate, so that you go away).

Ne uwámo naggupán ka rusúd ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, you who use a *rusúd*-pot[47] for a plate, so that you go away).

Ne uwámo naggupán ka amotó ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, you who use an *amotó*-jar[48] for a plate, so that you go away).

Ne uwámo naggupán ka báńa ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, you who use a *báńa*-jar[49] for a plate, so that you go away).

Ne uwámo naggupán ka zituldán ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, you who use a *zituldán*-pot[50] for a plate, so that you go away).

Ne uwámo naggupán ka tázo- ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, you who use a coconut shell for a plate, so that you go away).

Ne uwámo naggupán ka duyát ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, you who use a wooden basin for a plate, so that you go away).

Ne uwámo naggupán ka dońdóń ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, you who use a *dońdóń*-jar[51] for a plate, so that you go away).

[45] *Dadam-án* also means: doorsill. *Dadam-án* here is the spirit who resides at the doorsill, just above the ladder.

[46] The *laxíma* is a small iron pot with a round bottom (not flat), used in the kitchen.

[47] The *rusúd* is a large iron pot with a round bottom, used for boiling the juice of the sugar cane.

[48] The *amotó* is a jar of earthenware, used for holding drinking water.

[49] The *báńa* is a jar of earthenware, used for cooking rice, etc.

[50] The *zituldán* is a rather large iron pot with a round bottom, used for preparing *bási*-beer, etc. The *zituldán* is larger than the *laxíma*, but smaller than the *rusúd*. All three have the same shape; the *laxíma* has a round iron handle, the other two have none.

[51] The *dońdóń* is a large jar of earthenware, used for cooking rice, etc., mostly when there is a feast.

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Ne uwámo naggupán ka bísin ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, you who use a *bísin*-ornament [52] for a plate, so that you go away).

Ne uwámo battúg ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, Battug,[53] so that you go away).

Ne uwámo matá taxasinnánnakami (Here, this is yours, sun, look after us).

Ne uwámo ńa naggupán ka tariyáw ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, you who use a *tariyáw* [54] for a plate, so that you go away).

Ne uwámo ńa naggupán ka múlat ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, you who use a *múlat*-bowl [55] for a plate, so that you go away).

Ne uwámo anito kiyá labbáń taxasinnánnakami (Here, this is yours, spirit in the coconut cut in halves, look after us).

Ne uwámo anito kiyá ápat ta sidúńănnakami (Here, this is yours, spirit in the cotton, so that you stay under our house).

Ne uwámo di-rán ta ialútmo kiyá- to zásat (Here, this is yours, Di-ran, so that you show me good luck).

Ne uwámo abuwés ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, Abuwes, so that you go away).

Ne uwámo árăn ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, Aran, so that you go away).

These texts were given me by *Băydán* from Tawit (O dialect, Main branch).

After all necessary precautions have been taken and all customary ceremonies have been attended to, the women finally begin harvesting in earnest, and stay in the field the whole day. They begin with the *kalaxán*-rice, usually a small field or part of a field of early palay, and continue with the rest, until the last rice has been harvested and brought into the *sixăy*, where it is piled up in one of the corners (*magdalatún*) [56] into a *bańíbăń* (heap of palay).

The first two or three bundles (*battá-*) that are brought into the *sixăy*, to begin a *bańíbăń*, are called *tańípan*; the others have no special name.

[52] The *bísin* consists of a combination of beads and pieces of shell of different size and shape, hung from the neck.

[53] *Battúg* also means: satiety. The spirit in question is supposed to eat his fill and so to consume everything or, at least, a large amount.

[54] The *tariyáw* is a plate of earthenware of Chinese origin.

[55] The *múlat* is a large wooden bowl.

[56] To pile up (stones, palay, etc.) in general is: *dugsúkan*.

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Every day the women reap one *ikkám* (one day's harvest) and, if the sun shines, throw down (*ukâyan*) the latest addition to the *bañíbāñ* (bundles of rice piled up in the *sízăy*-hut), and spread the *battá-* (bundles) in the sun (*mamilág*; said of palay, clothes, etc.) to dry (*maxáño*; also said of Indian corn, beans, etc.; not: of clothes, etc.). Even palay that has been dried for several days, if it is found to be *nalumây* or damp (not thoroughly dry), is brought out again and sunned, unless they prefer to dry it over the fire. But the latter process is never resorted to with paddy that has not passed through the ordinary stages of sunning, or that happens to retain more than a slight degree of moisture, and so to be wetter than what is called *nalumây*. Whenever rain threatens, the rice is piled up again (*magdalatún*) into a *bañíbāñ* (heap of palay), inside the *sízăy*-hut. The women must be careful not to sun palay that is only half matured, lest it become entirely useless (*matúmăy*): it must be reserved for roasting, which will be explained in due time. To sun palay for the first time is *mañwarwár*; after that it is called *mamilág*, even though the rice be freshly cut. 243

The palay is sunned, either twice a day, late in the morning and some time in the afternoon, or only in the afternoon; but all bundles must be exposed to the sun and spread open in rows, at least three times. It is absolutely taboo to count the *battá-* (bundles) while sunning them or while piling them up into a *bañíbāñ*; counting will be done later, when it will be attended to with special ceremonies.

Every day, about noon, a man (*manúxan*), usually the owner of the field, brings food to the reapers (*tumúxan*). This food has been cooked at home and wrapped up in leaves, either by himself or by somebody else. Any kind of leaves may serve the purpose, except the first time, when it is necessary to use leaves of the *lippokán*, a kind of banana, whose very small fruits have a thin greenish skin. The food always consists of cooked rice (*nabáw*) and *láda-* (residue of coconut meat from which the oil has been extracted); the addition of other viands is optional. 243 264

The *manúxan* is not allowed to cross a stream, to swim or to go to somebody else's house. If his *kómān* is at the other side of a stream from his house, he has to pass the night in the *sízăy*, and to cook the food as best he can, the hearth of the hut not being fitted out for cooking. The same man must be *manúxan* from the first to the last day of the harvest. 243 784

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243 264 782 Generally only one full meal is taken in the *sízăy*, everybody partakes of it, and the following two ceremonies have to be performed every time:

They take three small leaves (any kind) and put a pinch of *pinatúpāt*, placed in the *sízăy* for this purpose, mixed with coconut oil on each of them. The *pinatúpāt* is a block of rice pudding wrapped up in strips of palm leaves. Then the *manúxan* places one of these leaves in the hearth (*dapûg*), one on the palay stored inside (*baníbāń*), and one outside, near the ladder. At this juncture the following prayer may be recited. My informant, *Yadán* from Nagbabalayan (O dialect, K branch), called it *maglappá-*, a synonym for *pisi-* (offering food, etc. to the spirits).

Ne kuwámo ilāy paglaxibannakami maggáni (Here, this is yours, Ilay, watch us harvesting).

For the second ceremony they take several (at least four) leaves of the *balbál*, a small tree with brown bark and leaves resembling those of the cabbage. On each of these leaves they put a little *nabáw* (cooked rice) and a small amount of *láda-* (just mentioned). Then they place one such leaf in the *patuxáw*-basket (containing immature rice, etc.), one on the *baníbāń* (heap of palay), one in the hearth, and one in the *damáxan*-basket, at the *pinúdóń*, behind the hut. The one in the hearth, near the fire, is placed there in honor of Pilay, so that he be favorably inclined toward his clients and make them *nadańgān*, "blessed with a rich harvest".

243 784 Before going on with the description of the activities of the reapers, I shall explain the taboos that have to be observed by them. The reason is that these prohibitions are especially stringent at the beginning of the harvest, the first three or five days, namely all the time the *sarańásań*-barrier (mentioned before) obstructs the path that leads to the field.

The *manírut*, or reapers who bind palay into *battá-* (bundles), are not allowed to swim, to enter the *baláwa* (place near the house where rice is pounded), to take hold of a hatchet, to eat from a plate or dish (they must use leaves), to eat chicken. These taboos remain in force as long as their work lasts.

Any kind of loud noise is absolutely forbidden in and around the *kómān*. The reason for this and similar taboos is to prevent the spirit (*kádudáwá*) of the rice from becoming frightened and escaping.

Shouting and singing in or around the *kómān* is tabooed, under pain of imminent illness (*masipńúd*).

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It is forbidden to whistle (*magpapannút*), whether in the *kómān* or in the *síxăy*, lest Pilay, the protector of the rice, run away.

Nobody is allowed to blow any kind of taro flower (*baríri*), lest a famine invade the district. The *baríri*, when blown upon, produces a very shrill sound.

The *patańgó-* must not be played in or around the rice field, lest the wind turn into a typhoon. The *patańgó-* is a section of bamboo, closed at one end, and cut out at the other end into a tapering tongue; one of its sides is provided with a small hole. It is played by striking its tongue either against one's left hand or against the upper end of a hatchet held in one's left hand, while pressing the thumb of one's right hand intermittently over the hole at its side. The tunefulness of the sound it produces depends on the length of its tongue.

Forging (*magbattál*) is prohibited in the village until all the inhabitants have completed the reaping of their fields.

People are not allowed to winnow (*magsáp*; *asáp*: chaff of rice) rice, although they are permitted to pound it. Winnowing rice at the time is supposed to cause typhoons. In this instance we have a definite proof of the fact that not all taboos remain in force as long as the harvest lasts; indeed, after reaping has been progressing for some time, the Isneg roast immature rice, which they have to pound and winnow before they are able to eat it.

No outsider is permitted to enter a field where reapers are at work. This applies very particularly to all who are not Isneg.

Nobody is allowed to enter the house of the owner of such a field, the members of the household alone excepted.

No outsider is permitted to enter the *baláwa* (place near the house where rice is pounded), and of the owners only those that are not actually binding palay into bundles. On the other hand, it is absolutely required to have a *baláwa* in readiness, before the harvest begins; should this be overlooked, the spirits will be angry and they may even resort to killing.

In some sections of Apayaw, it is forbidden to *maxappô-* (to eat in another man's house) in the house of anybody who owns another *bańíbăń* (palay piled up in the *síxăy*). If both persons own the same *bańíbăn*, they are allowed to eat in each other's house.

No fire may be taken from the hearth, to be given to somebody outside of the house.

Nobody is allowed to *magtósa*, to draw water by holding a receptacle under a waterfall (*barańóboń*) and allowing the water to drop into it.

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243 A person who *magtósa* is liable to be punished by finding the ears of
N4 his palay devoid of grain.

Reapers and owners of a field that is being harvested are not permitted to touch needles (*dázum*).

262 When the Isneg begin to eat new rice, especially the first time, the following articles of food are prohibited: frogs (*tukâ-*), eels (*kíwat*), *addúg* (a species of very small dark-colored shrimp), *to-mám* (a kind of vegetable growing wild), and in some districts,—for instance at Dangla, not at Bolo,—the young shoots (*úbud*) of the *anîboń* (Caryota cumingii, Lodd., a fishtail palm) and any kind of sour fruit.

243 The use of arrows (*paltó-*) is absolutely forbidden in the *sízây*.
484 Even the pronunciation of its name, *paltó-*, in the hut, is taboo.

A person who is cut (*maplág*) by sharp-edged leaves (for instance, those of the *bassáw* or bamboo grass, of the *adâs*-sedge, etc.) must not pronounce the word *pallág* (wound caused by these leaves); he is merely allowed to show the wound to his companions, without calling it by name.

The pronunciation of the word *narupâ-*, "broken", is taboo. Anybody who infringes this prohibition may rest assured that one or more of his *bâña*-jars will become *madammêli* (broken at the time of the harvest).

243 Besides the above words, whose pronunciation is absolutely for-
195 bidden, there are a good many others that must be replaced by a different term. In this way a kind of cant or jargon is formed, which an uninitiated person is unable to understand, even though he have a perfect knowledge of Isneg. A few examples will suffice:

Common language	Reapers' cant
To eat: *maglámus* or *mañán*	*magdanág* or *mananâg* [57]
To be hungry: *mabisín* (if you pronounce this word, you will go hungry for a whole year)	*nala-gín*
To be stuck in the eye: *masoltâ-* (by reeds, etc.)	*mabuláw*
Dead (when hearing about somebody's death): *natây*	*marísam* [58]
Rain: *udân*	*daródo*

[57] *Nadanág*, in ordinary language, means: to be through with the harvest.

[58] Even though the dead person had no field that was being reaped at the time.

1[at harvest time--Analyst]

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The following terms have been heard at Talifugu (Bo dialect):

	Common language	Reapers' cant
Dog:	*áto*	*alíal*
Hog:	*ábuy*	*dinakán*
Chicken:	*anú-*	*kăyabkáb*
Monkey:	*ayóń*	*kilsáp*
Cat:	*kusá*	*lannáń*
To eat:	*mańán*	*mańunág* [59]

This is also the time for proposing riddles (*baníko*), a pastime that is taboo in other seasons. Most of these riddles are stereotyped and well known all over the district, otherwise the solution of some of them would be absolutely impossible, as they consist of words that have become obsolete or that are entirely without meaning. Nevertheless new riddles are always welcome, and so the inventive genius of some of the natives is given much scope.

In order to avoid crowding into this paper too large a number of native texts, I refer the reader to a paper to be published subsequently, in which I give a long list of riddles and of their answers, all of them gathered during my prolonged sojourn in Apayaw.

It is also customary among the natives to set snares (*ilug*) for jungle fowls all around the *kómăn*, at the time of the harvest, when these birds are especially bold. An Isneg never fails to improve the opportunity of getting a few choice morsels at little cost.

Harvest time is the season in which most spirits, good and bad, are abroad, and so the Isneg has a busy time, first to force his protectors to come and help him, and then to propitiate or drive away the evil imps that are intent either on stealing or harming his paddy, his most valued possession, or on playing all kinds of mischief and mean tricks. Besides these, in almost every village, we find one or more dwelling places of special *anito* (spirits) that have to be remembered at this time of the year. At Dangla, for instance, the reapers never omit to pay their respects to the genius who lives at *Pinaxolowán*, by offering him *inapúxăn* (betel for chewing).

When offering *inapúxăn* to the spirits, at harvesting time, some or all of the following prayers may be recited:

Iápugko ikáw ulát ta umad-adăyyóka kadakamí (I offer betel [for chewing] to you, Famine, so that you be going away from us).

[59] *Mańunág*, in ordinary language, means: to enter the house.

1 [i.e., at harvest time -- Analyst]

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243 *Iápugko ikáw maggiyán ka dammáń ńa maggupán sinublán magsído-*
782 *ka latóxān umadāyyóka* (I offer betel to you who reside at the other side of the river, who use a *sinublán*-pot [60] for a plate and a *latóxān* [61] for a spoon, go away).

Iápugko ikáw maggiyán ka dammáń magkaw-awíli ańán ta umadāyyóka (I offer betel to you who reside at the other side of the river, who eat everything in one day, so that you go away).

Iápugko ikáw maggiyán ka dóxo masí maxammáyka magkaw-awíli ta umadāyyóka (I offer betel to you who reside at Dogo Masi, who gather your rice in one day, so that you go away).

Iápugko ikáw dummasísi maggiyán ka dóxo masí ta umadāyyóka (I offer betel to you, Dummasisi, who reside at Dogo Masi, so that you go away).

Iápugko ikáw darapāypáy magkímat ka kímat ammáy umbētka (I offer betel to you, Darapaypay, whose eyelashes are awns of rice, come).

Iápugko ikáw la-lakáy magtottotón a báxat xāyót ta nagkálap ta umadāyyóka (I offer betel to you, old man, who are carrying a banana on the head after having gone to get products from another district, so that you go away).

Iápugko ikáw tarkírāy ya magtottotón ka lina-bá ńa ammáy ta lumbētka (I offer betel to you, Tarkiray, who are carrying a *la-bá*-basket full of rice on the head, so that you come).

When the last of the above prayers is recited, and people are eating rice pudding, Pilay must be given a share near the hearth.

All the foregoing texts were given me by *Lampá* from Dangla (O dialect, Main branch).

Yadán from Nagbabalayan (O dialect, K branch) gave me the text of another prayer unaccompanied by the usual offering:

Umáńko pē tagtaxińán ned inalakkán (I come now to sit down with this [rice] I took).

Taxíń means "sitting down in company"; *inalakkán* here means "harvested rice". What follows is a free translation of this prayer, which consists of a statement put in the mouth of a spirit: I come to watch the rice that has been harvested.

[60] The *sinublán* is the same as the *rusúd*. Cf. footnotes 47 and 50.

[61] The *latóxān* is a piece of soft wood, placed under the crusher in a sugar mill, and used for collecting juice.

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Isneg reapers usually provide themselves with amulets, which they place in their *túput* (pouch) tied around the waist. The following are noteworthy:

Leaves of the *banítug*, a kind of forest tree with smooth leaves and white flowers, whose fruits and young leaves are edible. They prevent the bearer from feeling the pangs of hunger.

Katálin: a herbaceous vine with thick leaves, growing on the banks of rivers.

Palamían: a low herb, found almost anywhere.

Other amulets may be placed on the *bañíbāñ* (heap of rice) in the *síxāy*:

Aúimóy: A low herb, with small leaves and very hairy fruits, found all over the district.

Basáyial: A creeping herb, mentioned among the amulets of the *aligmamán*-basket.

Binóāg: A low herb with white flowers, growing in forests.

Iput butît (literally: rat's tail): A grass, some two feet tall, probably a species of Setaria,[62] found almost anywhere. It keeps the rats from playing havoc with the palay.

Xipparippáw: Also mentioned among the *aligmamán* amulets. This herb is placed somewhere in the hearth, before the *bañíbāñ* has attained a considerable size.

Panápil: A low herb with round leaves, growing all over the district.

Thorns of the *surni-*, a plant mentioned before. It bears seeds that point downwards (hence its name: "turned the wrong way").

A *tutūxan*, a kind of round red bead, must be placed under the *síxāy*-hut and covered with a stone.

The following amulets prevent the people from consuming a large amount of rice, when taking their meals at harvesting time:

Anampát: A creeping herb growing along brooks. It resembles the Bermuda grass, but its leaves are larger and greener. The Isneg wrap it in a piece of cloth and tie it around the *bakóba-* (calabash for storing *baggát*, "husked rice") or around the neck of a jar that contains the rice.

Tagalobná- (Bayag pronunciation): A herb, some six inches tall, with small leaves, found almost anywhere. This also is placed on the receptacle for rice.

[62] The Italian millet belongs to the same genus

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remains after pounding) and some *asáp* (husks, what remains after winnowing), and wrap them in a leaf; after they have come home, they hang the latter somewhere in the *baláwa* (place where they pound rice). The same is done when new rice (not *inixúbān*) is winnowed for the first time.

Then we have the *uglây*, which must be set apart before anything else, when *inixúbān* is being prepared for the first time. The *uglây* consists of at least three liters of *inixúbān* that have to be kept for the Pilay who resides in the house, near the hearth. After the harvest, however, human beings consume what the spirit has left.

Husked *inixúbān* that is not consumed immediately, is stored up in calabashes, the ordinary kernels in *bakóba-* (the usual receptacles for husked rice), the broken ones in *busíŋgan* (a smaller kind of calabash). The latter must have *takkág*-amulets tied around the neck, and their contents are reserved for children to eat.

The Isneg eat the *inixúbān*[1] (*magdúm* or *manúm*) either with or without viands. Sometimes, especially when children are around, they put back in the mortar a certain amount of *inixúbān*, and pound it until it is reduced to powder; by mixing this flour with coconut meat, a kind of pudding (*limbá-*) is prepared that may be eaten either raw or cooked.

When you have been preparing *inixúbān* for the first time, this is the way to *magdúm* (to eat *inixúbān*): first, eat one mouthful of *inixúbān*, then pronounce the magic word *Baríbarī*, and after that continue your meal in the ordinary way.

At this juncture one or both of the following prayers may be recited. The second one must be accompanied by an offering of some of the food (*maglappá-* or *magpísi-*).

Baríbarī di mapalpáli ya kanánmi (Baribari, our food is not easily consumed).

Baríbarī matugtugkíkami maggáni (Baribari, we harvest more and more).

Both texts were given me by *Yadán* from Nagbabalayan (O dialect, K branch).

The preparation of the *inixúbān* does not interfere with the usual routine of the harvest, and the reapers go on with their work until it is finished.

If you foresee that the amount of your palay will be very much smaller than that of other years, so that it will hardly be possible to

[1] [roasted immature rice. -- Analyst]

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call it an *ápit*,[63] have recourse to the following expedient: when you prepare *inapúxān*, do not take leaves of the betel pepper (*xawád*), but use young leaves of the *tabbág* (a species of Ficus) instead; this will cause your palay to increase notably.

When all your paddy has been reaped and the *bańíbāń* (heap of palay) in your *síxăy* (hut) is complete, so that you are *nadanág* (all your fields having been harvested), you are allowed to cut the *dogdógo* (Bayag pronunciation), which consists of a certain amount of palay that has been left standing near the *síxăy*.

The *xańgán* (called *láda* in some districts) or palay that was left standing here and there all over the field, because it was not yet ripe when the reapers came along, may be cut (*tudtúdan, magtudtúd*) later on, as soon as it has matured sufficiently. A part of the *xańgán*, however, must be abandoned to animals and spirits; to cut it all, is tabooed.

As soon as the harvest is over, a new set of spirits come on the scene: these are principally the *Daraxámi*, who knock on the *síxăy*-hut at night, when people are sleeping inside, so that the latter very often dream about them. Then there is *Maxablấy* or *Xinablấy*, who is fond of killing people at this time. An appropriate prayer to forestall the latter's machinations is the following. Its text was given me by *Daxidí* from Baliwanan (O dialect, Main branch).

Iápugko iyáw xinablấy ta dínaami al-aluwấy (I offer betel [for chewing] to you, Ginablay, so that you do not cut off any part of our body).

At this time of the year, the Isneg usually offer (*magpísi-*) food or *inapúxān* to those spirits that are most likely to exert some influence over them, whether for good or for evil. When such an offering is made at home, in the village, one or more of the following prayers may be recited:

Iápugko adaăyó idammấń ta dídaami umáń sidsidúńān (I offer betel [for chewing] to you, our enemies, so that you do not come under our house).

Iápugko adaăyó abulbulón magkálap ta dínaami tagtagōnońấn (I offer betel to you, companions of those that get products from another district, so that you do not reduce our sustenance).

Iápugko adaăyó ńa aníto ta tagapōliyánnu nīdí an-aná- ta masăyấnkami no pagbíli ni ugína (I offer betel to you, spirits, so that

[63] The *ápit* is the amount of rice or of Indian corn that is reaped in one season, provided it be abundant; if scanty, it is never called an *ápit*.

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you forgive this child here, so that we be lessened when Ugina [84] wants us to make an offering).

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Iápugko adaŭyó ńa maggupán ka zituldán nagírab ka alatógan (I offer betel to you, who use a *zituldán*-pot [85] for a plate, and scrape out cod with an *alatógan*.[86]

All four of these texts were given me by *Umíló* from Abbil (O dialect).

When the *bańíbáń* (heap of palay) in the *sízáy*-hut is complete, a day is set apart for binding (*mamońó*) the *battá-* (bundles) of palay into *ésiń*, and for counting (*magkabókab*) the latter. Four *battá-* make one *ésiń* (*tańésiń*); one hundred *ésiń* make one *ńópo* (*mópo*).

Therefore some time between the last day of the regular harvest and the day of the *pońó* (binding) and the *kabókab* (counting), the Isneg gather young bamboos (*mańalipońó*) and cut them into bands for tying the *battá-* into *ésiń*.

On the day set apart for binding and counting, the Isneg, men and women, start for the field very early in the morning, at cockcrow. Once there, one of the men sticks a spear in the ground, not far from the door of the *sízáy*-hut, and then all enter and commence the work, accompanied by the spirit *Guyéyáp*, who helps them in counting.

First of all, four *battá-* are taken from the *bańíbáń* and bound (*mamońó*) into an *ésiń*; then the tips of the straw of this *ésiń* are cut away (*magpagpág, pagpaggán*) with a hatchet, so that the straw of the bundle on top forms a smooth and even surface: all of which is performed by men. After that, one of the men takes hold of the bundle (*ésiń*), closes his eyes (*melagmiyá*), and goes outside to a place at some distance away from the *sízáy*, where he puts down the *ésiń*, without ever opening his eyes. Once rid of the bundle, he is allowed to open his eyes and find his way back. This *ésiń* is counted (*magkabókab*): one; it constitutes the first bundle (*ésiń*) of the *datté* or row of counted *ésiń*. Treading on or passing over the *datté* is absolutely forbidden: the Pilay punish all trespassers with fever (*daggáń*).

As soon as the first bundle has been attended to, the work goes on normally, all eyes open: the men bind (*mamońó*) the *battá-* into *ésiń* and cut off the tips of the straw (*magpagpág*) inside the hut, then they

[84] A spirit.

[85] Cf. footnote 50.

[86] This is the same as the *latázáń* of footnote 61.

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hand the new bundles (*ésiń*) one by one to the women who are standing outside and who add them to the rest of the *dattó* (row); at the same time, these women keep track of the number of *ésiń*, calling out the new total after each addition.

In the afternoon, before going home, the workers pile up the *ésiń*-bundles into a *dattó* in a corner of the *sízāy*. The *dattó* (heap of counted *ésiń*) now replaces the *bańíbāń* (heap of uncounted *battá*-). Then they stick *inapúzān* on one of the barbs of the spear in front of the hut, pushing it upwards from the tip of the barb.

The next morning, early or late, they continue the work and, at the end of the day's work, bring the spear back home. From now on, binding and counting goes on without interruption until everything is finished. In some rare instances, this job is concluded in one day, in which case, of course, the spear is taken home in the evening of the same day.

While the work is in progress, a small amount of very fine soil (*dibdibń*-), for instance that of an ant's nest, is wrapped in a piece of cloth and placed somewhere in the center of the *dattó* (in the *sízāy*), in order to prevent insects from destroying the palay heaped up there.

At this time it is the duty of every farmer to give to each of his neighbors two *ésiń* of palay, lest everything go wrong. This gift, called *píńil*, is a mere ceremony and has little or no practical value, as it is a mutual one and everybody has to reciprocate to the same amount.

In some districts, after the palay has been placed in rows outside the *sízāy* and counted, the Isneg immediately transfer all the bundles to the granary. But that is rather exceptional; in most places they proceed in the following way:

Once the *dattó* (heap of *ésiń*-bundles) is complete, the owners of the palay *lumpút*, which means: they stay at home for from one to three days, without returning to the hut. Should anybody infringe this taboo, and remain in or near the *sízāy* or go there after he has left, he is said to be enticed by the spirit *Darazád*, the assistant of the *Darazámi* mentioned before, and the poor man is liable to be devoured on the spot by these unearthly cannibals.

On one of those days, the owner of the house must sacrifice (*mamanít*) either a pig only or both a pig and a dog, without *mazaníto* (a shaman's communication with the spirits). The animals are killed somewhere near the granary, and their heads beaten against the building before they are severed from their bodies; then the victims

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(*pamanit*) are brought into the house and cut up. This sacrifice guarantees a plentiful harvest for the next year. In some districts, however, it is not offered by everybody indiscriminately, but only by those who have found out, after the counting, that the number of their bundles falls short of the crop they have been used to up till now, and consequently that it will be far from sufficient to last them until the next harvest.

When the days of forced absence from the *síxăy* are over, the palay is transferred in triumph to the *álań* or granary. If the real *álań* cannot be made ready in time, or if it is too small to harbor the whole crop, a *sipí* must be prepared beforehand. The *sipí* is a little hut made of light materials (bamboo, grass, etc.), more or less box-shaped, raised on posts, and covered with a lean-to roof.

In some villages, at Tawit for instance, only the inmates of the owner's house, men and women, are allowed to make this transfer. In others, all neighbors, men and women, may be invited to join; but this happens only, of course, when the palay is very abundant.

When all carriers have reached the *síxăy*, the *dattó* of palay is demolished, the bundles (*ésiń*) being brought outside and put in rows, and everybody prepares his or her load. It should be noted in this connection that the prohibition with reference to trampling on or passing over the *dattó* has never been suspended.

At the same time the Isneg collect all the amulets (*mamaldúń*) that have been placed at the *síxăy*, inside or outside, whether in the *aligmamán*-basket or over the *bańíbāń* and the *dattó*, and wrap them in a piece of cloth. This package will find its place in the granary together with the palay.

Detached grains and spikelets (*pannár* or *rannâ*)[67] that remain in and under the *síxăy* and at the place outside the hut, where the palay has been counted and where the loads have been prepared, will be gathered later on, pounded, cooked and consumed by old men and women. If young people eat them, they grow old in no time. This restriction does not apply to the *rannâ* of the granary.

Women place their load of palay in large baskets (*rańây*, *rańâya* or *balô-*: ordinary type, round rim, square bottom),[68] which they carry on their heads (*magtotón*). Men tie on equal number of bundles to

[67] The latter term is also applied to the detached grains and spikelets that are found in and under the granary.

[68] Also used for carrying tobacco, Indian corn, etc.

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243 each end a pole (*isiw*),[69] which they carry on their shoulders 482 (*maňagtó*).

Before starting on their journey, the carriers insert a few *dáriń*-herbs in the straw of their load of palay, in order to keep them from all 243 harm. This is not a vain precaution, as there is at least one of the 782 numerous evil spirits in existence, namely *Yasígu*, who is especially 789 fond of annoying people who carry rice from the *sixăy* to the *álań* (granary). If he finds them unprotected, he gives them a thrashing by means of a stick which he is always carrying.

As soon as they arrive at the place of the granary (*álań*), the women empty their baskets and the men untie their loads, after which all bundles are piled up under the granary (*magdaligpán*).

Before the Isneg store their palay in the granary (*magpintá-*), they attend to the following:

Besides a few objects that ultimately find their place in the granary, as the *pinuḍóń*, the amulets taken from the *sixăy*, etc., and that have been mentioned before, they put inside:

Amintakkán (from *pintá-*, "storing palay in the granary"): A low herb with very small leaves. It is placed on the floor of the granary.

Daraará-: A vine mentioned before among the amulets of the *aligmamán*-basket in the *sixăy*-hut.

Inóá: A kind of herb. It is tied around one of the posts, inside the granary.

Pannó (literally: fullness, filling), mentioned before among the amulets of uncut paddy. This amulet causes the granary to be filled with rice.

The *pamintakkán* (from *pintá-*, "storing palay in the granary"): The *pamintakkán* is a *battá-* (one fourth of an *ćsiń*) and the first of the rice just brought in that is introduced into the granary. It is provided with *takkág*-vines (schizaeaceous ferns, often mentioned before) and *tagaúrabón* (called *tagarabón* at Bayag), which is a kind of herb, some twelve inches tall, with very small leaves and white flowers, that grows in rocky places, along rivers and brooks, and prevents the rice from being consumed quickly. The *pamintakkán* is placed in one of the two corners of the granary that are farthest away from the door.

When the time has come for storing the palay in the granary, the owner, the man, climbs inside, and his wife, standing outside, hands

[69] A pole used for carrying loads between two persons is called *búlig*.

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him the bundles. Nobody else is allowed either to hand it in or to pile it up inside.

In a few places, however, either one of them, the woman or her husband, enters the granary, and anybody is permitted to handle the bundles outside; but the person who started piling the palay inside, must continue the work until it is concluded: nobody else is allowed to interfere.

When *inapúrān* is offered to the spirits at this time, the following prayers may be recited:

Iápugko iáw iwazán ta umáńnā- sidúńān (I offer betel [for chewing] to you, Iwagan, so that you come under my house).

Iápugko iáw ginadúlan ta umáńnā- tazasinnán (I offer betel to you, Ginadulan, so that you come to look after me).

Iápugko iáw pílăy ta umańńā- pańitagtagkélăy ka ammáy dató adú wa ammáy (I offer betel to you, Pilay, so that you, limping, bring me rice from the large heaps of rice).[70]

Iápugko iáw duńgali ta umáńnā- pagpíli kadató ammáy atoní (I offer betel to you, Dunggali, so that you come to let me choose from the large heaps of rice there).

Iápugko iáw paluggatáń ta abulonánnaami (I offer betel to you, Paluggatang, so that you be our companion).

Iápugko iáw ańlabbáń ta tarâyannā- ka ballán (I offer betel to you, Anglabbang, so that you prop me up with palma brava timber).

Iápugko iáw békat ta ipa-bágmo to sóńān[71] (I offer betel to you, Bekat, so that you give me[72] tuskers).

Iápugko iáw da-nág ta bakkámmo ta-bân dăyá álig (I offer betel to you, Da-nag, so that you do not cover the *álig*-bees).

My informant, *Băydán* from Tawit (O dialect, Main branch), told me that these eight prayers were pronounced consecutively when storing rice in the granary, when cutting off the head of a dog in sacrifices, etc. The last three, however, and perhaps a couple of others, seem to have nothing to do with the rice crop.

The Isneg always tie some *takkág* (schizaeaceaus ferns) around the *lappó* (literally: thigh) or thick part of one of the four posts of the granary, below the floor, in order to increase the palay stored up there.

[70] Rice you stole from those that have much rice.

[71] *Asóń* means: tusk of wild boar.

[72] In answer to my prayer. *Ipa-bág* from *tabbág*, "answering".

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243 There are a few other amulets that may be placed on the palay in
789 the granary, at any time:
782 *Aggassip*: A low herb with white flowers, found all over the district. It causes the rice to last long.

Amagpaggáñ: A herb, some twelve inches tall, with small leaves, growing in forests.

Anaxupgá: A herb, some twelve inches tall, with small leaves, red flowers and brown fruits. It is found in the forest and, placed in the granary, helps the owners to economize their rice.

Anúyug: A herb, some eight inches tall, growing in forested areas.

Indág: A low herb, found almost anywhere.

Rakkód: A herb, growing all over the district.

When all the rice has been garnered, a small *báña*-jar containing rice pudding is placed in the filled *álañ* (granary), as an offering to Pilay. It is called *túxan*, the same name as that of the food brought to the reapers by a man (*manúxan*) from the village.

Finally the Isneg close the door of the granary and provide it with *takkág*-ferns and *adás*-sedges (Scleria sp.), at the outside.

III. The Isneg Garden

241 The garden or *kadánan* is a plot of ground where some time in the past rice has been grown. No garden plants are raised on virgin soil; rice always precedes them. Sometimes the *kadánan* has already served that purpose for one or more years, sometimes it is merely a *kómān* or part of a *kómān* from which rice has just been harvested.

Except for the necessity of having palay precede all other plants, the possibility or probability of raising successfully some special kind of plant on a given plot of ground is the only determinant for the choice of a garden plot. The Isneg merely studies the nature of the soil and its adaptability to the growing of certain products, according to his own experience or that of his elders.

The Isneg garden is always surrounded by a fence, either the usual one (*abút*) or, in case the man is too lazy to make a regular fence, the *balakkuwit* (strips of bamboo stuck in the ground at both ends so as to form a series of arches).

To prepare a garden, the first thing to be done is to clear the ground (*mañadanan*). When the garden is built on level ground, this work is called *maxónat*, just as in the case of a *kómān*. If the garden is new, that is, if it is made from a rice field that has just been harvested, the bulk of the weeds consists of *daxádag* (rice straw) or *sápi* (after-

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539 Before I proceed, allow me to explain how Indian corn, taro and

sweet potatoes, came to be known to the Isneg; this was related to me by *Magáyam* from Bayag (O dialect).

Adódit náyá maís siwāy se ya kamóti

Story of the corn, taro and the sweet potato

Itó nabāyāg ga dagúnnin uwád da nasamúá ńa bisín iyá Apáyaw./ Adató tólāy imminda ńámin to adón nató áyo, wa namít a pagramanánda./ Kané no isá ńa aldáw napanda iyá unág nāyá xinúbāt./ To ya naxasárakda ya adánan kiyá xinúbāt./ Itó unág nató adánan uwádda ńa talló baláxi ya múla./ Adató tólāy sinónānda to mixin-adánan./ Kané no lumbét to mixin-adánan nagbaláwda ta lamán./ Nagbaláwda ta magúni to lamán./ Kasit-án nató lamán dató tólāy no iúká- to gagára dató tólāy./ Ńam sumuńbát dató tólāy ya umáńda ńa magsápul anánda mepagapó to bisín./ Ummāń to lamán nagbálā-itó siwāy maís se to kamóti./ Séna la mesúro to maúlúto se to magmúla kadató tólāy./ Kané no malúto to siwāy maít se to kamóti nańánda./ Kané mabalinda mańán iddán nató lamán dató tólāy ya maís kamóti se to siwāy ya imúlada./ To ya nasarákān dāyá tólāy ya ńágan dāyá maís kamóti se ya siwāy.

Many years ago there was a severe famine in Apayaw./ The people consumed all the leaves of the trees whose taste was good./ Then one day they went inside the forest./ There they found a garden in the forest. Inside the garden there were three kinds of plants./ The men got the owner of the garden./ Then, when the owner of the garden came, they were surprised, as it was a wild boar./ They were surprised as the wild boar talked./ The wild boar asked the men what was the desire of the men./ But the men answered that they came to look for their food on account of the famine./ The wild boar went to gather taro, corn and sweet potatoes./ Then he taught the men to cook and to plant./ Then, when the taro, corn and the sweet potatoes were cooked, they ate./ When they finished eating, the wild boar gave the men corn, sweet potatoes and taro for them to plant./ That is how the men found the name of the corn, sweet potato and the taro.

1. INDIAN CORN

243 The field, whether included in the general appellation *kadánan* (garden) or not, where Indian corn or *maít* (from the Spanish *maís*) is grown, is called *maitán* or *makitán*.

The bulk of Indian corn is planted (*mańmaít*) in the months of January and February, mostly immediately after the tobacco.

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A small quantity is often planted all around the tobacco field, in order to have a certain amount of early *maít*, in which case it is called *páray*. 243

The implements that are needed and the way the Isneg proceed whenever they plant Indian corn, are the same for both rice and corn, and have been treated extensively in the preceding pages. There also the prayers and other practices that are common to the raising of both *maít* and *ammáy* (rice), have been described at length; but none of them should be applied to *maít*, except when I expressly say so. This also obtains for the other products that will be mentioned hereafter.

When the corn has reached a height of from four to six inches, it is said to be *lulluxónan daddalaxétān*, which means literally: "under which the *daddalaxétān*-bird passes".

Stalks of Indian corn that produce only undeveloped ears; are called *xoripáń*: they are useless except for fodder. These together with the stalks that bear only male flowers (*parpáy*), are sometimes cut by the men when they are still green. For this work the *aliwá* or hatchet is used. To cut corn stalks, sugar cane, etc. at one stroke, is *magtaggád*. Ears of corn that have been partially consumed by crows, men, etc., are called *kúrēm*.

To prevent the crop from being ravaged by crows, the Isneg often wrap the ears in the leaves that grow next to them. They do this by twisting the leaves around the ears without detaching them from the stalk or *arotáń*.[74] Ears of corn that have been protected that way are called *pinudúl*.

The gathering of *maít* (*magmaít*) usually takes place in the months of May and June.

Before beginning the work, some *darixará-* must be tied to one of the ears. The name *darixará-* is merely the Bayag variant of *daraará-*, vines, that have been mentioned several times with reference to rice. This particular ear of corn is plucked only when all the rest has been harvested.

When gathering corn, the women tear off the ears (*mappíri* or *magpauré-*) from the stalk or *arotáń*. Those that are to be consumed fresh, whether they will be roasted in ashes or cooked in water (corn on the cob), are brought home just as they are, that is, enveloped in their husks. Those that are to be stored up somewhere in the house for later use, are first dried in the sun. In order to cause them to dry thoroughly, the husks are pulled down (*magkusí-* or *maxusí-*: "to

[74] A term applied to fleshy stalks, for instance those of Indian corn, tobacco, etc.

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243 peel, to take off the skin"), the ear is stripped, and the silk (*buybúy*) is removed.

Women carry corn in baskets; men carry it on poles: to do this, they usually bind the ears in bundles of ten by means of the dried husks, leaving the stripped ears dangling underneath.

Aúrabón is stuck in one of the bunches of corn ears, at the place where they have been garnered, in order to cause the supply to last long. *Anrabón* is a variant of *tazaúrabón*: this herb is used in rice granaries for the same purpose.

Of all the varieties of corn known to the Isneg, the most remarkable is the *simtó- ballít* (literally: bill of the *ballít*-bird), whose ears grow at the top of the stalk (not at the side), and whose small grains are of a very dark purple hue. It is eaten especially by people who *maúgabí*, that is, who are in mourning and to whom rice is taboo.

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Whenever the Isneg need corn, either to feed the chickens or to prepare corn meal for themselves, they shell it (*magburá-*) with the fingers and throw away the cobs (*ákal*) together with the dry husks that remain attached to them.

2. TARO

244 Taro or *siwáy* (Colocasia esculentum, [L.] Schott.) is extensively cultivated by the Isneg. Besides the rhizome and the petioles (*pólon*), which are eaten all over the Philippines, the Isneg also consume the blades of the leaves (*atán*: entire leaf) of most all varieties raised by them. The inflorescence and the rootlets (*ramút*; also said of the roots of tubers: sweet potatoes, etc.) are the only parts of the taro that are useless.

The leaf blades are usually cut into shreds and cooked in bamboo tubes placed over the fire, where they are crushed with a pestle, together with chile: this dish, called *sinursúr*, is the specialty of Apayaw.

To plant taro (*magtuwág*), the woman uses the *palá-* (hoe), the *sagwá-* (dibble) or a special dibble called *itutuná-* or *intutuná-*, which consists of a very thick (sometimes up to four inches in diameter), long (sometimes up to two yards) and sharp stick of any kind of hard wood. The latter is also used for transplanting tobacco seedlings and for planting sugar cane, sweet potatoes, yams, etc. She digs or bores a comparatively large hole in the ground and inserts (*sulsúlan*) a *zábit*, which consists of a shoot to which the upper part of the rhizome, cut off from the rest, is left attached. Besides *zábit*, suckers or *ároy*

The vegetables may be: tomatoes, egg- 262
plants, squash, peppers, corn, beans, camote, gabi, or [244
yams. Fruits may be: bananas, coconuts, pineapples, 245]
jack fruit, oranges, lemons, guavas, melons, *lucban*,
mangoes, or papaya. The beverages may be: coffee, [272]
cocoa, or water. Honey is included in the diet. From 263
sugar cane are produced candied fruits and vegetables,
molasses, *basi*, and vinegar. A strong tobacco is raised 276
and smoked—sometimes in a small pipe; but generally
one leaf is rolled into a small cigar. Both men and
women smoke. Boys and girls start smoking at an
early age.

In growing these things, the people do not use ir- 311
rigation; but follow the *kaiñgin* method of farming. 241
A suitable piece of wild land is selected. The vegetation [312]
is cut down, allowed to dry, and then burnt. Seeds
are planted in the ashen earth by making a hole with
a sharp stick and dropping a seed in it. The plot is [417]
is enclosed with a bamboo fence. The men clear and [462]
fence the land, while the women do much of the rest
of the work. In two years the soil has become leached
and packed by the heavy tropical rains and so sterile
that a new *kaiñgin* is made elsewhere.

The rice is an upland variety which does not re- 243
quire much water. The seeds are planted during the
beginning of the rainy season in April and May. When
ripe, the heads are cut off by hand, using a miniature
aliwa. These heads are gathered into bundles, tied, and [25]
then stored in a specially built square granary whose 343]
architectural design follows that of the house. Tobacco 249
and vegetables are usually planted during January af- 244
ter the harvest, in the *kaiñgins* where rice was grown.

When the woman wishes some rice to cook, she 252
threshes several bundles on a mat or skin with a club; 412

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243 peel, to take off the skin"), the ear is stripped, and the silk (*buybúy*) is removed.

Women carry corn in baskets; men carry it on poles: to do this, they usually bind the ears in bundles of ten by means of the dried husks, leaving the stripped ears dangling underneath.

Aúrabón is stuck in one of the bunches of corn ears, at the place where they have been garnered, in order to cause the supply to last long. *Anrabón* is a variant of *tazaúŕabón*: this herb is used in rice granaries for the same purpose.

Of all the varieties of corn known to the Isneg, the most remarkable is the *simtó- ballit* (literally: bill of the *ballit*-bird), whose ears grow at the top of the stalk (not at the side), and whose small grains are of [265] a very dark purple hue. It is eaten especially by people who *maúgabí*, that is, who are in mourning and to whom rice is taboo.

Whenever the Isneg need corn, either to feed the chickens or to prepare corn meal for themselves, they shell it (*magburá-*) with the fingers and throw away the cobs (*úkal*) together with the dry husks that remain attached to them.

2. TARO

244 Taro or *siwáy* (Colocasia esculentum, [L.] Schott.) is extensively cultivated by the Isneg. Besides the rhizome and the petioles (*pólon*), which are eaten all over the Philippines, the Isneg also consume the blades of the leaves (*atáń*: entire leaf) of most all varieties raised by them. The inflorescence and the rootlets (*ramút*; also said of the roots of tubers: sweet potatoes, etc.) are the only parts of the taro that are useless.

The leaf blades are usually cut into shreds and cooked in bamboo tubes placed over the fire, where they are crushed with a pestle, together with chile: this dish, called *sinursúr*, is the specialty of Apayaw.

To plant taro (*magtuwáy*), the woman uses the *paló-* (hoe), the *saguwá-* (dibble) or a special dibble called *itutuná-* or *intutuná-*, which consists of a very thick (sometimes up to four inches in diameter), long (sometimes up to two yards) and sharp stick of any kind of hard wood. The latter is also used for transplanting tobacco seedlings and for planting sugar cane, sweet potatoes, yams, etc. She digs or bores a comparatively large hole in the ground and inserts (*sulaúlan*) a *xábit*, which consists of a shoot to which the upper part of the rhizome, cut off from the rest, is left attached. Besides *xábit*, suckers or *ároy*

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are also planted; but these *ároy* are rarely abundant and they are usually very small, so that *rábit* are much more generally used.

Taro requires very little care. The most common enemy of the *síwáy* and of other vegetables as well, is the *arábat*, a large green worm or caterpillar, almost as thick as a finger.

As soon as the leaves are sufficiently large, they are plucked (*manaxitán*) in small quantities, according to the needs of the moment. This is done by pinching them off (*kiltónan*; also said of gathering betel leaves) or by cutting the petioles with the *ikó*-knife.

Before the Isneg woman digs up (*magtaggáp*) the rhizomes of a given field of taro (*síwáy*), she places one or both of the following amulets next to the largest of the taro plants. This particular *síwáy* must be left in the field, without being tampered with.

Takkág líńan, mentioned before among the amulets of the *aligmamán*-basket in the *síxáy*-hut.

Ińkaxánay: A low grass, growing almost anywhere.

If the first rhizome happens to be a small one, this means bad luck, and no large ones will be gathered that day. Therefore the only thing to do is to go home and try one's luck the next day.

When all the taro rhizomes have been gathered, they are cleaned (*maglagsíw*; also said of washing yams and sweet potatoes) somewhere in a stream of running water.

Here follow the names of a few varieties of taro:

The *xa-gád*: Its rhizomes are very watery, and its leaves cause itching in the throat.

The *bilókoń*, *batíkoń* or *baníkoń*: This is one of the least esteemed varieties. Its leaves are completely green and cause severe itching: therefore usually young leaves (*ulxút*) only are used for viands.

The *rabó-*: This is one of the largest varieties. Its rhizome is almost as big as a jar, and has a greenish skin. Its leaves are very broad, and cause considerable itching: therefore they are edible only when mixed with chile.

3. SWEET POTATOES

The sweet potato or *kamusí* (Ipomoea batatas, L.) is less extensively cultivated in Apayaw than in any other district of the Mountain Province, probably on account of its tendency to become fibrous (*naranút*), in which case, of course, it is not very palatable.

A garden or part of a garden where sweet potatoes are planted is called *kamusiyán*.

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244 *Kamusí* may be planted in June, July or August, and it takes the tubers three months to develop.

To plant sweet potatoes, the Isneg woman first gathers (*maggásad*) a certain amount of *kamusí*-vines (*zásad*), and then sticks them in holes made in the ground by means of the *paló-* (hoe) or of some kind of a dibble.

They need almost no care, and when the vines have produced young shoots (*otóń*) the tips of the latter are gathered (*manaxiotóń*; said also of cowpeas) for vegetables.

As soon as the tubers are sufficiently developed, the Isneg women start gathering them (*magkamusí*), according to their needs. The *kamusí* of a given field are rarely dug up (*ragkatán*; said also of yams, not of taro) all at a time.

Very few varieties are known. Here are the names of some of them:

The *kamusí áto* (literally: dog's sweet potato): Not much esteemed; its color resembles that of the yolk of an egg.

The *kamusí ilóko* (literally: Iloko's sweet potato): Good, even when eaten raw, but rather watery; its color is yellow.

The *pusiná-*: Very much esteemed; it is white, inside and outside.

4. SUGAR CANE

247 The Isneg plant sugar cane (*unát*), either to have a supply at hand for suckir the juice (*mańús*) from the culms, or to use it for the preparation of *básІ* (an alcoholic beverage used very extensively) or sugar (less frequently). A single stalk, whether in the *kǭnatán* (field of sugar cane) or near the house yard, is a *palbón*.

To plant sugar cane (*magtálad*), the Isneg first gather (*maxańtát*) a certain amount of *ańtát* (a section of a culm), obtained by lopping (*tagtaggán*) with a hatchet (*aliwá*) the leafy tops of the stalks. Then the women go to the field, armed with a *paló-* (hoe) or a dibble (*saguuá-* or *itutuná-*), make holes in the ground, and in each of these stick (*sulsúlān*) one cutting (*tálad*). Both *ańtát* and *sappí* (a sucker that grows at the base of a stalk) may be used for cuttings (*tálad*).

To make sure that the canes grow tall, a *labátag* is placed next to the first *tálad* (cutting) that is confided to the soil. The *labátag* is a herbaceous vine, with large round leaves, climbing on trees.

When the women come home after the first day of planting, they are not allowed to touch *báńa*-jars until the next morning.

The most important varieties of *unát* (sugar cane) cultivated by the Isneg are:

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251 Young banana leaves (*adón*) are used very extensively for wrapping
245 purposes, especially when things have to be kept fresh, for instance cooked rice, several kinds of viands, etc.

The men cut down (*lappadán, maglappád*) the leaves with the *alimá* (hatchet) and gather (*manaxidón*) them.

Dry banana leaves (*arupát*) are used for wrapping all kinds of small objects.

245 A banana plantation where the leaves are all withered, is supposed
776 to be the abode of the spirit *Alčxān*. For the rest, no harm is done, as she never attempts to destroy the fruits.

6. YAMS

244 The origin of yams or *úbi* (Dioscorea alata, L., D. pentaphylla, L.,
773 etc.) is authenticated among the Isneg by the following stories:
539 *Uail* from Bolo (O dialect, Main branch) told me this:
824

Ya nonōnná ña úbi

The first yam

Kitó inumbét daté dódon kiddí ité nānnā ña alxáw āwánda kanó ña anán daté tólay ta amminán daté dódon./ Kané āwánda ña anán kité mammínda ña natáy ináru-da ya anánā-da séda ña anán ăy imúlada to tabbit nató ababbiú./ Áy to ya nagbalín ka úbi to ya nonōnná ña úbi.

When the locusts came here in former days, the people, it is said, had nothing to eat, as the locusts consumed everything./ And when they had nothing to eat, so they would all be dead, they took out a part of their children's bodies, and they ate it, and they planted the flesh of the child./ And that became a yam: that is the first yam.

Another man related to me a similar story with reference to the *paddíg*-yam: it is very large, and its skin is very red; it looks as if it were bleeding. On a certain day, a mother took her babe as soon as it was born and cut it into pieces, which she buried in the ground. After a while they grew, and when the woman dug them up, they had become *paddíg*-yams. She cooked them, ate them, and found them to be a savory kind of food.

A different story is woven around the *dinampáyān*, a kind of *lo-tó* (Dioscorea fasciculata, Roxb. and D. aculeata, L.). The *lo-tó* are small yams, whose meat is yellowish or white and very soft; their skin is thin and whitish or brown, and is easily peeled off when cooked; their vines and leaves are thorny. Formerly all *lo-tó* were soft

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stones. A little child having stepped on one of them, the latter took the shape of a small foot: that is the reason why the *dinampăyán* are more or less footlike and have small projections like toes.

In Isneg, *úbi* is the general name for all yams, and *lo-tó* is the general name for several kinds of soft yams whose skin is white or whitish. In Iloko, *úbi* refers only to one kind of yams (Dioscorea alata, L.), and *tugí* is the Iloko equivalent of the Isneg *lo-tó*. In Kankanay, *tugí* is the sweet potato.

Besides the *paddíg* (*úbi*) and the *dinampăyán* (*lo-tó*), the Isneg cultivate the following varieties (belonging to different species of Dioscorea) of *úbi*:

The *anińgát*: A kind of yam with purplish skin.

The *baraóń*: A kind of yam almost perfectly globose.

The *bisóyoń*: A kind of yam with purplish skin, very long and crooked.

The *kamáńag*: A kind of yam very similar to the Dioscorea batatas, Dene., but with a different vine.

The *dampanán*: A kind of *lo-tó* with a very pubescent skin, the most esteemed of all.

The *pixáy*: A kind of *lo-tó* with a very thin skin.

The *mariwag*: A kind of wild yam, with comparatively small vines, growing along brooks. The Isneg improve it by cultivation. Perhaps Dioscorea batatas, Dene.

Whereas most other tribes cultivate yams rather sparingly, the Isneg plant them much more extensively than anything else, rice excepted. In this they resemble the Batan, whose staple food is the yam: rice, however, is not grown by them.

It takes yams one year to develop their tubers; they may be planted at any time.

Before planting *lo-tó*, the Isneg wash the parts that will be confided to the soil, with *babbalowán*-vines cut into pieces and soaked in the juice of the sugar cane. This is done to ensure their sweetness. The *babbalowán* is a herbaceous vine with yellow flowers and with leaves that resemble those of the *úbi*; it grows in gardens planted with *lo-tó*.

When they want to plant yams (*magbaló*; sometimes; *magtuwág*, which is said of both planting taro and planting yams), the first thing they do is to cut a certain quantity of tubers into pieces (*maxáru-* or *mańúru-*). Then holes are bored in the ground by means of a *paló-* (hoe) or a dibble (the *saguró* or the *itutunáy*; the latter being called *ibabaló* when used for planting yams). Some ashes are strewn in each

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244 hole, and the latter is provided with one part of a yam; after that the hole is filled up with earth. Almost any part of a yam, even parings, may be used for planting: the center, however, and the entire lower part are useless. In the case of *lo-tó*, usually the upper half of the tuber is thrust into the hole.

When the first yam has been planted and the hole duly filled up, the Isneg cover it with the half of a coconut shell, whose center has been cut out. No such precaution is taken with the subsequent ones.

244 When the vines die, this is a sure sign that it is time to dig up the
787 tubers (*magsikaw*; sometimes: *magtaggáp*, also said of gathering taro rhizomes). To cause the yams to last long, the Isneg woman places *takkág líńan*[1] next to the first yam she meets, when starting her work, and leaves the latter in the field: a practice similar to the one that is observed at the gathering of taro rhizomes. In the same way, if the first yam that is dug up, happens to be a small one, not a single large one will be found that day; therefore, it is best to stop the work and go home: the next day may bring better luck.

The number of yams varies from plant to plant, but it never exceeds five.

7. OTHER PRODUCTS OF THE ISNEG GARDEN

241 Here follows a brief enumeration of the vegetables (*taxūpá*) and
824 other plants that are raised in the *kadánan* of the Isneg.

262 The *antá-* (Vigna sinensis [L.] Endl.), cowpea. Its green pods (*bísi-*), dried seeds (*bokál*), and young shoots (*oĺóń*) are used for vegetables.

The *ítāb*, *ábas* or *tańíńi* (Phaseolus lunatus, L.), Lima bean.

The *ampilán* (Dolichos lablab, L.). Its green pods are used for vegetables.

The *balátoń* (Phaseolus radiatus, L.), green gram.

The *pallá*, *pallán* or *pallát* (Psophocarpus tetragonolobus [L.] DC.), asparagus bean. Its green pods are used for vegetables.

The *maséti* (Cajanus cajan [L.] Merr.), pigeon pea.

The *síńkamás* (Pachyrrhizus erosus [L.] Urb.), turnip bean or yam bean. Cultivated for its fleshy roots; its green pods are used for vegetables.

The *amaní* (Arachis hypogaea, L.), peanut.

The *karabása* (sometimes wrongly called *kalabása* or *labása*; from the Spanish *calabaza*), (Cucurbita pepo, L.), squash or pumpkin. Its

[1] [a type of vine, see p. 337. -- Analyst]

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fruits (*bisi-*), male flowers (*bu-gá-*), and young shoots (*rañáw*) are used for vegetables.

The *tabuña-* (Lagenaria leucantha [Lam.] Rusby), bottle gourd, especially the Hercules'-club. Its fruits (*bisi-*) and young shoots (*rañáw*) are used for vegetables. Several varieties of bottle gourd are cultivated by the Isneg:

The *kandól*, dipper gourd.

The *bakóba-*, calabash. Universally used for storing rice.

The *lupidy*: A kind of huge calabash.

The *tabáyad*: A kind of small white calabash. Sometimes used for storing rice.

The *busingán*: A kind of very small calabash. Universally used for storing lime.

The *bakuwáw*. Its young shoots are glabrous.

The *kabatiti* (Luffa cylindrica, Roem.). Its fruits (*bisi-*) are used for vegetables. The variety with ribbed fruits is called *balidán*.

The *pariyá* (Momordica charantia, L.). Its fruits and young shoots are used for vegetables.

The *tankúy* (Benincasa hispida [Thunb.] Cogn.). Its fruits are used for vegetables.

The *kasimun* (Cucumis sativus, L.), cucumber.

The *túpa-* (Citrullus vulgaris [L.] Schrad.), watermelon.

The *kamátis* or *amákis* (from the Spanish *tomates*), (Lycopersicum esculentum, Mill.), tomato. The variety with small globose fruits.

The *tarón* (Solanum melongena, L.), eggplant.

The *amsi* (Solanum nigrum, L.), nightshade. Its young leaves are used for vegetables.

The *sili*, a general name for the following plants:

The *to-rán* (Capsicum frutescens, L.), chile or spur pepper. Its young leaves (*pat-ó-*) are used for vegetables, and its small fruits for condiments.

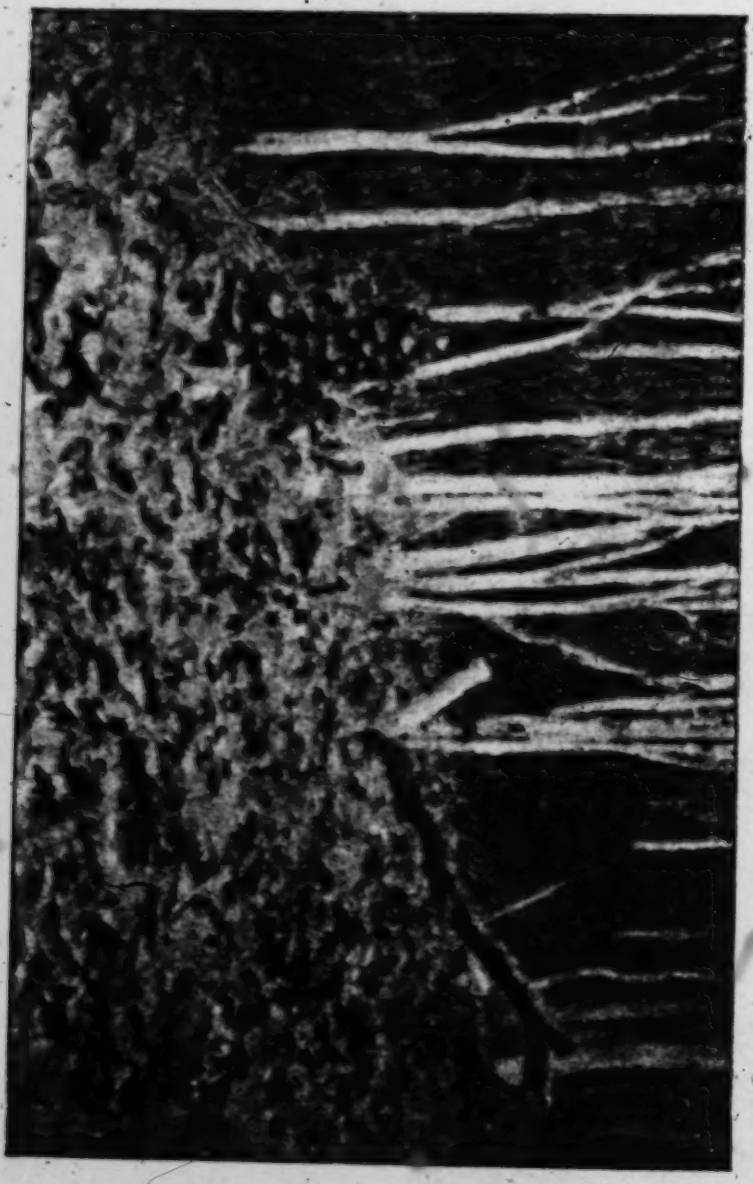
The *amilín*, a variety of the preceding, with somewhat larger fruits.

The *zappó-* (Capsicum annuum, L.), green pepper. Its young leaves (*pat-ó-*) and fruits (*bisi-*) are used for vegetables.

The *kambón*, perhaps Solanum crassipetalum, Wall. Its large fruits are used for vegetables.

The *salúyut* or *salúyaw* (Corchorus olitorius, L.), jute or Jews' mallow. Its leaves are used for vegetables.

244
417



Sweet potatoes grow luxuriantly in the loose ashen earth. The fence is to keep the wild pigs out of this kaingin.

244
291

This girl is supposed to be cultivating her camotes.

The vegetables may be: tomatoes, egg- 262
plants, squash, peppers, corn, beans, camote, gabi, or [244 245]
yams. Fruits may be: bananas, coconuts, pineapples, jack fruit, oranges, lemons, guavas, melons, *lucban*, mangoes, or papaya. The beverages may be: coffee, [272]
cocoa, or water. Honey is included in the diet. From [263]
sugar cane are produced candied fruits and vegetables, molasses, *basi*, and vinegar. A strong tobacco is raised 276
and smoked—sometimes in a small pipe; but generally one leaf is rolled into a small cigar. Both men and women smoke. Boys and girls start smoking at an early age.

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rigation; but follow the *kaiñgin* method of farming. 241
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The rice is an upland variety which does not re- 243
quire much water. The seeds are planted during the beginning of the rainy season in April and May. When ripe, the heads are cut off by hand, using a miniature *aliwa*. These heads are gathered into bundles, tied, and [251]
then stored in a specially built square granary whose 343
architectural design follows that of the house. Tobacco 249
and vegetables are usually planted during January af- 244
ter the harvest, in the *kaiñgins* where rice was grown.

When the woman wishes some rice to cook, she 252
threshes several bundles on a mat or skin with a club; 412

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After the death of one of their relatives, the Isneg also *lapatán* or taboo some of the coconut trees that belonged to the deceased. Such trees are easily recognizable, as one always finds a certain quantity of strips of bamboo or of thorny branches or of both, tied all around the tree, at the height of one's shoulders. I know of a couple of Iloko teachers who, knowing nothing about this custom, climbed a tabooed coconut tree, in order to drop down some of the fruits and eat them; unfortunately they were caught by the owners and got free only after the payment of a heavy fine. If they had been natives of the district, they would not have escaped so easily, although I doubt very much if an Isneg would ever dare break such a taboo.

Coconuts that have been gathered at the time of the owner's death are also declared taboo, and nobody is allowed to partake of them until the time of the *oboobat;* if no such ceremony takes place (which must be a rare contingency) the fruits are left to decay. At the time of the *oboobat*, however, they are declared *inúkas* or free, and everybody is allowed to consume them.

The following are the *lapat* or taboos that have to do with fishing:

1. It is usually forbidden to catch fish in that part of the river or brook that passes near the settlement in which a person died. This taboo is lifted only at the time of the *oboobat*. The tabooed section, which is said to be *mabalsiyán*, is marked off at both ends by green leafy canes of bamboo grass (Miscanthus sinensis) stuck in the bottom of the river or brook.

2. If the relatives of the deceased claim the exclusive right of fishing in a certain part of a river or brook, this section or *anáwan* remains tabooed until the *oboobat* or completion of the mourning period.

It is forbidden to work on two days, namely on the second day after the funeral, the *taribukdy*, and on the day following the *oboobat* ceremony. This obligatory rest is called *úlin*, and any work done on such a day is considered useless and inevitably subject to being completely spoiled.

A widow or widower is forbidden to visit the relatives of the deceased husband or wife for the whole period that elapses between burial and *oboobat*. Infringement of this taboo would cause the whole body of the culprit to swell up. The same punishment would be inflicted on a widow or widower who would dare eat mushrooms (*óon*) or *úbud* (young shoots of some palm trees, as the *aniboń* or fishtail palm, etc.).

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249 urged on not only by their offspring, but also by their own appetite, frequently cut down (*magtaggád*) one or more canes, which, divided (*tagtaggán*) into sections (*aṅtát*), are peeled by eager teeth and sucked by greedy mouths. To cut *unát* for the purpose of sucking out its juice is called *mambó*: this is never said of cutting something else or of cutting sugar cane for other purposes.

262 784 Sugar cane at which a wild cat (*múñaw*) has been gnawing, and hence called *minúñaw*, must not be sucked by married persons, especially when they have children. This taboo, however, does not extend to the other canes of the same plantation, nor to those that have been attacked by wild boars. A bunch (*búlig*) of bananas that has become *minúñaw* is tabooed in the same way, but, in this case, the whole bunch is tabooed, even though most of its fruits have escaped injury.

249 When the whole plantation has reached maturity (*taxunát*), the men go to the field and gather the crop (*manaxunát*), cutting the stalks one by one at the base, by means of a hatchet (*aliwá*).

482 All canes that are to be brought to the mill, are trimmed in such a way as to be all of the same length, and then bound into huge bundles. A pole (*alidugdúg*) is inserted into each bundle, to which it is tied in at least two places: this pole prevents the *unát* from moving to and fro and from protruding in all directions, when they are carried on the shoulders.

The aftermath of sugar cane (*pulpúl*) is left untouched until it has to make room for something else that will be planted in the same place.

5. BANANAS

245 Among the many varieties of bananas (*báxat*) that are cultivated by the Isneg, the following should be mentioned:

The *baláyaṅ* or *sabá* (Musa sapientum, L., var. compressa, Blanco): Skin thick, yellow; flattish; eaten raw or cooked; stalk tall.

The *baráñan* (var. lacatan, Blanco): Skin thick, yellow; meat yellow, fragrant; one of the most esteemed bananas.

The *binaṅá* (var. cinerea, Blanco): Skin thin, yellow; very much esteemed; setting the teeth on edge when not entirely ripe.

The *dokkasí*: Fruits very close together, as if bound into a tight package.

The *xubáw*: Skin thin, yellow; small; not much esteemed.

The *xúyud* or *laxúyud* (var. suaveolens, Blanco): Skin thick, greenish; meat fragrant.

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The *koxamán* or *ko-koxamán*: Skin thick, yellow; very large; eaten only when roasted.

The *lippokán*: Skin thin, greenish; very small, oval.

The *liwliwág* or *uliwag*: Skin thin, red; small, elongated, a little curved; meat reddish; stalk short, purple.

The *paiyáń*: Skin thick; very large, elongated; not much esteemed.

The *papuyán*: Skin thick, yellow; meat yellow, more or less sour.

The *paranán*: Skin thick, yellow; rather large; bunches very large; stalk very tall; leaves very large; not much esteemed.

The *sára*: Skin thin, purple; fruits considerably curved inwards; stalk purple.

The *tarakíta-*: Skin thick, yellow; small; eaten only when cooked.

The *tokkiyán*: Skin thin, yellow; small; not much esteemed.

The *toón*: Skin thin, yellow; resembling the *baráńan*, but larger; stalk very short.

To plant bananas, the Isneg remove (*magsí*) the suckers (*así*) that grow at the base of older plants, and merely transplant them at a distance of about ten feet from one another. The dry season should be chosen for this kind of work, because bananas transplanted at that time bear thick, fleshy fruits (*bílaltúg*), while banana suckers transplanted in the rainy season usually bear only small, thin fruits (*xararpét*).

After one year a transplanted banana bears its fruit and has a few young suckers growing at its base. The top (*púso*, "heart", or *púso báxat*) of the bunch or cluster of flowers never opens. The natives cut it off (*maxipúso*) and use the young flower buds for vegetables.

The bunch of fruits (*búlig*) [75] is cut (*mańbág, tabgán*) before the bananas are ripe enough to be eaten (when they are still *dupát*); therefore it has to be hung in the house (*mańlúto*) until the fruits are completely ripe (*nalúto*). Sometimes the hands (*sápad*; one hand: *tańasápad*) are separated (*magsápad*) from the bunch or *búlig* in order to lessen the difficulty of handling them.

To soften them more quickly the Isneg occasionally thrust single bananas (*dupát*) under the fire or in the ashes of the hearth. Bananas and sweet potatoes that have undergone this treatment are both called *linoóm*.

Fruits (bananas, papayas, etc.) that are nearly ripe, are called *sidaxán;* when they are completely ripe, they are said to be *nalúto*.

[75] One bunch: *tańabúlig; nibbubúlig*: bearing many fruits.

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251 Young banana leaves (*adṓn*) are used very extensively for wrapping
245 purposes, especially when things have to be kept fresh, for instance cooked rice, several kinds of viands, etc.

The men cut down (*lappadā́n, maglappā́d*) the leaves with the *aliwá* (hatchet) and gather (*manaxidṓn*) them.

Dry banana leaves (*arupā́t*) are used for wrapping all kinds of small objects.

245 A banana plantation where the leaves are all withered, is supposed
776 to be the abode of the spirit *Alḗxān*. For the rest, no harm is done, as she never attempts to destroy the fruits.

6. YAMS

244 The origin of yams or *úbi* (Dioscorea alata, L., D. pentaphylla, L.,
773 etc.) is authenticated among the Isneg by the following stories:

539 *Uwíl* from Bolo (O dialect, Main branch) told me this:
824

Ya nonōnná ńa úbi

The first yam

Kitó inumbét dató dódon kiddí itó nōnná ńa alxáw āwánda kanó ńa anán dató tólăy ta amminán dató dódon./ Kané āwánda ńa anán kitó mammínda ńa natā́y ináru-da ya anánā-dá séda ńa anán ăy imúlada to tabbít nató ababbíń./ Ăy to ya nagbalín ka úbi to ya nonōnná ńa úbi.

When the locusts came here in former days, the people, it is said, had nothing to eat, as the locusts consumed everything./ And when they had nothing to eat, so they would all be dead, they took out a part of their children's bodies, and they ate it, and they planted the flesh of the child./ And that became a yam: that is the first yam.

Another man related to me a similar story with reference to the *paddíg*-yam: it is very large, and its skin is very red; it looks as if it were bleeding. On a certain day, a mother took her babe as soon as it was born and cut it into pieces, which she buried in the ground. After a while they grew, and when the woman dug them up, they had become *paddíg*-yams. She cooked them, ate them, and found them to be a savory kind of food.

A different story is woven around the *dinampā́yā́n*, a kind of *lo-tó* (Dioscorea fasciculata, Roxb. and D. aculeata, L.). The *lo-tó* are small yams, whose meat is yellowish or white and very soft; their skin is thin and whitish or brown, and is easily peeled off when cooked; their vines and leaves are thorny. Formerly all *lo-tó* were soft

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249 (*magkaskás*) from the *agdĕrăyăn*-pole and then piled up (*magsaldít*) somewhere on the floor of the house, next to the wall, where they are left to cure. To keep the bulk (*saldít*) of tobacco leaves in place, a stick is fixed somewhere in the floor, and the bulk of tobacco finds its place between this stick on one side and the wall of the house on the other.

249 415 314 While the tobacco is curing, the men prepare (*mañolapí*) boxes (*kolapí*) for the final storage. These *kolapí*, which are as high as they are long and very narrow, are made from the bark of one or more of the following trees:

The *adaán*, a forest tree with large leaves.
The *ánut*, a forest tree whose timber is not much esteemed.
The *labdó*, mentioned before, when treating sugar cane.

Before storing (*ipintá-*) the hands of tobacco in the *kolapí*, the Isneg spread some *bánăy*-leaves on the bottom, to serve as a pad (*annáp*) and to cause the leaves to become red. The *bánăy* is a very tall zingiberaceous plant with white flowers and grows in thickets of bamboo grass and in waste places.

To cause the tobacco to appear very valuable to prospective buyers, some *taróyog* are mixed with the leaves stored in the *kolapí* (box). The *taróyog* is a low herb that grows in forested areas.

V. The Isneg Orchard

245 The Isneg have no idea of a real orchard as we understand it. Nevertheless there is no village, almost no house, where they have not at least a few coco palms growing on the grounds, which surround the house yard or the group of houses that constitute a village. To people who walk along a mountain path or paddle down a river on a canoe or a raft, these coco palms are very often visible from a great distance and are the surest sign of the actual or former existence of one or more habitations in their immediate neighborhood.

All fruit trees planted by the Isneg are to be found on the grounds just mentioned, but there is none more precious and more important to the inhabitants of Apayaw than the universally cultivated coco palm or *iyúg*.

245 824 539 As to the question of its introduction into Apayaw, let us listen to what *Lampá* from Dangla (O dialect, Main branch) has to tell us about it:

Naggăyatán năyá iyúg
Origin of the coconut

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To nōnná ńa alxáw ăy nagdallís nalnáp ńamin to alawaxán ńam āwán piám maiyúg kid apā́yaw,/ ńam ăy rā́nna la uwā́d da iyúg ga nillṓd./ Nasińán dató tólăy ḗluxānda ńa totó ńam bakkánda namálā-./ Nasińán din to kusá sinaluxā́nna séna iddán kadató tólăy séda imúla./ Tówin ya naggăyatā́n ńámin ńa iyúg./ Ńam xapó ta ipaanā́ńi dăyá kusá to nańalā́-da kitó nagdallísna kitó nōnná ńa alxáw séno atā́n ya mańallṓd ônó mańíxād mińirańiráw dăyá kusá maxáwāgda ka iyúg.

In former days the whole world was covered with a flood, but no coconuts were yet produced in Apayaw,/ but it happened that there was a coconut that floated down./ The men saw it, they really desired it, but they did not get it./ A cat saw it then, it got it swimming, then gives it to the men, then they plant it./ That is the origin of all the coconuts./ But, because the cats managed to take it out of the flood in former days, when somebody causes [coconuts] to float down or scrapes out coconut meat, the cats mew, they call the coconuts.

When somebody intends to plant coconuts, the first thing he has to do is to climb one or more of the trees and to detach (*mamúxāt, buxā́tan*) a certain amount of ripe nuts (*iyúg*), which are dropped on the ground and afterwards picked up; cracked ones of course are useless for this purpose. A man who has been roasting meat should abstain from gathering nuts (*manuxúnug*) for some time, lest the trees that grow from these nuts produce nothing else but fruits that wither before they are grown to maturity.

The nuts (*patúbo*) are tied without more ado to a pole that has been stuck somewhere in or near the house yard, in order to cause them to sprout (*mańarā́y* or *magpaarā́y*). There are very few houses in Apayaw in whose immediate neighborhood there is not to be found such a pole with its heap of dry coconuts. Here they are left until the shoots have attained a certain development and they are ready to be planted.

The meat of sprouting nuts (*arā́y*) that are in their first stage namely before the shell has been pierced, consists of a white spongy mass (*tobál*) that fills the whole nut and is considered as a great dainty.

To plant coconuts (*magtubáń*) the Isneg men dig holes in the ground, at a distance of at least fifteen feet (*dapán*) from one another. Then the man who does the actual planting proceeds in the following way:

First he loosens his G-string, because

nexát ya abā́g séno nasulít a bunutā́n

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245 *nakurkurây ya abâg seno nalapát a bunutân*
let the G-string be tight and it will be hard to unhusk [the nuts],
let the G-string be loose and it will be easy to unhusk [the nuts];
then he takes somebody on his back:

maxabbây ya magmúla séno adú ya bísi-na
let the planter carry somebody on the back and its fruits will be many;

and finally he places the *arây* (sprouting nut) in the hole without dropping his load.

In some districts, both men and women are allowed to plant coconuts and, instead of carrying a person, they merely encircle somebody's knees with one arm, while they use the other hand to drop the nut into the hole.

It takes a young coco palm (*tubáñ*, so called even when it starts bearing fruit) some ten years before it bears fruit, but after that it never stops: as soon as the nuts are ripening, a fresh raceme of flowers (*burâyo-*) is produced.

A good many of the *bubulitañ* (very young fruits) drop down before they reach a diameter of five inches; but there is always a sufficient number of them that finish their stages from *apâpa* (before any meat has formed inside) to *sipañ*, and from *sípañ* (healthy young nut) to full growth.

In order to prevent the nuts from being stolen, *añlisít* is placed in the coconut grove: it causes the man who dares to climb a tree without permission, to fall down without having attained his object. The *añlisít* is a low herb that grows on damp rocks.

The generality of the nuts are *batú*, that is, their meat is hard when it is fully ripe. Occasionally you may find a *lúpug*, a nut whose meat always remains soft; but, if you look up and examine the nuts before you climb a tree, you will never be able to come upon a *lúpug*. The meat of these *lúpug* is very much esteemed, and besides, when consumed by a deaf person, it cures him.

It requires more than a little dexterity to tear off the husk (*bunút*) of a coconut, whether green (*dapidâp*) or dry, and people who are not used to it, can hardly expect to do it, even though they have the best possible hatchet at their disposal.

Coconuts are usually tied to one another two by two by means of a part of the husk that has been partially torn loose from both. Two pairs of coconuts form one *sipúl* (*tañasipúl*).

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The tawny nestlike appendages situated at the base of the leaf of the coco palm, are called *appit*. 245

Among the several varieties of *iyúg*, two are especially remarkable:

The *xana-nát*: It is very much esteemed; its nuts contain abundant milk and their meat remains comparatively soft even when completely ripe.

The *pokópo-* or *paxópo-*: Its fruits are rarely numerous, and they can generally be reached without climbing the tree, as the latter never grows very tall.

Besides the coco palm, the Isneg cultivate many other fruit trees, usually on the same grounds. These are of much less importance, however, than the coco palm, and so I shall merely enumerate them and add a few details whenever necessary or advisable. 245 824

The *lumbán* or *dommón* (Citrus decumana, Murr.), pomelo.

The *kuttáy* (Citrus aurantium, L.), orange.

The *kakíl* (from the Spanish *cajel*, "a kind of orange") or *arañxíta* (from the Spanish *naranjita*, "small orange"), a variety of small orange.

The *alolonsít*, *kalomansi*, *kalamansít* (none of them genuine Isneg terms) or *daláyap ári* (literally: king's *daláyap*), (Citrus mitis, Blanco): A variety of lime, yellow when ripe.

The *balás* or *daláyap* (Citrus lima, Lunan), a small variety of lemon.

The *usíwa*, a small variety of lemon, larger than the *daláyap*; yellow when ripe.

The *aroñroñót*, a variety of lemon, as large as a small orange, with very rough peel, yellow when ripe.

The *ximmá*, a variety of very large citron, more or less globose, yellow when ripe.

The *paká-* (Artocarpus communis, Forst.), breadfruit.

The *anañká* (Artocarpus integrifolia, L.f.), jack.

The *mañgá* or *amañgá* (Mangifera indica, L.), mango.

The *kardowćlas* (from the Spanish *ciruela*, "plum"), (Spondias purpurea, L.), ciruela, a plumlike fruit.

The *kapáya* (Carica papaya, L.), papaya or papaw.

The *lumbóy* or *loñbóy* (Eugenia jambolana, Lam.), Java plum or jambool. The infusion obtained from its bark is drunk as a remedy for dysentery.

The *makópa* (Diospyros discolor, Willd.), mabolo. Fruit globose, fleshy, densely covered with hairs; stones two.

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245 824 The *santól* or *santór* (Sandoricum koetjape [Burm.f.] Merr.), sandal tree. Fruit globose, yellowish; pericarp thick; seeds large, surrounded by a soft, translucent or pale, edible, acid pulp.

The *piyát* (Averrhoa bilimbi, L.). Its acid fruit is edible and much used for condiments.

The *ulilíb*, growing wild and occasionally cultivated: A large tree, whose edible fruits, when ripe, consist in a yellow drupe, the size of a small tomato (globose variety), and contain two stones.

The Isneg have several ways of gathering fruits from a tree. Whenever possible of course they simply pick them from below; otherwise they either climb the tree or shake it (*xoyyowán* or *yagyaggán*). Sometimes they use a *raxúd*, a stick or bamboo provided with a hook, whether natural or artificial, in order to detach the fruits (*magdo-dó-*) and cause them to drop down. Finally they get some fruits by throwing a stick through the crown of a tree.

Fruits are gathered in the same way, whether one or more are picked (*magpannát*) for present use, or all of them are harvested at once (*magdakná-*).

A fruit that has been overlooked and is left on the tree is called a *kátat*.

VI. Other Plants

Here follows a list of trees, shrubs and herbs that are cultivated by the Isneg and have been omitted in the preceding treatment of the garden and the orchard. Most of them are planted somewhere at the outskirts of the village or around the house yard, like the coco palm and other fruit trees; but I thought it better to treat them separately, because, either they are not trees at all, or else they could hardly be counted as fruit trees in the strict sense of the word. Some of the herbs are found occasionally in the *kadánan* (garden), but this is rather exceptional.

Cultivated for culinary purposes

241 824 The *marońgáy* (Moringa oleifera, Lam.), horse-radish tree. Its leaves and fruits are used for vegetables.

262 The *katúdăy* or *kasúdăy* (Sesbania grandiflora [L.] Pers.). Flowers and pods are used for vegetables.

[263] The *salamági* (Tamarindus indica, L.), tamarind. Its pods are used for condiments.

The vegetables may be: tomatoes, egg- 262
plants, squash, peppers, corn, beans, camote, gabi, or [244
yams. Fruits may be: bananas, coconuts, pineapples, 245]
jack fruit, oranges, lemons, guavas, melons, *lucban*, [272]
mangoes, or papaya. The beverages may be: coffee, [263]
cocoa, or water. Honey is included in the diet. From 276
sugar cane are produced candied fruits and vegetables, molasses, *basi*, and vinegar. A strong tobacco is raised and smoked—sometimes in a small pipe; but generally one leaf is rolled into a small cigar. Both men and women smoke. Boys and girls start smoking at an early age.

In growing these things, the people do not use ir- 311
rigation; but follow the *kaĩñgin* method of farming. 241
A suitable piece of wild land is selected. The vegetation [312]
is cut down, allowed to dry, and then burnt. Seeds are planted in the ashen earth by making a hole with a sharp stick and dropping a seed in it The plot is [417]
is enclosed with a bamboo fence. The men clear and [462]
fence the land, while the women do much of the rest of the work. In two years the soil has become leached and packed by the heavy tropical rains and so sterile that a new *kaiñgin* is made elsewhere.

The rice is an upland variety which does not re- 243
quire much water. The seeds are planted during the beginning of the rainy season in April and May. When ripe, the heads are cut off by hand, using a miniature *aliwa*. These heads are gathered into bundles, tied, and [25]
then stored in a specially built square granary whose 343]
architectural design follows that of the house. Tobacco 249
and vegetables are usually planted during January af- 244
ter the harvest, in the *kaiñgins* where rice was grown.

When the woman wishes some rice to cook, she 252
threshes several bundles on a mat or skin with a club; 412

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corn, but here it is usually reenforced with a *balakkuwít* (hoops of strips of bamboo).

Tobacco is sown in January or February, transplanted in March or April, and picked in April or May.

Tobacco seeds are sown (*magbonóbon*) in a small plot of ground set apart for the purpose. While the seeds are sprouting and the seedlings (*bonóbon*) are growing, the Isneg have ample time to prepare the field (*magbakáń*).

Besides the observation of the size of the seedlings, the natives possess a *taxímmatón* or sign for transplanting tobacco in the ripening of the small red fruits of the *diñánăy*, a herbaceous vine found all over the district.

When the time for transplantation has come, the seedlings are grubbed up (*magba-dút*) and brought to the *bakáń*. Here they are thrust into holes (*magtuná-*) bored in the ground mostly by means of the *itutuná-* (dibble). Whenever possible the Isneg women use *itutuná-* made from *tálań* (pitch pine), because its sweet odor is supposed to influence the aroma of the tobacco.

One or more of the following amulets should be placed next to the first seedling (*bonóbon*) that is being transplanted (*magtuná-*):

Apnás: A very low herb with round leaves; it grows almost anywhere.

Aróro-: A herb, some twelve inches tall, with small glossy entire leaves; it is found in rocky places.

Dalímag: A low herb; it grows in gardens.

Branches of *subrăy*, a shrub with yellow-and-green leaves; it is cultivated for ornamental purposes.

Taxibáńon (incorrectly *taximbáńon*), *tagabáńon* (Bayag pronunciation) or *báńon*: An amaranthaceous herb, some three feet tall, with dark-red leaves, light-red underneath. It is cultivated for ornamental purposes, and planted (not simply placed) next to the first *bonóbon* in order to cause the tobacco leaves to take on the same hue and the stalks to grow strong. The same names sometimes refer to another amaranthaceous herb with small leaves of different colors, red, green and white, also cultivated and used for the same purposes, ornamental and magical.

To protect the tender seedlings from the scorching heat of the sun, they are covered with leaves of the *anitáp*, or, in places where the *anitáp* is taboo, they are surrounded by short sections of canes of

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bamboo grass stuck in the ground in a slanting way. The *anitâp* is a very common tree; its flowers are white.

It is customary to place *xappidân* next to the last *bonóbon* (seedling) that has been transplanted, so that the tobacco may reach a strong and healthy growth. The *xappidân* is a herb, some eight inches tall; it is found in forested areas.

Other amulets that may be used in the *bakân* (tobacco field) are:

Leaves of the *dañlá* (Cordyline terminalis [L.] Kunth.), the ti or palm lily, on account of their red color. The ti or palm lily is much used all over the Mountain Province in connection with pagan sacrifices, and the leaves play a prominent part in the ornaments displayed by dancers.

Talimáñāg (Clerodendron sp.), a tall herb with beautiful red flowers and round leaves, growing in forested areas. It causes the tobacco leaves to become red when they are mature.

Padâyaw: A herb, some eight inches tall, found in forests. It causes people to admire and praise (*dāyáwan*) the tobacco.

Dalúyāg: A low herb, growing almost anywhere. It prevents the tobacco from being attacked by harmful insects and worms.

If, nevertheless, the tobacco field has been invaded by worms, one must have recourse to the *amrâs* to drive them away. The *amrâs* is a small herb with blue flowers; it has a very offensive smell and grows almost in any place.

Tobacco is one of the few products exported by the Isneg on a large scale and it is comparatively little used for home consumption: indeed, chewing betel is much more common than smoking. It is frequently resorted to, however, for poisoning fish, and so even low grades of tobacco are sometimes encountered in the *bakân*, for instance the *damêro*, a variety with large leaves, not much esteemed for smoking purposes.

When the tobacco has almost attained its full growth, the Isneg prune the stalks (*magkapún*), nipping off the buds that grow in the axils, and the younger leaves, in order to improve the quality of the older leaves.

As soon as a certain amount of leaves are completely mature, they are culled (*magátu*) by the women, who pick them with their fingers.

The first leaves to be gathered are the lower ones, the *anây*, which are not much esteemed: they rarely affect a smoker with giddiness. The *palâyug*, growing higher up, are considered the best.

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244 *Kamusí* may be planted in June, July or August, and it takes the tubers three months to develop.

To plant sweet potatoes, the Isneg woman first gathers (*maggásad*) a certain amount of *kamusí*-vines (*zásad*), and then sticks them in holes made in the ground by means of the *paló-* (hoe) or of some kind of a dibble.

They need almost no care, and when the vines have produced young shoots (*otóń*) the tips of the latter are gathered (*manaxiotóń*; said also of cowpeas) for vegetables.

As soon as the tubers are sufficiently developed, the Isneg women start gathering them (*magkamusí*), according to their needs. The *kamusí* of a given field are rarely dug up (*ragkatán*; said also of yams, not of taro) all at a time.

Very few varieties are known. Here are the names of some of them:

The *kamusí áto* (literally: dog's sweet potato): Not much esteemed; its color resembles that of the yolk of an egg.

The *kamusí ilóko* (literally: Iloko's sweet potato): Good, even when eaten raw, but rather watery; its color is yellow.

The *pusiná-*: Very much esteemed; it is white, inside and outside.

4. SUGAR CANE

● 249 The Isneg plant sugar cane (*unát*), either to have a supply at hand for sucking the juice (*mańús*) from the culms, or to use it for the preparation of *básІ* (an alcoholic beverage used very extensively) or sugar (less frequently). A single stalk, whether in the *kọ́natán* (field of sugar cane) or near the house yard, is a *palbón*.

To plant sugar cane (*magtálad*), the Isneg first gather (*maxańtát*) a certain amount of *ańtát* (a section of a culm), obtained by lopping (*tagtaggán*) with a hatchet (*aliwá*) the leafy tops of the stalks. Then the women go to the field, armed with a *paló-* (hoe) or a dibble (*saguwá-* or *itutuná-*), make holes in the ground, and in each of these stick (*sulsúlan*) one cutting (*tálad*). Both *ańtát* and *sappí* (a sucker that grows at the base of a stalk) may be used for cuttings (*tálad*).

To make sure that the canes grow tall, a *labátag* is placed next to the first *tálad* (cutting) that is confided to the soil. The *labátag* is a herbaceous vine, with large round leaves, climbing on trees.

When the women come home after the first day of planting, they are not allowed to touch *báńa*-jars until the next morning.

The most important varieties of *unát* (sugar cane) cultivated by the Isneg are:

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The *baíyan*: Light-yellow skin, very tall, with large internodes. 249

The *bulálaw*: Light-yellow skin, the largest variety known in Apayaw.

The *buríkān*: Dark-violet skin with light spots, very thick.

The *lapítān*: Light-violet skin.

The *loób* (pronounced *lóog* in Dangla): Similar to the preceding, but harder.

The *mommoná-*: Green skin, very tall.

The *saxádaw*: Yellow skin, very sweet.

The *síal unát*: Very slender, resembling the *síal* (Saccharum spontaneum, L.) in stalk and leaves.

As soon as the sugar cane has reached a certain height, the Isneg, more careful in this than are a good many other natives of the islands, bind the culms, lest they fall on the ground and their growth be impeded. This is done by men, and they proceed in one of the following ways:

They stick (*magbalutá-*) a prop (*balutá-*) of wood (sometimes a sapling) or bamboo in the ground in a convenient place, and tie (*maggabán*) the nearest stalks of sugar cane, several at a time, to the *balutá-* by means of strings (*xabán*).

They bind (*maggabán*) several stalks of sugar cane, without the use of a *balutá-*.

Strings that are very convenient for the purpose, are obtained from the bark of the *labdó*, a very common tree whose flower heads resemble the young globose fruits of the wild tomato.

To insure the rapid growth of the sugar cane, the Isneg place *alinuwauwáy* next to the first group of stalks they bind. The *alinuwauwáy* is a small zingiberaceous plant, with white flowers, climbing on trees.

When the sugar cane has almost reached its full maturity, all dry leaves (called *rámat*, when detached from the stalk) are torn off (*magrámat*). If the upper nodes (*bokó*) cannot be reached from the ground, the Isneg make use of a *saxakád*, which consists of three sticks bound in such a way as to suggest a stack of rifles and fixed in the ground.

A plantation of sugar cane is rarely kept intact until the end. Besides wild boars and wild cats, who are uncommonly fond of the sweet culms, the boys of the neighborhood use every opportunity for pilfering away an occasional stalk, in order to indulge in their favorite pastime of *mańús* (chewing sugar cane). The owners themselves,

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urged on not only by their offspring, but also by their own appetite, frequently cut down (*magtaggád*) one or more canes, which, divided (*tagtaggán*) into sections (*aṅtát*), are peeled by eager teeth and sucked by greedy mouths. To cut *unát* for the purpose of sucking out its juice is called *mambó*: this is never said of cutting something else or of cutting sugar cane for other purposes.

Sugar cane at which a wild cat (*múṅaw*) has been gnawing, and hence called *minúṅaw*, must not be sucked by married persons, especially when they have children. This taboo, however, does not extend to the other canes of the same plantation, nor to those that have been attacked by wild boars. A bunch (*búlig*) of bananas that has become *minúṅaw* is tabooed in the same way, but, in this case, the whole bunch is tabooed, even though most of its fruits have escaped injury.

When the whole plantation has reached maturity (*taxunát*), the men go to the field and gather the crop (*manaxunát*), cutting the stalks one by one at the base, by means of a hatchet (*aliwá*).

All canes that are to be brought to the mill, are trimmed in such a way as to be all of the same length, and then bound into huge bundles. A pole (*alidugdúg*) is inserted into each bundle, to which it is tied in at least two places: this pole prevents the *unát* from moving to and fro and from protruding in all directions, when they are carried on the shoulders.

The aftermath of sugar cane (*pulpúl*) is left untouched until it has to make room for something else that will be planted in the same place.

5. BANANAS

Among the many varieties of bananas (*báxat*) that are cultivated by the Isneg, the following should be mentioned:

The *baláyaṅ* or *sabá* (Musa sapientum, L., var. compressa, Blanco): Skin thick, yellow; flattish; eaten raw or cooked; stalk tall.

The *baráṅan* (var. lacatan, Blanco): Skin thick, yellow; meat yellow, fragrant; one of the most esteemed bananas.

The *binaṅá* (var. cinerea, Blanco): Skin thin, yellow; very much esteemed; setting the teeth on edge when not entirely ripe.

The *dokkasí*: Fruits very close together, as if bound into a tight package.

The *xubáw*: Skin thin, yellow; small; not much esteemed.

The *xúyud* or *laxúyud* (var. suaveolens, Blanco): Skin thick, greenish; meat fragrant.

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241 The *laññá* (Sesamum orientale, L.), sesame or benne. Cultivated 824 for its seeds (*bokál*).

262 The *agláy* (Coix lachryma-jobi, L.), Job's-tears. A variety with edible young capsules that are much elongated.

The *naññá, bannuwáñ* or *sábug* (Setaria italica, Beauv.), Italian millet. It is considered as good luck to find seeds (*bokál*) with two or three (instead of one) eyes or hila.

The *baxinát* (Andropogon sorghum [L.] Brot.), sorghum.

The *kumáyo* (Manihot utilissima, Pohl.), cassava, manioc or tapioca plant.

The *lampákan*, a plant resembling the taro. Its branchy rhizome is edible.

The *baxáñ*, probably Tacca sp. Cultivated for its edible roots.

The *basáñ* (Zingiber officinale, Rosc.), ginger.

The *sagó* (Maranta arundinacea, L.), arrowroot.

The *lasoná* (Allium cepa, L.), onion.

[263] The *báwañ* (Allium sativum, L.), garlic.

The *piniyá* or *apiniyá* (from the Spanish *piña*), (Ananassa sativa, [283] Lindl.), pineapple. The fibres of its leaves are used for strings. Its suckers (one on top, several at the base) are called *piñpiñ*.

IV. The Tobacco Field

247 Gardens and tobacco (*tabáko*, from the Spanish *tabaco*) fields (*bakáñ*) are both prepared from old rice fields, but, in the case of the *bakáñ*, the level parts are usually preferred; and so the term *maxónut* for "clearing a level plot of ground" is also the common term for "clearing the *bakáñ*".

The term *magkípug* for "weeding" has exactly the same meaning here as when it is used in connection with the *kadánan* (garden). It is customary, however, to remove as much as possible all trees and stumps of trees that were left in the field, when former crops were raised: this work is called *magkusáp*. Felling trees for timber is *magkallán*.

The biggest difference between a *kadánan* (garden) and a tobacco field is the absence of a regular fence around the latter. Its only protection against the inroads of animals is the *dal-át* or heap of rubbish, that consists mostly of weeds and canes proceeding from the surrounding grounds and piled up all around. The same contrivance is occasionally resorted to in the case of fields planted with Indian

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corn, but here it is usually reenforced with a *balakkuwit* (hoops of strips of bamboo).

Tobacco is sown in January or February, transplanted in March or April, and picked in April or May.

Tobacco seeds are sown (*magbonóbon*) in a small plot of ground set apart for the purpose. While the seeds are sprouting and the seedlings (*bonóbon*) are growing, the Isneg have ample time to prepare the field (*magbakáń*).

Besides the observation of the size of the seedlings, the natives possess a *taxímmatón* or sign for transplanting tobacco in the ripening of the small red fruits of the *diñánay*, a herbaceous vine found all over the district.

When the time for transplantation has come, the seedlings are grubbed up (*magba-dút*) and brought to the *bakáń*. Here they are thrust into holes (*magtuná-*) bored in the ground mostly by means of the *itutuná-* (dibble). Whenever possible the Isneg women use *itutuná-* made from *tálań* (pitch pine), because its sweet odor is supposed to influence the aroma of the tobacco.

One or more of the following amulets should be placed next to the first seedling (*bonóbon*) that is being transplanted (*magtuná-*):

Apnás: A very low herb with round leaves; it grows almost anywhere.

Aróro-: A herb, some twelve inches tall, with small glossy entire leaves; it is found in rocky places.

Dalímag: A low herb; it grows in gardens.

Branches of *subráy*, a shrub with yellow-and-green leaves; it is cultivated for ornamental purposes.

Taxibáńon (incorrectly *taximbáńon*), *tagabáńon* (Bayag pronunciation) or *báńon*: An amaranthaceous herb, some three feet tall, with dark-red leaves, light-red underneath. It is cultivated for ornamental purposes, and planted (not simply placed) next to the first *bonóbon* in order to cause the tobacco leaves to take on the same hue and the stalks to grow strong. The same names sometimes refer to another amaranthaceous herb with small leaves of different colors, red, green and white, also cultivated and used for the same purposes, ornamental and magical.

To protect the tender seedlings from the scorching heat of the sun, they are covered with leaves of the *anitáp*, or, in places where the *anitáp* is taboo, they are surrounded by short sections of canes of

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bamboo grass stuck in the ground in a slanting way. The *anitáp* is a very common tree; its flowers are white.

It is customary to place *xappidán* next to the last *bonóbon* (seedling) that has been transplanted, so that the tobacco may reach a strong and healthy growth. The *xappidán* is a herb, some eight inches tall; it is found in forested areas.

Other amulets that may be used in the *bakáu* (tobacco field) are:

Leaves of the *daúlá* (Cordyline terminalis [L.] Kunth.), the ti or palm lily, on account of their red color. The ti or palm lily is much used all over the Mountain Province in connection with pagan sacrifices, and the leaves play a prominent part in the ornaments displayed by dancers.

Talimúñay (Clerodendron sp.), a tall herb with beautiful red flowers and round leaves, growing in forested areas. It causes the tobacco leaves to become red when they are mature.

Padáyaw: A herb, some eight inches tall, found in forests. It causes people to admire and praise (*dāyáwan*) the tobacco.

Dalúyāy: A low herb, growing almost anywhere. It prevents the tobacco from being attacked by harmful insects and worms.

If, nevertheless, the tobacco field has been invaded by worms, one must have recourse to the *amrás* to drive them away. The *amrás* is a small herb with blue flowers; it has a very offensive smell and grows almost in any place.

Tobacco is one of the few products exported by the Isneg on a large scale and it is comparatively little used for home consumption: indeed, chewing betel is much more common than smoking. It is frequently resorted to, however, for poisoning fish, and so even low grades of tobacco are sometimes encountered in the *bakán*, for instance the *daméro*, a variety with large leaves, not much esteemed for smoking purposes.

When the tobacco has almost attained its full growth, the Isneg prune the stalks (*magkapún*), nipping off the buds that grow in the axils, and the younger leaves, in order to improve the quality of the older leaves.

As soon as a certain amount of leaves are completely mature, they are culled (*magátu*) by the women, who pick them with their fingers. The first leaves to be gathered are the lower ones, the *anáy*, which are not much esteemed: they rarely affect a smoker with giddiness. The *palâyug*, growing higher up, are considered the best.

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Tobacco leaves are always brought home by the women in huge baskets (*rañáya*), and piled up in some convenient place on the floor of the house, where very soon they will be submitted to further manipulations. When men carry tobacco leaves from one place to another, they make use of a *balitáñ*, lest they spoil them. The *balitáñ* is a device more or less in the shape of a hammock and consists of five sticks and a number of strips of bamboo: two St. Andrew's crosses (four sticks) are tied at the center to either end of a stick (the fifth one), and the strips of bamboo, running in the direction of the central stick, are tied at either end to the upper half of both crosses, covering the latter from one tip to the other. The *balitáñ* may be carried on the shoulders or set down on the ground (only the tips of the two lower halves of both crosses touching the ground) without danger of crushing any of the leaves.

While the women are busy bringing in the leaves, the men prepare strips of rattan, which they cut to a point at one end and provide with a knot at the other, and gather a few poles of light bamboo or bolo (*manaxiagdĕrăyān*: to gather bamboo poles for this purpose). Then both men and women cut off (*maxánit*) lengthwise a section of the lower part of the petiole of each tobacco leaf, by means of an *aliwá* (hatchet) or an *ikó*-knife. Hands of tobacco are prepared by spitting (*magkásip* or *magtabbá-*) the leaves, at the reduced end of the petiole, upon a pointed strip of rattan, pushing them all the time toward the knot at the other end of the latter.

Tobacco leaves are hung up to dry either in the house, under the roof, or else outside if the weather permits.

The hands of tobacco are hung (*magdĕrăy*) by the center on bamboo poles (*agdĕrăyān*), that rest at one end on one of the shorter tiebeams (the *sakkár*) of the house, and at the other on a pole that crosses the house and rests at either end on one of the longer tiebeams of the house. The hands are always kept at a reasonable distance from one another, so as to allow them to dry easily. They must be left like that (*dinĕrăy*) until they are completely dry (*maxáño*), because tobacco leaves that are not entirely dry (*asál*), get spoiled if they are piled up into bulks. The poles with the hands (*dinĕrăy*) attached to them are easily transferred from one place to another if necessary.

After the leaves have been thoroughly dried, and they happen to be too brittle to be piled up immediately, it is advisable to hang them outside for a while in the evening (*ilpáat*) so that they become soft.

The hands that are ready to be placed in bulks, are first taken off

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(*magkaskás*) from the *agdĕrăyān*-pole and then piled up (*magsaldit*) somewhere on the floor of the house, next to the wall, where they are left to cure. To keep the bulk (*saldit*) of tobacco leaves in place, a stick is fixed somewhere in the floor, and the bulk of tobacco finds its place between this stick on one side and the wall of the house on the other.

While the tobacco is curing, the men prepare (*mañolapí*) boxes (*kolapí*) for the final storage. These *kolapí*, which are as high as they are long and very narrow, are made from the bark of one or more of the following trees:

The *adaán*, a forest tree with large leaves.
The *ánut*, a forest tree whose timber is not much esteemed.
The *labdó*, mentioned before, when treating sugar cane.

Before storing (*ipintá-*) the hands of tobacco in the *kolapí*, the Isneg spread some *bánăy*-leaves on the bottom, to serve as a pad (*annăp*) and to cause the leaves to become red. The *bánăy* is a very tall zingiberaceous plant with white flowers and grows in thickets of bamboo grass and in waste places.

To cause the tobacco to appear very valuable to prospective buyers, some *taróyog* are mixed with the leaves stored in the *kolapí* (box). The *taróyog* is a low herb that grows in forested areas.

V. The Isneg Orchard

The Isneg have no idea of a real orchard as we understand it. Nevertheless there is no village, almost no house, where they have not at least a few coco palms growing on the grounds, which surround the house yard or the group of houses that constitute a village. To people who walk along a mountain path or paddle down a river on a canoe or a raft, these coco palms are very often visible from a great distance and are the surest sign of the actual or former existence of one or more habitations in their immediate neighborhood.

All fruit trees planted by the Isneg are to be found on the grounds just mentioned, but there is none more precious and more important to the inhabitants of Apayaw than the universally cultivated coco palm or *iyúg*.

As to the question of its introduction into Apayaw, let us listen to what *Lampá* from Dangla (O dialect, Main branch) has to tell us about it:

Naggăyatán năyá iyúg
Origin of the coconut

The vegetables may be: tomatoes, egg- 262
plants, squash, peppers, corn, beans, camote, gabi, or [244
yams. Fruits may be: bananas, coconuts, pineapples, 245]
jack fruit, oranges, lemons, guavas, melons, *lucban*, [272]
mangoes, or papaya. The beverages may be: coffee, [263]
cocoa, or water. Honey is included in the diet. From
sugar cane are produced candied fruits and vegetables, 276
molasses, *basi*, and vinegar. A strong tobacco is raised
and smoked—sometimes in a small pipe; but generally
one leaf is rolled into a small cigar. Both men and
women smoke. Boys and girls start smoking at an
early age.

In growing these things, the people do not use ir- 311
rigation; but follow the *kaiñgin* method of farming. 241
A suitable piece of wild land is selected. The vegetation [312]
is cut down, allowed to dry, and then burnt. Seeds
are planted in the ashen earth by making a hole with
a sharp stick and dropping a seed in it The plot is [317]
is enclosed with a bamboo fence. The men clear and [462]
fence the land, while the women do much of the rest
of the work. In two years the soil has become leached
and packed by the heavy tropical rains and so sterile
that a new *kaiñgin* is made elsewhere.

The rice is an upland variety which does not re- 243
quire much water. The seeds are planted during the
beginning of the rainy season in April and May. When
ripe, the heads are cut off by hand, using a miniature
aliwa. These heads are gathered into bundles, tied, and [25]
then stored in a specially built square granary whose 343]
architectural design follows that of the house. Tobacco 249
and vegetables are usually planted during January af- 244
ter the harvest, in the *kaiñgins* where rice was grown.

When the woman wishes some rice to cook, she 252
threshes several bundles on a mat or skin with a club; 412

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The laziness of the Isneg man has become almost proverbial in Apayaw; he resents it of course, but what can be done about it? The Isneg are living in one of the richest provinces of the Philippines agriculturally, and nevertheless these last years, famine has desolated the land at every turn.

Once while at Alumani, I went to visit a few friends: three of them, the father and his two sturdy sons, the older one a widower, the younger one a bachelor, were living together in a house surrounded by the most fertile fields imaginable; and still they complained and said that they were starving to death, because there were no women to till the soil.

The year 1928 was a lean one almost all over the province, but Karagawan men preferred to squat down in their houses and feed on the flowers of the coconut tree rather than come to Kabugaw and earn a ganta (three liters) of rice a day by doing work that could easily be done by boys of twelve years of age: this work was too hard for them.

About the same time I had to go to Bayag, which is some forty miles distant from Kabugaw, a two days' walk. I sent my carriers one day ahead and gave them rations of rice for two days, in order to preclude any excuse for their not reaching their destination at least at the same time as myself. The next day I met the fellows about noon, sitting in a little hut some ten miles from home and cooking their last meal but one. Having rice they did not care for anything else. They had passed a day and a half walking ten miles, cooking rice, chewing betel nut, and . . . resting.

I could adduce a score of examples like this, all from personal experience. But after all why should we blame the Isneg for it? They were reared in years of plenty, when the smallest amount of work brought the largest possible returns; at the beginning of the lean years they consumed all the rice that had been hoarded up for years; and now the hard times have come: when a tree has been growing in a slanting direction for several years, can you make it lean to the other side in its old age? The Bontok Igorot is industrious and always ready to handle a job that may bring him some money; but he is living among rocks and cliffs, where even weeds and grasses refuse to thrive. The Isneg on the contrary are living in an exceedingly fertile country: up to recent times their district was closed to the outside world for lack of roads, and this prevented them from conducting active trade on any large scale and from selling the surplus

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461 of their products to the members of other tribes living in less favored
251 surroundings. Why should they have worked for things with which
433 they could do nothing? Add to this that their needs have always
487 been so very small that they would not have known what to do with
152 the money that would have been given them in exchange for their crops.

It may perhaps be hoped that the members of the younger generation will be less deserving of the reputation of laziness rightly affixed to the Isneg name, as they have never seen the fat years of their fathers, and so will more or less become inured to hard work. But when the years of plenty are again at the door, will they resist the temptation of resting from their exertions? Civilization is bringing them new needs, and roads are being opened to allow them to get rid advantageously of their superfluous crops: so there may be change.

461 On one of my first visits to Nagbabalayan, I was sitting one evening
152 with a large group of Isneg, old and young, on the porch of the teacher's house. It was dark, and the Isneg were asking questions about sun and moon, about light and darkness, etc. So it happened in the course of the conversation that I referred to the protracted darkness of the regions around the poles, where the sun would not rise for months at a time. On hearing this, a young Isneg man, quite exultant at the prospect, exclaimed with enthusiasm: "What a fine thing! Not to have to work for months! I wish we were living in a place like that". That's the Isneg; how he would curse old Adam, if he could but read the first chapters of Genesis.

152 The Isneg are also very easily dejected in time of sickness, and at the approach of any kind of hardship. The Karagawan case just mentioned would perhaps better have been placed here: it was really a case of utter dejection on account of the terrible famine that desolated their settlement, a thing they had never yet experienced in their whole life.

A few months ago I went down the Apayaw, and at a certain moment one of my rowers inadvertently cut himself with a headax that was lying on the bottom of the canoe: the wound was not at all serious, but the man lost a good amount of blood. For more than an hour he remained sitting in the boat without moving his oar, his face the picture of utter woe and desolation: you might have thought he was in a dying condition. He arose from his stupor and was his old self again only a long time after the blood had stopped flowing. Avoidance of hardship, not endurance, is a part of the Isneg system; hence their poor resistance to the blows of an adverse fortune.

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After the death of one of their relatives, the Isneg also *lapatán* or taboo some of the coconut trees that belonged to the deceased. Such trees are easily recognizable, as one always finds a certain quantity of strips of bamboo or of thorny branches or of both, tied all around the tree, at the height of one's shoulders. I know of a couple of Iloko teachers who, knowing nothing about this custom, climbed a tabooed coconut tree, in order to drop down some of the fruits and eat them; unfortunately they were caught by the owners and got free only after the payment of a heavy fine. If they had been natives of the district, they would not have escaped so easily, although I doubt very much if an Isneg would ever dare break such a taboo.

Coconuts that have been gathered at the time of the owner's death are also declared taboo, and nobody is allowed to partake of them until the time of the *obóbāt;* if no such ceremony takes place (which must be a rare contingency) the fruits are left to decay. At the time of the *obóbāt*, however, they are declared *inúkas* or free, and everybody is allowed to consume them.

The following are the *lapāt* or taboos that have to do with fishing:

1. It is usually forbidden to catch fish in that part of the river or brook that passes near the settlement in which a person died. This taboo is lifted only at the time of the *obóbāt*. The tabooed section, which is said to be *mabalsiyán*, is marked off at both ends by green leafy canes of bamboo grass (Miscanthus sinensis) stuck in the bottom of the river or brook.

2. If the relatives of the deceased claim the exclusive right of fishing in a certain part of a river or brook, this section or *anáwań* remains tabooed until the *obóbāt* or completion of the mourning period.

It is forbidden to work on two days, namely on the second day after the funeral, the *taribukáy*, and on the day following the *obóbāt* ceremony. This obligatory rest is called *úlin*, and any work done on such a day is considered useless and inevitably subject to being completely spoiled.

A widow or widower is forbidden to visit the relatives of the deceased husband or wife for the whole period that elapses between burial and *obóbāt*. Infringement of this taboo would cause the whole body of the culprit to swell up. The same punishment would be inflicted on a widow or widower who would dare eat mushrooms (*óoń*) or *úbud* (young shoots of some palm trees, as the *aníboń* or fishtail palm, etc.).

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of the soil that are cultivated among the Isneg. This little treatise on Isneg agriculture might have been written by a native, as I try to put myself as much as possible in the place of the Isneg.

I. Isneg Farming in General

It is freely stated all over Apayaw that, in former times, rice was always abundant in each and every village. Not to have old rice (*kópag*) in store, meaning "rice that had been reaped one or more years previously",[1] was the exception rather than the rule; and there were always in existence a goodly number of granaries where rice was kept that had been harvested up to four years back.

A famine (*dasmág* or *ulát*), under the circumstances, might be called an unknown entity, were it not that *dasmág* and *ulát* are genuine Isneg terms, and so that the thing they refer to must have made its appearance at least occasionally. Actually, however, every few years one hears about a famine devastating the land and bringing in its wake a tremendous amount of distress and misery. The children, of course, are usually the most to be pitied, as they are liable to be permanently affected by the lack of sufficient nourishment.

It might be objected that Apayaw is a rich agricultural country, that it is covered with vegetation throughout the year, that rice is not the only crop that can be raised with advantage, that there is an abundance of tropical forests containing plenty of trees and plants of which one or more parts are edible, and consequently that starvation must be impossible. To this I must answer that the cause is not to be found in the soil or in the climatic conditions of the country, but in the character of its inhabitants. The Isneg is easily dejected, he cannot stand adversity; if his ordinary means of sustenance fail, he is at a loss what to do, he just sits down and moons. Even when remunerative work is offered to him, an Isneg who has not the usual amount of rice at his disposal has rarely the courage to perform it: he is simply down.

Fortunately the average Isneg woman shows herself much more courageous, and, where her husband proves a dismal failure, she it

[1] Rice that has been kept for one or two years, because its owners, being in mourning for a dead child, abstained from eating it, is called *dinínāg*. In native words occurring in the present paper the accent (') is placed over the accented vowel. Accented n (ń) denotes the ng sound in English "bring". For full phonetic key, see M. Vanoverbergh. The Isneg, Publ. Cath. Anthrop. Conf., 1932, v. 3, no. 1, pp. 3-4.

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The *koxamán* or *ko-koxamán*: Skin thick, yellow; very large; eaten only when roasted. 245

The *lippokán*: Skin thin, greenish; very small, oval.

The *liwliwág* or *uliwag*: Skin thin, red; small, elongated, a little curved; meat reddish; stalk short, purple.

The *paiyáń*: Skin thick; very large, elongated; not much esteemed.

The *papuyán*: Skin thick, yellow; meat yellow, more or less sour.

The *paranán*: Skin thick, yellow; rather large; bunches very large; stalk very tall; leaves very large; not much esteemed.

The *sára*: Skin thin, purple; fruits considerably curved inwards; stalk purple.

The *tarakíta-*: Skin thick, yellow; small; eaten only when cooked.

The *tokkiyán*: Skin thin, yellow; small; not much esteemed.

The *toón*: Skin thin, yellow; resembling the *baráńan*, but larger; stalk very short.

To plant bananas, the Isneg remove (*magsí*) the suckers (*así*) that grow at the base of older plants, and merely transplant them at a distance of about ten feet from one another. The dry season should be chosen for this kind of work, because bananas transplanted at that time bear thick, fleshy fruits (*bilaltúg*), while banana suckers transplanted in the rainy season usually bear only small, thin fruits (*xararpít*).

After one year a transplanted banana bears its fruit and has a few young suckers growing at its base. The top (*púso*, "heart", or *púso báxat*) of the bunch or cluster of flowers never opens. The natives cut [262] it off (*maxipúso*) and use the young flower buds for vegetables.

The bunch of fruits (*búlig*) [75] is cut (*mańbág, tabgán*) before the 251 bananas are ripe enough to be eaten (when they are still *dupát*); therefore it has to be hung in the house (*mańlúto*) until the fruits are completely ripe (*nalúto*). Sometimes the hands (*sápad*; one hand: *tańasápad*) are separated (*magsápad*) from the bunch or *búlig* in order to lessen the difficulty of handling them.

To soften them more quickly the Isneg occasionally thrust single 252 bananas (*dupát*) under the fire or in the ashes of the hearth. Bananas and sweet potatoes that have undergone this treatment are both called *linoóm*.

Fruits (bananas, papayas, etc.) that are nearly ripe, are called [245] *sidaxán;* when they are completely ripe, they are said to be *nalúto*.

[75] One bunch: *tańabúlig; nibbubúlig*: bearing many fruits.

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251 Young banana leaves (*adón*) are used very extensively for wrapping
245 purposes, especially when things have to be kept fresh, for instance cooked rice, several kinds of viands, etc.

The men cut down (*lappadán, maglappád*) the leaves with the *aliwá* (hatchet) and gather (*manaxidón*) them.

Dry banana leaves (*arupát*) are used for wrapping all kinds of small objects.

245 A banana plantation where the leaves are all withered, is supposed
776 to be the abode of the spirit *Alǽxān*. For the rest, no harm is done, as she never attempts to destroy the fruits.

6. YAMS

244 The origin of yams or *úbi* (Dioscorea alata, L., D. pentaphylla, L.,
773 etc.) is authenticated among the Isneg by the following stories:

539 *Uwíl* from Bolo (O dialect, Main branch) told me this:
824

Ya nonōnná ńa úbi

The first yam

Kitó inumbét dató dódon kiddí itó nōnná ńa alxáw āwánda kanó ńa anán dató tólāy ta amminán dató dódon./ Kané āwánda ńa anán kitó mammínda ńa natáy ináru-da ya anánā-da séda ńa anán āy imúlada to tabbít nató ababbíń./ Āy to ya nāgbalín ka úbi to ya nonōnná ńa úbi.

When the locusts came here in former days, the people, it is said, had nothing to eat, as the locusts consumed everything./ And when they had nothing to eat, so they would all be dead, they took out a part of their children's bodies, and they ate it, and they planted the flesh of the child./ And that became a yam: that is the first yam.

Another man related to me a similar story with reference to the *páddig*-yam: it is very large, and its skin is very red; it looks as if it were bleeding. On a certain day, a mother took her babe as soon as it was born and cut it into pieces, which she buried in the ground. After a while they grew, and when the woman dug them up, they had become *paddig*-yams. She cooked them, ate them, and found them to be a savory kind of food.

A different story is woven around the *dinampāyán*, a kind of *lo-tó* (Dioscorea fasciculata, Roxb. and D. aculeata, L.). The *lo-tó* are small yams, whose meat is yellowish or white and very soft; their skin is thin and whitish or brown, and is easily peeled off when cooked; their vines and leaves are thorny. Formerly all *lo-tó* were soft

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plants, squash, peppers, corn, beans, camote, gabi, or [244
yams. Fruits may be: bananas, coconuts, pineapples, 245]
jack fruit, oranges, lemons, guavas, melons, *lucban*,
mangoes, or papaya. The beverages may be: coffee, [272]
cocoa, or water. Honey is included in the diet. From [263]
sugar cane are produced candied fruits and vegetables,
molasses, *basi*, and vinegar. A strong tobacco is raised 276
and smoked—sometimes in a small pipe; but generally
one leaf is rolled into a small cigar. Both men and
women smoke. Boys and girls start smoking at an
early age.

In growing these things, the people do not use ir- 311
rigation; but follow the *kaiñgin* method of farming. 241
A suitable piece of wild land is selected. The vegetation [312]
is cut down, allowed to dry, and then burnt. Seeds
are planted in the ashen earth by making a hole with
a sharp stick and dropping a seed in it The plot is [317]
is enclosed with a bamboo fence. The men clear and [462]
fence the land, while the women do much of the rest
of the work. In two years the soil has become leached
and packed by the heavy tropical rains and so sterile
that a new *kaiñgin* is made elsewhere.

The rice is an upland variety which does not re- 243
quire much water. The seeds are planted during the
beginning of the rainy season in April and May. When
ripe, the heads are cut off by hand, using a miniature
aliwa. These heads are gathered into bundles, tied, and [25]
then stored in a specially built square granary whose 343]
architectural design follows that of the house. Tobacco 249
and vegetables are usually planted during January af- 244
ter the harvest, in the *kaiñgins* where rice was grown.

When the woman wishes some rice to cook, she 252
threshes several bundles on a mat or skin with a club; 412

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his children earlier and more extensively than any other work. At the same time he believes in the division of labor; so even in this respect, among the Isneg, the two sexes simply complement one another.

The agricultural system of the Isneg is a very wasteful one, as he never plants his rice in the same field for two consecutive years. He has to clear every year a part of the forest or bush: now this work is the exclusive duty of the men. A father tells and shows his boy which part of the forest or bush should be chosen for a future field; then both start the work by cutting down small trees and undergrowth, and finish it by burning the dried plants. The boy imitates his father during the whole procedure, but an occasional hint on the part of the parent is rarely absent, especially in the case of the smaller boys. Then comes the turn of the women, to whom from now on the whole work devolves almost exclusively. The mother teaches her girls how to plant rice, corn, taro, yams, sweet potatoes and the rest, how to weed the fields, and how to harvest the crops. The only time at which the father, with the boys as his pupils, intervenes is when a fence has to be erected around the field.

In brief, almost everything relating to agriculture is formally taught to the children, but it is done in such a way that they can immediately start practising what they have learned, by imitating their elders. The only exception is the original clearing of a chosen field, which is learned by imitation alone; at that time of course the boy should already be old enough to wield at least a small headax, and consequently he must have seen his father at work in former years, and needs no further instruction on the subject.

Pounding rice and preparing the meals are never taught: just as soon as a girl is old enough, she helps her mother, and picks these things up just naturally Even boys learn how to cook a simple meal (and all Isneg meals deserve that qualification) in the same way, as later on, especially when travelling, they will have to do it without the assistance of the women.

Hunting, fishing and preparing trees for apiculture, which are men's pursuits, are learned almost exclusively by imitation: a boy sees what others do, whether they be his older relatives or just some other boys who have already been initiated into the secrets of the game, and he acts like they do. That an occasional word of instruction or warning may be offered the young man, cannot be denied, but as a whole no formal teaching takes place.

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261 789 The *anibáān*, a herbaceous vine with small leaves, growing all over the district, is used as an amulet of the new rice pounded during the harvest.

252 And this leads us to the question of the *inixúbān* or roasted immature rice.

New rice is never pounded in the regular way, before reaping has been going on for several days and before *inixúbān* has been partaken of; and in many cases *inixúbān* is the only new rice that is eaten until the end of the harvest. It is of so much importance that reaping time is often referred to by the Isneg as the time of the *inixúbān*. At the same time, the natives consider the *inixúbān* as a kind of dainty: everybody, the adult as well as the child, eagerly awaits the season in which he may indulge in the roasting and eating of new rice, almost in picnic fashion.

The immature paddy and the detached ears and branches of ears that were gathered by the reapers in their *arín*-basket (tied at their girdle), and have been stored in the *patuxáw*-basket (in the hut), form the bulk of the palay used for roasting. To these are added all *bàttá*-(bundles) that were not sufficiently ripe to be exposed to the sun and stored up with the rest. All these are known collectively as *xúput*, before the roasting, and *inixúbān*, afterwards.

To prepare *inixúbān* or to *mañixub*, as the Isneg call it, the following things are needed: fire, which can always be got from the hearth, inside the *síxây*, a certain amount of fuel, a *taddó*, and two *duwág*.

The fuel used at this juncture, invariably consists of *pattár*: dry canes of *bassáw* (bamboo grass, Miscanthus sinensis, Andr.) or of *sial* (Saccharum spontaneum, L.). Neither wood, nor any other material is allowed for the purpose.

The *taddó* is a kind of square basket, woven very clumsily from splints of green bamboo. It serves as a receptacle for the paddy that is held over the fire.

The *duwág* are two forked sticks, used for manipulating the *taddó*.

When the *xúput* has been roasted sufficiently, it is placed in a mortar (*altóñ*) and pounded with a pestle (*alló*). The first time the *altóñ* or mortar is used for pounding *inixúbān*, it must be provided all around with *takkág*-amulets (schizaeaceous ferns mentioned before). Besides, it is advisable to mix another amulet with the rice, namely the *ama-ba-nát*, which is a low herb and grows in forests.

Pounding is followed by winnowing (*magsáp*). When *inixúbān* is winnowed for the first time, the Isneg take some *do-ráw* (straw, what

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remains after pounding) and some *asáp* (husks, what remains after winnowing), and wrap them in a leaf; after they have come home, they hang the latter somewhere in the *baláwa* (place where they pound rice). The same is done when new rice (not *inixúbān*) is winnowed for the first time.

Then we have the *uglây*, which must be set apart before anything else, when *inixúbān* is being prepared for the first time. The *uglây* consists of at least three liters of *inixúbān* that have to be kept for the Pilay who resides in the house, near the hearth. After the harvest, however, human beings consume what the spirit has left.

Husked *inixúbān* that is not consumed immediately, is stored up in calabashes, the ordinary kernels in *bakóba-* (the usual receptacles for husked rice), the broken ones in *busińgán* (a smaller kind of calabash). The latter must have *takkág*-amulets tied around the neck, and their contents are reserved for children to eat.

The Isneg eat the *inixúbān*[1] (*magdúm* or *manúm*) either with or without viands. Sometimes, especially when children are around, they put back in the mortar a certain amount of *inixúbān*, and pound it until it is reduced to powder; by mixing this flour with coconut meat, a kind of pudding (*limbá-*) is prepared that may be eaten either raw or cooked.

When you have been preparing *inixúbān* for the first time, this is the way to *magdúm* (to eat *inixúbān*): first, eat one mouthful of *inixúbān*, then pronounce the magic word *barîbarī*, and after that continue your meal in the ordinary way.

At this juncture one or both of the following prayers may be recited. The second one must be accompanied by an offering of some of the food (*maglappá-* or *magpísi-*).

Barîbarī di mapalpáli ya kanánmi (Baribari, our food is not easily consumed).

Barîbarī matugtugkíkami maggáni (Baribari, we harvest more and more).

Both texts were given me by *Yadán* from Nagbabalayan (O dialect, K branch).

The preparation of the *inixúbān* does not interfere with the usual routine of the harvest, and the reapers go on with their work until it is finished.

If you foresee that the amount of your palay will be very much smaller than that of other years, so that it will hardly be possible to

[1] [roasted immature rice. --Analyst]

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The *koxamán* or *ko-koxamán*: Skin thick, yellow; very large; eaten only when roasted. 245

The *lippokán*: Skin thin, greenish; very small, oval.

The *liwliwág* or *uliwag*: Skin thin, red; small, elongated, a little curved; meat reddish; stalk short, purple.

The *paiyáń*: Skin thick; very large, elongated; not much esteemed.

The *papuyán*: Skin thick, yellow; meat yellow, more or less sour.

The *paranán*: Skin thick, yellow; rather large; bunches very large; stalk very tall; leaves very large; not much esteemed.

The *sára*: Skin thin, purple; fruits considerably curved inwards; stalk purple.

The *tarakíta-*: Skin thick, yellow; small; eaten only when cooked.

The *tokkiyán*: Skin thin, yellow; small; not much esteemed.

The *toón*: Skin thin, yellow; resembling the *baráńan*, but larger; stalk very short.

To plant bananas, the Isneg remove (*magsí*) the suckers (*así*) that grow at the base of older plants, and merely transplant them at a distance of about ten feet from one another. The dry season should be chosen for this kind of work, because bananas transplanted at that time bear thick, fleshy fruits (*pilaltúg*), while banana suckers transplanted in the rainy season usually bear only small, thin fruits (*xararpát*).

After one year a transplanted banana bears its fruit and has a few young suckers growing at its base. The top (*púso*, "heart", or *púso báxat*) of the bunch or cluster of flowers never opens. The natives cut [262] it off (*maxipúso*) and use the young flower buds for vegetables.

The bunch of fruits (*búlig*) [75] is cut (*mańbág, tabgán*) before the 251 bananas are ripe enough to be eaten (when they are still *dupát*); therefore it has to be hung in the house (*mańlúto*) until the fruits are completely ripe (*nalúto*). Sometimes the hands (*sápad*; one hand: *tańasápad*) are separated (*magsápad*) from the bunch or *búlig* in order to lessen the difficulty of handling them.

To soften them more quickly the Isneg occasionally thrust single 252 ● bananas (*dupát*) under the fire or in the ashes of the hearth. Bananas and sweet potatoes that have undergone this treatment are both called *linoóm*.

Fruits (bananas, papayas, etc.) that are nearly ripe, are called [245] *sidaxán;* when they are completely ripe, they are said to be *nalúto*.

[75] One bunch: *tańabúlig; nibbubúlig*: bearing many fruits.

The vegetables may be: tomatoes, egg- 262
plants, squash, peppers, corn, beans, camote, gabi, or [244]
yams. Fruits may be: bananas, coconuts, pineapples, [245]
jack fruit, oranges, lemons, guavas, melons, *lucban*,
mangoes, or papaya. The beverages may be: coffee, [272]
cocoa, or water. Honey is included in the diet. From [263]
sugar cane are produced candied fruits and vegetables, 276
molasses, *basi*, and vinegar. A strong tobacco is raised
and smoked—sometimes in a small pipe; but generally
one leaf is rolled into a small cigar. Both men and
women smoke. Boys and girls start smoking at an
early age.

In growing these things, the people do not use ir- 311
rigation; but follow the *kaiñgin* method of farming. 241
A suitable piece of wild land is selected. The vegetation [312]
is cut down, allowed to dry, and then burnt. Seeds
are planted in the ashen earth by making a hole with
a sharp stick and dropping a seed in it The plot is [317]
is enclosed with a bamboo fence. The men clear and [462]
fence the land, while the women do much of the rest
of the work. In two years the soil has become leached
and packed by the heavy tropical rains and so sterile
that a new *kaiñgin* is made elsewhere.

The rice is an upland variety which does not re- 243
quire much water. The seeds are planted during the
beginning of the rainy season in April and May. When
ripe, the heads are cut off by hand, using a miniature
aliwa. These heads are gathered into bundles, tied, and [25]
then stored in a specially built square granary whose 343
architectural design follows that of the house. Tobacco 249
and vegetables are usually planted during January af- 244
ter the harvest, in the *kaiñgins* where rice was grown.

When the woman wishes some rice to cook, she 252
threshes several bundles on a mat or skin with a club; 412

252 412 [845] then hulls it by pounding it with a wooden pestle in a mortar fashioned of a two-foot section of a hardwood log, set on end and hollowed out. The woman then winnows it by cleverly tossing it in an oval-shaped tray woven of rattan. There will often be a set of these mortars with the women companionably pounding together, using a sort of chant.

593 854 [842] The relatives are affectionate, and family ties are strong all through life. The family life is a happy one. Babies are much desired and receive a great deal of loving care. Their wants are promptly supplied, and no little one cries its heart out for lack 524 857 of a mother's loving arms. The small girls do not have dolls to play with but use the babies instead. Also, instead of little play houses, they early begin to play house by helping their mothers in the big houses. Many of the small chores about the house are done by the children. But they also have plenty of time for games, [868] swimming, and other amusements. As they grow older, the girls, of course, follow the work of the mother: housework, washing, taking care of the pigs and chickens, carrying water in jars on their heads from the spring, farming, and other duties. The boys cheerfully work with their fathers in gathering wood, building houses, granaries, chicken coops, bamboo fences, etc., and in fishing and hunting. They early learn the lore of the woods; so that a boy of seven here can take much better care of himself in the open than the average Eagle Boy Scout in the United States. [861] The children are taught a proper decorum; but corporal punishment is rare. A little scolding usually keeps them in order.

In the morning the family prepares the food for 796
the guests. The men butcher the dog, chickens, and 574
pigs. They might go out and get a wild pig or two. 252
The women cook the rice, vegetables and meat. Boys 462
carry invitations to the houses of the guests, who be- 202
gin to arrive about noon, all dressed up in their best clothes.

When a guest arrives, he is given a drink of *basi* 796
and also food, if he is hungry. Individual servings 574
of rice, together with some meat and vegetables, are 264
wrapped up in sections of bamboo leaf and passed 782
around. One package of food is placed for the family [778]
anito under the sacred big tree or bamboo clump where it lives, and where it is the custom to hang the heads taken by the family warriors. As the various animals are killed, a little of the blood and liver are placed in a coconut shell or a section of bamboo and hung up for the *anito* of the feast. That is his share. The people eat the rest for him. Also *runo* leaves are hung from a rafter above the stove, one for each pig killed.

Dancing, *talip*, in the house starts early in the 535
afternoon. The intriguing music is supplied by the 796
women, who beat a staccato rhythm on three instru- 534
ments: the *ludog*, a drum fashioned of a hollowed log 574
with a skin secured over one end; a large, shallow curved-bottomed kettle-shaped bronze gong; and the *ganza*, a smaller, flat-bottomed bronze gong. Each [535]
has its own tone (base, soprano, alto) and beat; while the notes are short: quarter, eighth, and sixteenth. Thus the rhythm is fast and intricate: hard to follow. One couple dances at a time. One of the family hands 535
a special cloth to an honored guest. He starts walk- 796 574

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One of the greatest enemies of the Isneg farmer is the locust (*dódon*), and consequently it will not seem strange that he is usually well acquainted with the names of several varieties of rice that can withstand these pests most effectually. We have, among others:

The *paturây*, without awns (*ibo*);

The *ortó-*, also awnless, and with rather small kernels: it is said by the Isneg to remain on the field even though all other varieties be consumed by locusts;

The *kuritây*, which has very tough leaves, no awns, and thin elongated kernels: it is comparatively rare and often used for purposes of divination. Knead a ball of cooked *kuritây*-rice and throw it a certain distance: if it falls down in a compact mass, you are sure to live long; should it break up or be smashed to pieces, the span of your life will be a short one.

In the same line may be mentioned the *binoóxān*, which is supposed to be immune from the depredations of wild animals.

Then we have the *madíliya* (evidently from the Spanish *medalla*, "medal", which may be the reason why it is used for an amulet, as will be seen under the description of the preparation of seeds for planting), a kind of *dékat* or oily rice. The sweets made from this variety remain soft for a considerable time, even to the third and fourth "night", as the Isneg puts it, who counts by nights, not by days.

The tallest and largest variety of rice is called *tăyútăy*: its husk is very light-colored.

The *xirxirá-* is the despair of the housewife, as it is exceedingly hard to pound: its husk is variegated and it has no awns.

It sometimes happens that the Isneg plants several varieties of rice or palay [18] in one and the same field; but, if he does so, he is always careful to keep each variety to its own patch of ground and not to plant them indiscriminately all over the field. In this case, each variety is known by the name of *xínan*. Thus, when the Isneg says that he has three *xínan* in his field, he means that his field is divided into three sections, each of them planted with a different variety of palay. It should be noted though that the name *xínan* is applied to the rice that grows there and not to the patch of soil in which it is planted.

[18] A name which is used extensively all over the Islands and means "rice in the husk or paddy".

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The laziness of the Isneg man has become almost proverbial in Apayaw; he resents it of course, but what can be done about it? The Isneg are living in one of the richest provinces of the Philippines agriculturally, and nevertheless these last years, famine has desolated the land at every turn.

Once while at Alumani, I went to visit a few friends: three of them, the father and his two sturdy sons, the older one a widower, the younger one a bachelor, were living together in a house surrounded by the most fertile fields imaginable; and still they complained and said that they were starving to death, because there were no women to till the soil.

The year 1928 was a lean one almost all over the province, but Karagawan men preferred to squat down in their houses and feed on the flowers of the coconut tree rather than come to Kabugaw and earn a ganta (three liters) of rice a day by doing work that could easily be done by boys of twelve years of age: this work was too hard for them.

About the same time I had to go to Bayag, which is some forty miles distant from Kabugaw, a two days' walk. I sent my carriers one day ahead and gave them rations of rice for two days, in order to preclude any excuse for their not reaching their destination at least at the same time as myself. The next day I met the fellows about noon, sitting in a little hut some ten miles from home and cooking their last meal but one. Having rice they did not care for anything else. They had passed a day and a half walking ten miles, cooking rice, chewing betel nut, and . . . resting.

I could adduce a score of examples like this, all from personal experience. But after all why should we blame the Isneg for it? They were reared in years of plenty, when the smallest amount of work brought the largest possible returns; at the beginning of the lean years they consumed all the rice that had been hoarded up for years; and now the hard times have come: when a tree has been growing in a slanting direction for several years, can you make it lean to the other side in its old age? The Bontok Igorot is industrious and always ready to handle a job that may bring him some money; but he is living among rocks and cliffs, where even weeds and grasses refuse to thrive. The Isneg on the contrary are living in an exceedingly fertile country: up to recent times their district was closed to the outside world for lack of roads, and this prevented them from conducting active trade on any large scale and from selling the surplus

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you commit regrettable deeds. Gluttony is contemned by everybody; never keep all the best viands for yourself alone, and be careful not to eat to excess.

"Beware of talking about your neighbor's defects in his absence (*maglibá-*; in Iloko, *aglibák* means "to hide, to conceal, not to confess, not to manifest"); it may come to his ears; and in such a case, just imagine how he will feel about it. Do you expect him to forgive you without more ado, and to continue his friendly relations with you?

"Do not be a talebearer; such men are the curse of the community: most quarrels take their origin in this vice. Anyone who is known to be addicted to it, at once loses all consideration among decent men, and his company is avoided as much as possible.

"Never boast about your virtues, your possessions, your actions, except on the occasion of a *sáy-ám* sacrifice, when every brave Isneg should recount his glorious deeds for the edification of youth. A man who is puffed up with self-conceit and vainglory is despised by all. The ignorant may perhaps respect him or rather be afraid of him, but the general public scorns him. You know what it means to be called *makiddyaw* (proud) or *napaúláw* (braggart); so never give occasion to anybody to fling such an epithet at your head.

"Beware of being jealous of your neighbor's prosperity or good luck. If fate or the spirits have been less generous to you, that is no reason for being envious of others who are more fortunate than yourself. Ambition is good, jealousy is bad".

2. Motives Proposed to Young

Now I shall discard my rôle of Isneg moralist, and say a few words about the motives that are proposed to the youngsters. A good many points have already been hinted at in the preceding treatment of the Isneg moral code, so here I shall merely resume and complete or elucidate my former statements.

It should be said in general that, except when referring to religious, magical or superstitious practices as such, and to the duty of head-hunting, no religious or supernatural motives are proposed to the children in order to get them to obey the moral law, nor are the children ever taught to expect rewards or punishments from supernatural beings. One might perhaps be inclined to accept a few other cases as possible exceptions, for instance that of scoffers referred to above; but it should be remembered that even in such cases, the Isneg never mention directly the intervention of any supernatural beings.

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Isneg reapers usually provide themselves with amulets, which they place in their *túput* (pouch) tied around the waist. The following are noteworthy:

Leaves of the *banítug*, a kind of forest tree with smooth leaves and white flowers, whose fruits and young leaves are edible. They prevent the bearer from feeling the pangs of hunger.

Katálin: a herbaceous vine with thick leaves, growing on the banks of rivers.

Palamían: a low herb, found almost anywhere.

Other amulets may be placed on the *bańíbāń* (heap of rice) in the *síxăy*:

Aúímăy: A low herb, with small leaves and very hairy fruits, found all over the district.

Basáńal: A creeping herb, mentioned among the amulets of the *aligmamán*-basket.

Binóāg: A low herb with white flowers, growing in forests.

Iput butít (literally: rat's tail): A grass, some two feet tall, probably a species of Setaria,[62] found almost anywhere. It keeps the rats from playing havoc with the palay.

Xippaxippáw: Also mentioned among the *aligmamán* amulets. This herb is placed somewhere in the hearth, before the *bańíbāń* has attained a considerable size.

Panápil: A low herb with round leaves, growing all over the district.

Thorns of the *surní-*, a plant mentioned before. It bears seeds that point downwards (hence its name: "turned the wrong way").

A *tutúxan*, a kind of round red bead, must be placed under the *síxăy*-hut and covered with a stone.

The following amulets prevent the people from consuming a large amount of rice, when taking their meals at harvesting time:

Anampát: A creeping herb growing along brooks. It resembles the Bermuda grass, but its leaves are larger and greener. The Isneg wrap it in a piece of cloth and tie it around the *bakóba-* (calabash for storing *bággát*, "husked rice") or around the neck of a jar that contains the rice.

Tagalobná- (Bayag pronunciation): A herb, some six inches tall, with small leaves, found almost anywhere. This also is placed on the receptacle for rice.

[62] The Italian millet belongs to the same genus

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261 The *anibgán*, a herbaceous vine with small leaves, growing all over
789 the district, is used as an amulet of the new rice pounded during the harvest.

252 And this leads us to the question of the *inixúbān* or roasted immature rice.

New rice is never pounded in the regular way, before reaping has been going on for several days and before *inixúbān* has been partaken of; and in many cases *inixúbān* is the only new rice that is eaten until the end of the harvest. It is of so much importance that reaping time is often referred to by the Isneg as the time of the *inixúbān*. At the same time, the natives consider the *inixúbān* as a kind of dainty: everybody, the adult as well as the child, eagerly awaits the season in which he may indulge in the roasting and eating of new rice, almost in picnic fashion.

The immature paddy and the detached ears and branches of ears that were gathered by the reapers in their *arín*-basket (tied at their girdle), and have been stored in the *patuxáw*-basket (in the hut), form the bulk of the palay used for roasting. To these are added all *bāttá*-(bundles) that were not sufficiently ripe to be exposed to the sun and stored up with the rest. All these are known collectively as *xúput*, before the roasting, and *inixúbān*, afterwards.

To prepare *inixúbān* or to *mañixub*, as the Isneg call it, the following things are needed: fire, which can always be got from the hearth, inside the *sixāy*, a certain amount of fuel, a *taddó*, and two *duwág*.

The fuel used at this juncture, invariably consists of *pattár*: dry canes of *bassáw* (bamboo grass, Miscanthus sinensis, Andr.) or of *sial* (Saccharum spontaneum, L.). Neither wood, nor any other material is allowed for the purpose.

The *taddó* is a kind of square basket, woven very clumsily from splints of green bamboo. It serves as a receptacle for the paddy that is held over the fire.

The *duwág* are two forked sticks, used for manipulating the *taddó*.

When the *xúput* has been roasted sufficiently, it is placed in a mortar (*altóń*) and pounded with a pestle (*alló*). The first time the *altóń* or mortar is used for pounding *inixúbān*, it must be provided all around with *takkág*-amulets (schizaeaceous ferns mentioned before). Besides, it is advisable to mix another amulet with the rice, namely the *ama-ba-nát*, which is a low herb and grows in forests.

Pounding is followed by winnowing (*magsáp*). When *inixúbān* is winnowed for the first time, the Isneg take some *do-ráw* (straw, what

105, 113, 131, 142, 157, 161, 177, 262, 291, 302, 304, 721, Apayao OA5

[For information on location, physical type, personality, population, acculturation, diet, clothing, toilet, tatooing and headhunting, see 58: Barton, OA1 Philippines, category 116, pp. 300-301.]

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824 forest, gathers the herb in question, wraps it in a piece of cloth, and
842 brings it to the woman, who immediately starts chewing it. This is mostly practised only by mothers who have already been blessed with a numerous offspring.

843 Both Iloko and Kagayan attach much weight to the capricious
811 appetite of a pregnant woman, and to whatever she loves or loathes at the time, all of which they believe to have its repercussion on the baby that has to be born. So some years ago a certain Kagayan mother gave birth to a child whose skin was much more lightly colored than that of its brothers and sisters, and everybody explained the occurrence by the fact that the mother, while pregnant, had had a very great devotion to a statue of the Divine Babe, which was either made of white material or at least painted white, and that she had gone almost daily to pray in front of the statue in question. All Isneg, however, whom I questioned on the subject disclaimed both knowledge of such a belief and its existence among their people.

843 Whatever may be the reason, the Isneg do not seem to dread the
776 intervention of the spirits (*anito*) before the actual birth of the child. Do they perhaps imagine that the *anito* are ignorant about the ways of the flesh, and that they do not know the meaning of pregnancy? Or do they believe that the spirits have no power on children as yet unborn? The latter is probably the case. I think that in their eyes, as long as a child dwells in the womb of its mother, only what enters the body (food, semen) is able to exert any influence on it, and that
[833] outsiders can in no way affect it. And so, except for a few beliefs with reference to food, the only precaution that is taken during the pregnancy of the mother is that the husband ceases having sexual intercourse with his wife so soon as her state is known with certainty, lest, so they say, the babe be injured. For the rest everything runs its usual course, and, although such a large number of magical and other practices have come to my notice at every other period of the life of the Isneg, the period that precedes the birth of a child has so far proved to be completely devoid of any belief in the evil influence of one spirit or another.

843 In some places a woman who is pregnant for the first time, is be-
834 lieved to assure the good health of her babe after its birth, if she eats *assáñ*, which is the fruit of a kind of tree that grows in the forest.

843 These are the articles of food forbidden to pregnant women which
262 have come to my notice:
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From a Dangla informant:

Three kinds of sugar cane:

The *saxádaw*, which has a yellow skin;

The *lokóg*, with a dark-purple skin;

The *banótān*, with a reddish-brown skin.

Three kinds of bananas:

The *dokkasí*, which is a very large banana with a thick yellow skin;

The *parandn*, which is very small and has a thin yellow skin, its taste is more or less sour, and it grows in very large bunches;

The *lippokán* (Iloko: *alimúkeń*), a small egg-shaped banana with a thin greenish skin.

The terminal bud or cabbage (*baraníbād*) of the fish-tail palm (*aníboń*, Caryota cumingii. Lodd.).

The *tobál* or soft meat of a sprouting coconut, lest the woman experience difficulty in giving birth to her child.

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From a Nagbabalayan informant:

Legs of a pig, for the same reason as in the case of the *tobál*.

It should be noted in this connection that taboos are not always universally observed all over the district of Apayaw. For instance, a certain article of food may be forbidden over a comparatively large area, while everywhere else such a taboo is unknown and consequently unobserved.

B. CHILDBIRTH AND POST-NATAL CARE

843

A pregnant (*nabu-sít*; *bu-sít*, in Isneg, means "fetus"; *buksít*, in Iloko, means "belly, abdomen"; "fetus", in Iloko, is *síkúg*) woman goes about her ordinary duties up to the last moment. I have known a Kankanay woman who gave birth to her child while she was working in an irrigated rice field, and, although I know of no similar cases among the Isneg, it has been told me more than once that an Isneg mother could give birth to her child anywhere, even though walking and at work. On other occasions, while inquiring about their proper names, I was told that a woman who gave birth to a child in the bush, might call her child "Bush" (*sirát*); if she brought forth her offspring near some tree, the name of that particular tree might be given to the newborn babe. All this goes to prove that the intensive care taken by and for a future mother in more civilized areas is entirely absent and considered as quite superfluous among our sturdy mountaineers.

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846 Then men in flesh and bones are to be considered. Now the Isneg do not want to take any chances, and so they forbid access to any outsider, whether a relative or not; nobody is allowed to enter the house, in some places for one day, in others for five days, and in still others (Bayag) for ten days. It is especially and very strictly forbidden, for the same period of time, to any person, whether inmate of the house or not, who has been drinking *bási* (an alcoholic beverage obtained from the juice of the sugar cane), to approach the house where a child has been born. Besides, no inmate of the house is permitted to do heavy work for the same period of time, although he is allowed to leave the house if he chooses to do so, but he may not take anything with him outside. At Bayag, however, the father of the child stays at home for five days; here he is allowed to move around, to occupy himself with light work, etc., but he may not leave the house: this prohibition does not obtain elsewhere.

At any rate frequent visits are believed to be not only harmful, but even decidedly fatal to the young mother; an Isneg woman who dies on that account is said to be *maduńálān*.

Besides the taboos just enumerated and those mentioned before with reference to fire, the following very important ones should be noted:

No communication of the shaman with the spirits (*maxaníto*), no sacrifice, takes place at the birth of a child; all killing of animals in honor of the spirits is strictly *kannáw* (taboo). Is the reason perhaps to be found in the fact that a sacrifice is a kind of invitation to the spirits or at least draws their attention toward the offerers, while they have to be kept away by all means during the first period of the child's life?

For the same reason, namely lest the spirits be attracted toward the house, it is strictly tabooed to bring any kind of light under it (*siduń*) at night, as long as the child and its mother are obliged to stay inside. During the same period of time, no body is allowed to go under the house (*siduń*), whether at night or in the daytime, whether the person in question be an inmate of the house or a stranger.

846 Food forbidden to a woman after her delivery:
262 Fowl, lest she die;
Sugar cane that is provided with buds ready to spring forth into new shoots, lest she remain weak; the *banótān*, which was forbidden to her while she was still pregnant, also remains taboo;

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Anything fragrant, as pineapples, etc.; also cakes, native Isneg sweets, on account of their fragrance, lest her weakness increase.

She is also forbidden to eat any kind of fish for three days after the birth of her child If both she and her child have enjoyed good health so far, she is allowed to partake of it, after the third night provided it as cooked outside the house and brought in only after it had cooled down. Should she infringe any of these taboos, she is liable to become sick, which in this case is called *madawiq*.

All Isneg parents are very anxious to give the head of their babe the right shape: so, if the little poll is much too markedly oblong, the grandmother or, in her absence, any other woman lightly presses one of her heels (*túmań*) against its soft part, on top, while the little patient is sprawling on the floor; this is called *tumńán* (past tense: *sinúmań*; from *túmań*, "heel"; in Iloko, *túmeń* means "knee"). In other places, for instance at Bayag, they use another means in order to make the head of the newborn child nicely round: a small squash, duly hollowed out and thoroughly dried, is placed over it in such a way as to fit it exactly.

The period of confinement differs in duration from place to place, and it probably depends very much on the state of the mother; this is perhaps also the reason why the number of days during which some taboos have to be observed, is not always and everywhere the same. In general, however, it may be said that the period of strict confinement does not go beyond one week; after that time, the mother first does some light chores in and around the house, and later on proceeds to her ordinary duties.

In some places she goes to the river (*mamáwa*) two days after the birth of her child; but usually this necessary formality is performed on the fifth day, even though for the rest she continues to remain at home for a much longer period. At Bayag, for instance, it takes her one month before she is allowed definitely to leave the house and to start cleaning the yard, although she made her ceremonial visit to the river on the usual day, the fifth after her delivery When going to the river the mother protects herself from either rain or sunshine by means of a *saŕíkaw* (a kind of large round flat hat made from palm leaves) In most places she goes there alone; in Bayag, however, she is accompanied by her husband, who also watches her while at work.

But what happens at the time of that visit to the river? What is meant by *mamáwa*? Here is what was told me by the generality of my informants, including Bayag people: the woman goes to the river

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854 As soon as the mother is allowed to attend to her ordinary duties,
431 her first concern is to take her child and visit her relatives, her own
796 as well as those of her husband. These are then obliged by custom to give the little one a small bracelet, which consists in a string of beads and is called *battá-*. In each house that is entered for that purpose, one such *battá-* is placed over the wrist of the babe. Besides, the relatives who live in the same settlement with the parents of the child, have to perform the *maxanito* ceremony (communication with the spirits), at which a chicken is offered by the shaman, before the arrival of mother and child. This *maxanito*, however, is dispensed with in the case of people who live in different agglomerations.

853 The mother (*magtaxíbi*) gives her child (*taxíbi*) the breast (*magpasóso-*; in Iloko, *sóso* means "breast"; in Isneg "breast" is *xátat*) at every turn, and the little one has always its mother's milk at its disposition. No sooner does the baby cry than this is done, since, for an Isneg, the only plausible explanation is that it is hungry As a rule, a child suckles its mother's breasts as long as it has not cut its first tooth, but even then you cannot call it really weaned: a little youngster running around freely may sometimes be seen partaking of the same food as his newborn brother or sister. On the other hand the little babe is given cooked rice to eat very early, usually after five days; however, as a matter of course, this solid food has been chewed by the complacent parent before it is put into the infant's mouth.

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854 The baby when at rest is lying down either stretched out on a mat or a piece of cloth on the floor, or more frequently in a *dóyān*, which is a rectangular piece of cloth doubled up lengthwise so as to form a kind of pouch, each end of which is suspended from some part of the house, like a hammock, by means of two strings or strips of rattan, so that it can be used as a swing.

854 If Isneg parents have to leave a little child alone in the house,
776 they usually confide it to the care of *Daraxodáń*, a kind spirit, who is always at hand in such a predicament: he looks after the babe, without its elders knowing anything about it, and the little one never cries as long as he remains with it. Another spirit, *Laglagémiń*, who has the shape of a bird, is supposed to bring up any babies who are not well cared for by their parents; but although such children do not die while *Laglagémiń* looks after them, they always remain thin and emaciated, which, of course, the Isneg do not consider as an ideal condition for an infant.

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583 and, if they consider them to be as valuable as that, it is their own
435 business after all. The same may be said with reference to the beads:
422 a single one, if very valuable in the eyes of the natives, may command the price of a carabao or water buffalo, from thirty to fifty dollars, while other ones may be had almost for the asking.

583 All these jars are earthenware of Chinese make, imported from
435 China long before the arrival of the Spaniards; consequently an-
422 tiquity is an important item in the estimation of their value. Jars
353 that have been imported recently usually command a much lower
415 price. A great many of the beads also antedate the coming of the
178 Spaniards and were also originally imported from China. Actually,
523 however, beads of all kinds have been put on the market and their origin is very often shrouded in mystery. Isneg plates are all made of coarse earthenware and have mostly been introduced from China; but, although most of them date from comparatively recent times, they are still of the same kind, shape, color and composition as those

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they have replaced, as may be proved by fragments occasionally unearthed in places formerly inhabited by Isneg. These people certainly hold fast to their old ways and customs; modern crockery is not to their taste. As the Isneg do not weave their own clothes, the latter have of necessity to be bought from outsiders.

584 During the *amómăn* it is also decided whether the boy has to stay
583 with his parents-in-law or not, and for how long in case he has to
591 do so, which is the customary way. The number of years varies very much, as some stay three years, others from five to ten, and even in a few cases the husband never goes back to the house of his own parents.

574 No really important business can be transacted, of course, among
584 the Isneg, without remembering the cravings of the stomach. In the ordinary course of events one or more pigs are slaughtered according
262 to the social standing of the girl's parents. If they are too poor to indulge in such prodigality, a chicken will do. In both cases a dog may complete the menu, although this is not absolutely required. No special name is given to the killing and consuming of the chicken; but if one or more pigs enter the lists, the whole ceremony is called *pildáp*. Nevertheless in a few isolated cases, when the people are much too poor, the banquet is completely left out, and the deliberations are conducted on empty stomachs.

584 All during the *amómăn* the men conduct everything that is con-
574 nected with the *pildáp*. The *dorarákit* or shamaness does not inter-
562 fere in the least.

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[586] then there is always a way open to them, and divorce is not so very
585 uncommon among the Isneg as to be considered an extraordinary event.

[836] Bride and groom having already had coitus more than once, there is no question of course of ceremonial defloration, jus primae noctis, looking for proofs of virginity, and so on. The morning after the *ákit*, the *tádug* is brought over to the house of the girl's parents, and triumphantly escorted by a large group of people. Here a chicken is killed in order to celebrate the happy event, and all present are allowed to partake of it, but some of the blood must be smeared on the objects that make up the *tádug*. This is called *banít:* the girl's parents are those who *mamanít*, they *banítan* the *tádug*.

585 One or two days later a certain quantity of sweets is again pre-
263 pared at the house of the bride's parents, for the ceremony called *lablabág;* but the *pinatará-* variety of cakes is taboo on this occasion. The reason is that it would cause the future offspring of the newly wed to get sore ears (a kind of otitis with concomitant suppuration).

[805] On the third day, three nights (the Isneg always count by nights,
585 not by days) after the *ákit*, the young couple *maglablabág:* they first go to observe the flight of the *labág* bird. If the omen is bad, nothing will be done and a more favorable occasion will be awaited, because to go ahead under the circumstances would entail the early death of one of the interested parties. The whole *lablabág* ceremony, however, is almost always performed on that day anyhow, as there is more than one hour in a day and more than one *labág* bird in Apayaw. After having obtained a good augury, if the house of the boy's parents is near, the young couple direct their steps toward it in the
585 afternoon; otherwise they start in the morning. The members of their,
262 escort carry all eatables prepared for this occasion, and these are then distributed to the people at the house of the groom. These eatables,—sweets, meat, etc.,—are called *talinabáw*, but the cakes are far from being as abundant as at the time of the *ákit*. The whole ceremony, beginning with the observance of the flight of the *labág* and ending with the distribution of the *talinabáw* at the house of the boy's parents, is called *lablabág*.

585 The next day, four nights after the *ákit*, the husband goes to live (*maggiyán*) with his young wife at the latter's house, and stays there as long as has been determined at the *amómán*, after which he takes his wife home to his parents' house, where the woman stays (*maggiyán*) from now on. In case the groom does not stay at the house

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obtain at the death of a person, refers to certain persons or groups of persons entering and in some cases even approaching the house of the deceased. Therefore it is usual among many Isneg to surround the house with a kind of fence, which consists of a few short uprights stuck in the ground, and a couple of strips of bamboo tied to them in such a way as to remain at a respectable distance from one another. This custom is observed at Bolo, Karagawan, Dangla, Ñagbabalayan, etc. At the latter place such a fence was erected after the burial of *To-li* (beginning of 1931), but it was gone after the first month. In other settlements, a small bundle of herbs, or of leafy canes or branches, is tied to one of the poles at the entrance of the regular fence that surrounds many houses or groups of houses in Apayaw. Again in some places, a small internode of bamboo (an *anóxān*, used for a cup in the distribution of *bánj*) is tied on top of a bamboo pole stuck in the house yard; this has been met with at Karagawan.

In some settlements, no outsiders, not even any of the neighbors, except the relatives of the deceased person, provided they wear their everyday clothes or their mourning apparel, are allowed to enter the house until the time of the *obóbāt*. In others, only persons of the same sex are forbidden access to the house; and in still others, for instance, at Magapta, only adults of both sexes are forbidden to enter the house where an adult has died, while only children are refused entrance into the house where a child died.

In most places, no children are allowed to enter the house where an *innát* is still left unburied; in others, they are not allowed to do so, even after burial, in which case this taboo lasts until the time of the *obóbāt*.

People in festive attire are strictly forbidden, not only to enter, but even to pass near, the house of a deceased person, until the celebration of the *obóbāt* ceremony: this custom obtains all over Apayaw.

The most important taboos connected with the death of a person are undoubtedly those which the Isneg observe when they *maṅgabí* and *magló*.

Maṅgabí, which means "to abstain from rice and taro (*síwēy*)", is practised by widows all over Apayaw, almost universally by widowers, and also in many instances by those relatives who wear mourning and want to show their esteem for the deceased. It lasts till the time of the *obóbāt*. Rice and taro are said to be the food of the dead for the time being and, in the meanwhile, the living have to content themselves with corn, sweet potatoes, yams and so on. I know a com-

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765 paratively young woman living at Bayag and called *Darika*, who has
775 not eaten rice and taro for four consecutive years, and at the present
262 time (March, 1931) she still *maŋgabi*. The reason is that she has had to mourn successively her husband and several other members of her family. She stated to me that she had completely forgotten the taste of rice. After the *obóbat*, when the prohibition is lifted, these persons always mix a few *awát* herbs with the rice they are cooking for their first meal, and they consume the *awát* together with the rest. For a month afterwards, they also usually abstain from corn, yams and sweet potatoes.

765 *Maglo:* this consists in abstaining from the use of anything of which the deceased was particularly fond, and may be practised by anybody who wants to show his esteem for the person in question. The purpose of the Isneg is to leave the use of these things to the person who went to the realm of the dead, and this abstinence may be protracted for many years, although it usually stops at the *obóbat*. So, if the deceased was fond of yams, sugar, etc., the mourners abstain from eating these articles of food; if he was a great smoker, they forego the use of tobacco; if he was a drunkard, they stop drinking *basi;* if he was accustomed to make much ado about his apparel, they wear nothing but a G-string and a headband. I have known a man who drank no water, but only coconut milk and so forth, because his deceased father was wont to drink much water. While I am writing these lines, there is a man in the house who uses absolutely no salt with any of his meals; he wishes to reserve it for his deceased brother who was exceedingly fond of much-salted food. If the deceased liked to play the *balikiú* or nose flute, such instruments are left aside for the time being. If the woman for whom they mourn was a good *oritáu* (native guitar) player, the mourners give up playing that instrument; and so on.

765 It should be noted in this connection that the Isneg also under-
523 stand the meaning of a souvenir or keepsake. If the deceased had made something nice or had a trinket or instrument which he valued
193 very highly, the survivors take those things to themselves as *panam-dammán* (something used to remember or to think about somebody; from the stem *damdám*, "thinking", the prefix *paŋ*, *ŋ* of the prefix and *d* of the stem being combined into *n*, and the suffix *án*) or *pag-sinsinnán* (something used to see or to look at somebody; from the stem *siŋán*, "seeing", reduplicated and syncopated into *sinsinn*, the prefix *pag* and the suffix *án*).

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After the death of one of their relatives, the Isneg also *lapatán* or taboo some of the coconut trees that belonged to the deceased. Such trees are easily recognizable, as one always finds a certain quantity of strips of bamboo or of thorny branches or of both, tied all around the tree, at the height of one's shoulders. I know of a couple of Iloko teachers who, knowing nothing about this custom, climbed a tabooed coconut tree, in order to drop down some of the fruits and eat them; unfortunately they were caught by the owners and got free only after the payment of a heavy fine. If they had been natives of the district, they would not have escaped so easily, although I doubt very much if an Isneg would ever dare break such a taboo.

Coconuts that have been gathered at the time of the owner's death are also declared taboo, and nobody is allowed to partake of them until the time of the *obóbāt;* if no such ceremony takes place (which must be a rare contingency) the fruits are left to decay. At the time of the *obóbāt*, however, they are declared *inúkas* or free, and everybody is allowed to consume them.

The following are the *lapāt* or taboos that have to do with fishing:

1. It is usually forbidden to catch fish in that part of the river or brook that passes near the settlement in which a person died. This taboo is lifted only at the time of the *obóbāt*. The tabooed section, which is said to be *mabalsiyán*, is marked off at both ends by green leafy canes of bamboo grass (Miscanthus sinensis) stuck in the bottom of the river or brook.

2. If the relatives of the deceased claim the exclusive right of fishing in a certain part of a river or brook, this section or *anáwań* remains tabooed until the *obóbāt* or completion of the mourning period.

It is forbidden to work on two days, namely on the second day after the funeral, the *taribukáy*, and on the day following the *obóbāt* ceremony. This obligatory rest is called *úílin*, and any work done on such a day is considered useless and inevitably subject to being completely spoiled.

A widow or widower is forbidden to visit the relatives of the deceased husband or wife for the whole period that elapses between burial and *obóbāt*. Infringement of this taboo would cause the whole body of the culprit to swell up. The same punishment would be inflicted on a widow or widower who would dare eat mushrooms (*óoń*) or *úbud* (young shoots of some palm trees, as the *aníboń* or fishtail palm, etc.).

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is who finds a means to keep the wolf from the door. On occasions like these, it is clearly apparent how training and experience have rendered the Isneg girl fit for meeting almost any kind of emergency, while the customary indolence of the male makes him an easy prey to downheartedness, so much so that he becomes utterly unable to save himself and his family from the pangs of hunger.

If we come to consider the situation from the point of view of the Isneg, it is not to be wondered at that nowadays famines are of rather frequent occurrence in Apayaw. Indeed, foreign authorities have invaded the land: not understanding the position of the Isneg with reference to the tutelary spirits of the country, they have all but extirpated headhunting. What can be expected after this? Being denied their usual offerings, the spirits stop protecting the crops. It is true that the Isneg does not cease to propitiate them by all possible means, but the great sacrifice has been rendered almost impossible, and so the fields have become a prey to evil imps, while the protectors of the rice, the purveyors of the Isneg, have become either powerless or indifferent.

Nevertheless, under ordinary circumstances, the average Isneg raises enough rice to last him and his family for a year. He may not be able to store it up for future consumption, but what he has usually keeps him alive from one harvest to the next, and besides almost always allows him to offer an occasional sacrifice to the spirits and to invite his relatives and neighbors to the ceremony. Such is the normal state of affairs with the great majority of the people.

Now in almost every agglomeration one will find at least one man who is styled "rich" (*ba-nóń*), a man who raises rice in abundance (*aragammáy*) and consequently is able to offer one or more solemn sacrifices every year and to provide food to the inhabitants of several villages for days at a time. However, these so-called rich people do not fare any better than the average citizen, as their surplus is easily consumed at their *sǎy-ám* or solemn sacrifices.

On the other hand, there are always a few who may be called poor (*nakimrút*): their rice, if they raise any at all, never lasts them the whole year round, and, in the meanwhile, they have to content themselves with Indian corn, yams, taro and the rest; but only in times of famine, are they obliged to feed on coconut flowers and other outlandish foods. Others again seem never to be able to make both ends meet: these are the *síbud*; their rice, which should be sufficient for ordinary persons, is usually gone almost before they are aware of it,

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[534] under it and that produces a slight sound when pinched on either end. 243 It is also absolutely forbidden to pare one's nails in a new-made 784 *kómān*.

A very favorable omen is the meeting of a nest of *amsí-* in the future 243 rice field. The *amsí-* is a stinging medium-sized red-and-black ant, 825 very thin between thorax and abdomen. Such a find forebodes the 787 lusty growth of rice and of all plants that may subsequently be raised in this field.

Another happening that is eagerly looked for is the finding of a jungle fowl's nest. At such an occurrence all work is momentarily stopped and the only concern of the Isneg is to count the number of eggs it contains, each egg presaging the harvest of one hundred bundles of rice.

[534]

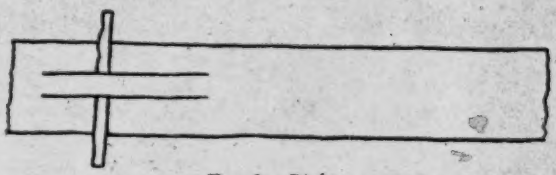

Fig. 3. *Pirây*.

243 When the day's work is over, the Isneg goes home to enjoy a well-262 deserved rest. Here, however, he should be careful, when partaking of a meal, not to eat the crust of the rice (*assíp*), that is, the rice that is next to the pot and has become brown and hardened, because, if he did so, the palay on the field would *umsip*, which means that it would refuse to grow after having sprung up lustily, and would then wither and become yellow and die. This taboo, however, has to be observed only at the beginning of the *mañumá* or clearing of the field.

243 On subsequent journeys to the field for the purpose of continuing 824 the clearing of the ground, it may happen that one sees along the road a *bitál* (also called *bitúl* and *binitulán*), that is: a cluster of vines or rather a considerable amount of strong vines that have become so intertwined as to form a huge knot. This knot could not have been there before, as it could not have escaped observation, so it is only reasonable to conclude that it has formed after the *mañumá* has been started. In this case the Isneg should retrace his steps and make that day a holiday (*ñílin*). If met in the rice field itself, however, such a knot may remain unheeded, as it has not the slightest influence on the man and his *kómān*.

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243 784 A person who *magtósa* is liable to be punished by finding the ears of his palay devoid of grain.

Reapers and owners of a field that is being harvested are not permitted to touch needles (*dáxum*).

262 When the Isneg begin to eat new rice, especially the first time, the following articles of food are prohibited: frogs (*tukâ-*), eels (*kíwat*), *adddág* (a species of very small dark-colored shrimp), *to-mám* (a kind of vegetable growing wild), and in some districts,—for instance at Dangla, not at Bolo,—the young shoots (*úbud*) of the *aníboń* (Caryota cumingii, Lodd., a fishtail palm) and any kind of sour fruit.

243 784 The use of arrows (*paltó-*) is absolutely forbidden in the *síxăy*. Even the pronunciation of its name, *paltó-*, in the hut, is taboo.

A person who is cut (*maplág*) by sharp-edged leaves (for instance, those of the *bassáw* or bamboo grass, of the *adás*-sedge, etc.) must not pronounce the word *pallág* (wound caused by these leaves); he is merely allowed to show the wound to his companions, without calling it by name.

The pronunciation of the word *narupâ-*, "broken", is taboo. Anybody who infringes this prohibition may rest assured that one or more of his *báńa*-jars will become *madamméli* (broken at the time of the harvest).

243 195 Besides the above words, whose pronunciation is absolutely forbidden, there are a good many others that must be replaced by a different term.1 In this way a kind of cant or jargon is formed, which an uninitiated person is unable to understand, even though he have a perfect knowledge of Isneg. A few examples will suffice:

	Common language	Reapers' cant
To eat:	*maglámus* or *mańán*	*magdanág* or *mananág* [57]
To be hungry:	*mabisín* (if you pronounce this word, you will go hungry for a whole year)	*nala-gíń*
To be stuck in the eye:	*masoltâ-* (by reeds, etc.)	*mabuláw*
Dead (when hearing about somebody's death):	*natây*	*marísam* [58]
Rain:	*udán*	*daródo*

[57] *Nadanág*, in ordinary language, means: to be through with the harvest.

[58] Even though the dead person had no field that was being reaped at the time.

1[at harvest time--Analyst]

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24 urged on not only by their offspring, but also by their own appetite, frequently cut down (*magtaggád*) one or more canes, which, divided (*tagtaggán*) into sections (*aṅtát*), are peeled by eager teeth and sucked by greedy mouths. To cut *unát* for the purpose of sucking out its juice is called *mambó*: this is never said of cutting something else or of cutting sugar cane for other purposes.

262 784 Sugar cane at which a wild cat (*múṅaw*) has been gnawing, and hence called *minúṅaw*, must not be sucked by married persons, especially when they have children. This taboo, however, does not extend to the other canes of the same plantation, nor to those that have been attacked by wild boars. A bunch (*búlig*) of bananas that has become *minúṅaw* is tabooed in the same way, but, in this case, the whole bunch is tabooed, even though most of its fruits have escaped injury.

249 When the whole plantation has reached maturity (*taxunát*), the men go to the field and gather the crop (*manaxunát*), cutting the stalks one by one at the base, by means of a hatchet (*aliwá*).

482 All canes that are to be brought to the mill, are trimmed in such a way as to be all of the same length, and then bound into huge bundles. A pole (*alidugdúg*) is inserted into each bundle, to which it is tied in at least two places: this pole prevents the *unát* from moving to and fro and from protruding in all directions, when they are carried on the shoulders.

The aftermath of sugar cane (*pulpúl*) is left untouched until it has to make room for something else that will be planted in the same place.

5. BANANAS

245 Among the many varieties of bananas (*báxat*) that are cultivated by the Isneg, the following should be mentioned:

The *baldyaṅ* or *sabá* (Musa sapientum, L., var. compressa, Blanco): Skin thick, yellow; flattish, eaten raw or cooked; stalk tall.

The *baráṅan* (var. lacatan, Blanco): Skin thick, yellow; meat yellow, fragrant; one of the most esteemed bananas.

The *binaṅá* (var. cinerea, Blanco): Skin thin, yellow; very much esteemed; setting the teeth on edge when not entirely ripe.

The *dokkasí*: Fruits very close together, as if bound into a tight package.

The *xubáw*: Skin thin, yellow; small; not much esteemed.

The *xúyud* or *laxúyud* (var. suaveolens, Blanco): Skin thick, greenish; meat fragrant.

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The *koxamán* or *ko-koxamán*: Skin thick, yellow; very large; eaten only when roasted. 245

The *lippokán*: Skin thin, greenish; very small, oval.

The *liwliwág* or *uliwag*: Skin thin, red; small, elongated, a little curved; meat reddish; stalk short, purple.

The *paiyáñ*: Skin thick; very large, elongated; not much esteemed.

The *papuyán*: Skin thick, yellow; meat yellow, more or less sour.

The *paranán*: Skin thick, yellow; rather large; bunches very large; stalk very tall; leaves very large; not much esteemed.

The *sára*: Skin thin, purple; fruits considerably curved inwards; stalk purple.

The *tarakíta-*: Skin thick, yellow; small; eaten only when cooked.

The *tokkiyán*: Skin thin, yellow; small; not much esteemed.

The *toón*: Skin thin, yellow; resembling the *baráñan*, but larger; stalk very short.

To plant bananas, the Isneg remove (*magsí*) the suckers (*así*) that grow at the base of older plants, and merely transplant them at a distance of about ten feet from one another. The dry season should be chosen for this kind of work, because bananas transplanted at that time bear thick, fleshy fruits (*bílaltúg*), while banana suckers transplanted in the rainy season usually bear only small, thin fruits (*xararpít*).

After one year a transplanted banana bears its fruit and has a few young suckers growing at its base. The top (*púso*, "heart", or *púso báxat*) of the bunch or cluster of flowers never opens. The natives cut [262] it off (*maxipúso*) and use the young flower buds for vegetables.

The bunch of fruits (*búlig*) [75] is cut (*mañbág, tabgán*) before the 251 bananas are ripe enough to be eaten (when they are still *dupát*); therefore it has to be hung in the house (*mañlúto*) until the fruits are completely ripe (*nalúto*). Sometimes the hands (*sápad*; one hand: *tañasápad*) are separated (*magsápad*) from the bunch or *búlig* in order to lessen the difficulty of handling them.

To soften them more quickly the Isneg occasionally thrust single 252 bananas (*dupát*) under the fire or in the ashes of the hearth. Bananas and sweet potatoes that have undergone this treatment are both called *linoóm*.

Fruits (bananas, papayas, etc.) that are nearly ripe, are called [245] *sidaxán;* when they are completely ripe, they are said to be *nalúto*.

[75] One bunch: *tañabúlig; mibbubúlig*: bearing many fruits.

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244 hole, and the latter is provided with one part of a yam; after that the hole is filled up with earth. Almost any part of a yam, even parings, may be used for planting: the center, however, and the entire lower part are useless. In the case of *lo-tó*, usually the upper half of the tuber is thrust into the hole.

When the first yam has been planted and the hole duly filled up, the Isneg cover it with the half of a coconut shell, whose center has been cut out. No such precaution is taken with the subsequent ones.

244 When the vines die, this is a sure sign that it is time to dig up the
785 tubers (*magsíkaw*; sometimes: *magtaggáp*, also said of gathering taro rhizomes). To cause the yams to last long, the Isneg woman places *takkág líńān*[1] next to the first yam she meets, when starting her work, and leaves the latter in the field: a practice similar to the one that is observed at the gathering of taro rhizomes. In the same way, if the first yam that is dug up, happens to be a small one, not a single large one will be found that day; therefore, it is best to stop the work and go home: the next day may bring better luck.

The number of yams varies from plant to plant, but it never exceeds five.

7. OTHER PRODUCTS OF THE ISNEG GARDEN

241 Here follows a brief enumeration of the vegetables (*taxílpá*) and
824 other plants that are raised in the *kadánan* of the Isneg.
262 The *antá-* (Vigna sinensis [L.] Endl.), cowpea. Its green pods (*bísi-*), dried seeds (*bokál*), and young shoots (*otóń*) are used for vegetables.

The *ítāb*, *ábas* or *tańíńi* (Phaseolus lunatus, L.), Lima bean.

The *ampilán* (Dolichos lablab, L.). Its green pods are used for vegetables.

The *balátoń* (Phaseolus radiatus, L.), green gram.

The *pallá*, *palláń* or *pallát* (Psophocarpus tetragonolobus [L.] DC.), asparagus bean. Its green pods are used for vegetables.

The *masćti* (Cajanus cajan [L.] Merr.), pigeon pea.

The *síńkamás* (Pachyrrhizus erosus [L.] Urb.), turnip bean or yam bean. Cultivated for its fleshy roots; its green pods are used for vegetables.

The *amaní* (Arachis hypogaea, L.), peanut.

The *karabása* (sometimes wrongly called *kalabása* or *labása*; from the Spanish *calabaza*), (Cucurbita pepo, L.), squash or pumpkin. Its

[1] [a type of vine, see p. 337. -- Analyst]

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fruits (*bísi-*), male flowers (*bu-gá-*), and young shoots (*rañáw*) are used for vegetables.

The *tabuñáw* (Lagenaria leucantha [Lam.] Rusby), bottle gourd, especially the Hercules'-club. Its fruits (*bísi-*) and young shoots (*rañáw*) are used for vegetables. Several varieties of bottle gourd are cultivated by the Isneg:

The *kandól*, dipper gourd.

The *bakóba-*, calabash. Universally used for storing rice.

The *lupiðy*: A kind of huge calabash.

The *tabðyad*: A kind of small white calabash. Sometimes used for storing rice.

The *busińgán*: A kind of very small calabash. Universally used for storing lime.

The *bakuwáw*. Its young shoots are glabrous.

The *kabatíti* (Luffa cylindrica, Roem.). Its fruits (*bísi-*) are used for vegetables. The variety with ribbed fruits is called *balídān*.

The *pariyá* (Momordica charantia, L.). Its fruits and young shoots are used for vegetables.

The *tańkúy* (Benincasa hispida [Thunb.] Cogn.). Its fruits are used for vegetables.

The *kasímun* (Cucumis sativus, L.), cucumber.

The *túpā-* (Citrullus vulgaris [L.] Schrad.), watermelon.

The *kamáit* or *amákis* (from the Spanish *tomates*), (Lycopersicum esculentum, Mill.), tomato. The variety with small globose fruits.

The *tarón* (Solanum melongena, L.), eggplant.

The *amsí* (Solanum nigrum, L.), nightshade. Its young leaves are used for vegetables.

The *síli*, a general name for the following plants:

The *to-rán* (Capsicum frutescens, L.), chile or spur pepper. Its young leaves (*pat-ó-*) are used for vegetables, and its small fruits for condiments.

The *amílin*, a variety of the preceding, with somewhat larger fruits.

The *xappō-* (Capsicum annuum, L.), green pepper. Its young leaves (*pat-ó-*) and fruits (*bísi-*) are used for vegetables.

The *kambón*, perhaps Solanum crassipetalum, Wall. Its large fruits are used for vegetables.

The *salúyut* or *salúyaw* (Corchorus olitorius, L.), jute or Jews' mallow. Its leaves are used for vegetables.

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241 The *laññá* (Sesamum orientale, L.), sesame or benne. Cultivated 824 for its seeds (*bokál*).

262 The *agláy* (Coix lachryma-jobi, L.), Job's-tears. A variety with edible young capsules that are much elongated.

The *naññá, bannuwáñ* or *sábug* (Setaria italica, Beauv.), Italian millet. It is considered as good luck to find seeds (*bokál*) with two or three (instead of one) eyes or hila.

The *barinát* (Andropogon sorghum [L.] Brot.), sorghum.

The *kumáyo* (Manihot utilissima, Pohl.), cassava, manioc or tapioca plant.

The *lampákan*, a plant resembling the taro. Its branchy rhizome is edible.

The *baxáñ*, probably Tacca sp. Cultivated for its edible roots.

The *basáñ* (Zingiber officinale, Rosc.), ginger.

The *sagó* (Maranta arundinacea, L.), arrowroot.

The *lasoná* (Allium cepa, L.), onion.

[263] The *báwañ* (Allium sativum, L.), garlic.

[283] The *piniyá* or *apiniyá* (from the Spanish *piña*), (Ananassa sativa, Lindl.), pineapple. The fibres of its leaves are used for strings. Its suckers (one on top, several at the base) are called *piñpiñ*.

IV. The Tobacco Field

247 Gardens and tobacco (*tabáko*, from the Spanish *tabaco*) fields (*bakáñ*) are both prepared from old rice fields, but, in the case of the *bakáñ*, the level parts are usually preferred; and so the term *maxónut* for "clearing a level plot of ground" is also the common term for "clearing the *bakáñ*".

The term *magkípug* for "weeding" has exactly the same meaning here as when it is used in connection with the *kadánan* (garden). It is customary, however, to remove as much as possible all trees and stumps of trees that were left in the field, when former crops were raised: this work is called *magkusáp*. Felling trees for timber is *magkalláñ*.

The biggest difference between a *kadánan* (garden) and a tobacco field is the absence of a regular fence around the latter. Its only protection against the inroads of animals is the *dal-át* or heap of rubbish, that consists mostly of weeds and canes proceeding from the surrounding grounds and piled up all around. The same contrivance is occasionally resorted to in the case of fields planted with Indian

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To nōnná ńa alxáw ăy nagdallís nalnáp ńamin to alawaxán ńam 245
āwán piám maiyúg kid apáyaw,/ ńam ăy ránna la uwád da iyúg ga 824
nillód./ Nasińán dató tólăy éluxānda ńa totó ńam bakkánda namálā-./ 539
Nasińán din to kusá sinaluxánna séna iddán kadató tólăy séda imúla./
Tówin ya naggăyatán ńámin ńa iyúg./ Ńam xapó ta ipaanáńi dăyá
kusá to nańalá-da kitó nagdallísna kitó nōnná ńa alxáw séno atán ya
mańallód ônó mańíxād mińirańiráw dăyá kusá maxáwāgda ka iyúg.

In former days the whole world was covered with a flood, but no coconuts were yet produced in Apayaw,/ but it happened that there was a coconut that floated down./ The men saw it, they really desired it, but they did not get it./ A cat saw it then, it got it swimming, then gives it to the men, then they plant it./ That is the origin of all the coconuts./ But, because the cats managed to take it out of the flood in former days, when somebody causes [coconuts] to float down or scrapes out coconut meat, the cats mew, they call the coconuts.

When somebody intends to plant coconuts, the first thing he has to 245
do is to climb one or more of the trees and to detach (*mamúxāt, buxátan*) a certain amount of ripe nuts (*iyúg*), which are dropped on the ground and afterwards picked up; cracked ones of course are useless for this purpose. A man who has been roasting meat should [784]
abstain from gathering nuts (*manuxúnug*) for some time, lest the trees that grow from these nuts produce nothing else but fruits that wither before they are grown to maturity.

The nuts (*patúbo*) are tied without more ado to a pole that has been stuck somewhere in or near the house yard, in order to cause them to sprout (*mańarăy* or *magpaarăy*). There are very few houses in Apayaw in whose immediate neighborhood there is not to be found such a pole with its heap of dry coconuts. Here they are left until the shoots have attained a certain development and they are ready to be planted.

The meat of sprouting nuts (*arăy*) that are in their first stage [262]
namely before the shell has been pierced, consists of a white spongy mass (*tobál*) that fills the whole nut and is considered as a great dainty.

To plant coconuts (*magtubáń*) the Isneg men dig holes in the ground, at a distance of at least fifteen feet (*dapán*) from one another. Then the man who does the actual planting proceeds in the following way:

First he loosens his G-string, because

nexát ya abág séno nasulít a bunután

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245 824 The *santól* or *santór* (Sandoricum koetjape [Burm.f.] Merr.), sandal tree. Fruit globose, yellowish; pericarp thick; seeds large, surrounded by a soft, translucent or pale, edible, acid pulp.

The *piyát* (Averrhoa bilimbi, L.). Its acid fruit is edible and much used for condiments.

The *ulílib*, growing wild and occasionally cultivated: A large tree, whose edible fruits, when ripe, consist in a yellow drupe, the size of a small tomato (globose variety), and contain two stones.

The Isneg have several ways of gathering fruits from a tree. Whenever possible of course they simply pick them from below; otherwise they either climb the tree or shake it (*xoyyowán* or *yagyaggán*). Sometimes they use a *raxúd*, a stick or bamboo provided with a hook, whether natural or artificial, in order to detach the fruits (*magdo-dó-*) and cause them to drop down. Finally they get some fruits by throwing a stick through the crown of a tree.

Fruits are gathered in the same way, whether one or more are picked (*magpanndt*) for present use, or all of them are harvested at once (*magdakná-*).

A fruit that has been overlooked and is left on the tree is called a *kátat*.

VI. Other Plants

Here follows a list of trees, shrubs and herbs that are cultivated by the Isneg and have been omitted in the preceding treatment of the garden and the orchard. Most of them are planted somewhere at the outskirts of the village or around the house yard, like the coco palm and other fruit trees; but I thought it better to treat them separately, because, either they are not trees at all, or else they could hardly be counted as fruit trees in the strict sense of the word. Some of the herbs are found occasionally in the *kadánaṅ* (garden), but this is rather exceptional.

Cultivated for culinary purposes

241 824 The *marońday* (Moringa oleifera, Lam.), horse-radish tree. Its leaves and fruits are used for vegetables.

262 The *katúday* or *kasúday* (Sesbania grandiflora [L.] Pers.). Flowers and pods are used for vegetables.

[263] The *salamági* (Tamarindus indica, L.), tamarind. Its pods are used for condiments.

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The *tŏsi, katŏsit* or *antŏsit* (Bixa orellana, L.), achiote or annatto tree. The seeds are used for condiments.

The *kapé* (from the Spanish *café*), coffee. The plants known in commerce as *robusta* are much more frequently cultivated in Apayaw than the *arabica*: this points to a comparatively recent introduction.

The *kakáw* (from the Spanish *cacao*), (Theobroma cacoa, L.), cacao or chocolate tree.

Palms and bamboos

The *bowá* (Arecga catechu, L.), betel palm or areca palm.

The *lítag*, wild betel palm, occasionally cultivated.

The *alimmuxâyan*, a variety of betel palm with very small nuts.

The *lañpá* or *labíd* (Livistona rotundifolia, Mart.), a kind of fan palm whose leaves are used for raincoats, thatch, etc. Its fruits are called *kulíbañ* or *kulalbáñ*.

The *kawâyan* (Bambusa blumeana, Schultes. f.), the ordinary spiny bamboo.

The *pasíñan*: A kind of spiny bamboo whose walls are lined with a membrane. It is used in basketwork, in the building of huts, in traps for catching wild boars, etc.

The *pa-lí*: A kind of slender spiny bamboo, mostly used in basketwork.

The *bólo* (Schizostachyum mucronatum, Mack.), the ordinary unarmed bamboo. Occasionally cultivated.

Cultivated for their perfume

The *alañíxan* (Canangium odoratum [Lam.] Baill.), ylang-ylang.

The *bañíñaw*: A shrub with round brown fruits. Its leaves are used for perfume.

The *sapítan* (Andropogon citratus, DC.), lemon grass. Sometimes planted in the *kóman* (rice field).

Cultivated for ornamental purposes

The *sarawénes* or *barawénes* (not genuine Isneg), (Delonix regia [Boj.] Ral.), peacock flower, flame tree or flamboyant.

The *lâyañá* or *âyañá* (Hibiscus rosa-sinensis, L.), China rose or shoeblack plant.

The *malmalókoñ* (Northopanax cochleatum [Lam.] Miq.), saucer-leaf.

The *dummariyá* (from the Spanish *Doña María*, "Lady Mary"),

000 in these jars, together with the beads. The jars are
523 valued up to P200 and bead up to P150 each. They
[435] are usually inherited in the family as marriage dow-
[43] ries; but may be received as indemnity for injuries.
[425] Sometimes labels, in the ancient script, are chiseled
[583] on these jars. According to authorities, when the
[680] people came here, they had a high culture and read
212 and wrote fluently in the script; but this culture grad-
178 ually lessened from disuse until now there are only
523 a few treasured ancient manuscripts remaining.

415 One type of basket is used. The lip is circuar-
285 formed on rattan. The bottom is drawn out to four corners on which is secured a rattan base. Both wicker and twilled basket weaves are used, and the best ones are ornamented with colored lines and conventional designs. These baskets are woven in different sizes to fit various needs; so that a good housewife has a whole set of them which will nest together There are also some especially shaped baskets for particular uses.

415 At meal time the cooked rice is ladled out on new
264 banana leaves placed on the floor, and the other food may be placed in polished, half-coconut shells. These are also used as water cups, finger bowls, and general containers. The family squat around and help themselves to the food. Their fingers are washed and, being more convenient, are used in place of forks.

262 The rice has a pinkish hue, is sticky, has a good flavor, and is the basic food of the people. With this may be eaten portions of the flesh of fish, shrimp, snails, crabs, crocodiles, lizards, frogs, ants, chickens, 000 birds, or deer. The vegetables may be: tomatoes, egg-

1 [ancient Chinese -- ANALYST 8]

The vegetables may be: tomatoes, egg- 262
plants, squash, peppers, corn, beans, camote, gabi, or [244
yams. Fruits may be: bananas, coconuts, pineapples, 245]
jack fruit, oranges, lemons, guavas, melons, *lucban*,
mangoes, or papaya. The beverages may be: coffee, [272]
cocoa, or water. Honey is included in the diet. From [263]
sugar cane are produced candied fruits and vegetables, 276
molasses, *basi*, and vinegar. A strong tobacco is raised
and smoked—sometimes in a small pipe; but generally
one leaf is rolled into a small cigar. Both men and
women smoke. Boys and girls start smoking at an
early age.

In growing these things, the people do not use ir- 311
rigation; but follow the *kaiñgin* method of farming. 241
A suitable piece of wild land is selected. The vegetation [312]
is cut down, allowed to dry, and then burnt. Seeds
are planted in the ashen earth by making a hole with
a sharp stick and dropping a seed in it The plot is [417]
is enclosed with a bamboo fence. The men clear and [462]
fence the land, while the women do much of the rest
of the work. In two years the soil has become leached
and packed by the heavy tropical rains and so sterile
that a new *kaiñgin* is made elsewhere.

The rice is an upland variety which does not re- 243
quire much water. The seeds are planted during the
beginning of the rainy season in April and May. When
ripe, the heads are cut off by hand, using a miniature
aliwa. These heads are gathered into bundles, tied, and [251]
then stored in a specially built square granary whose 343]
architectural design follows that of the house. Tobacco 249
and vegetables are usually planted during January af- 244
ter the harvest, in the *kaiñgins* where rice was grown.

When the woman wishes some rice to cook, she 252
threshes several bundles on a mat or skin with a club; 412

They have a feast: rice
basi, and the greater part of a pig or dog are served. 584
Then business begins. The parents and relatives of 583
the youth, arrange the amount of the dowry, *todog*. [574]
If it is of less value, the youth must stay in the house [262]
of the girl. When the contract is agreed upon, it is
strictly adhered to; and the youth and girl are said
to be married.

The real ceremony, *aqueb*, then follows. The pa- 585
rents of the girl bring pigs and baskets of rice-cakes
to the house of the youth. The girl comes in company
with several old women. They all stop about one hun-
dred yards from the house of the youth. There they
are met by the parents or mother of the youth, bear-
ing valuable gifts for the parents of the girl. The
youth's mother then requests the girl from her pa-
rents. Upon approval, the whole company moves to
the house, where the mother presents her gifts to the
parents of the girl. The rice cakes are sold to the re- [435]
latives of the youth, the nominal price being P1.00
per basket. Then the merry-making starts and con-
tinues through the night. The youth and girl must [784]
not eat the sweets, as one of them would die. In the
morning final payments of the dowry are made and
distributed. Then the young couple are considered to
be properly married, but still controlled by their pa-
rents.

When the young woman feels that she is about to 844
give birth, either the husband or the mother-in-law
will twist a piece of cloth, light one end, and place it,
the *pungan*, at the door. With it is the coconut shred- [442]
der, *igad*. These guard the woman while delivering so
that no *anito* can come into the house to annoy the

787 on the way. So he must return, sit down, and wait awhile before setting out again.

If a man on his way to make *kaiñgin* meets a rat or hears a deer barking, the rat or the deer will eat all the rice plants in that place. So he must start another *kaiñgin*. Also, if he should happen to break his *aliwa*, some one in his family will die if he does not make his *kaiñgin* in another place.

784 Moreover there are many things which one is prohibited from doing. Some of these taboos are:

Do not leave the windows of the house open at night. If you do, a ghost, *alolag*, will come in and kill the people.

Do not cut your finger nails nor pull out any of your hair while working. If you do, you will get sick.

Do not leave while one is still eating in the house. If you do, you will get sick.

784 Do not eat the heart of a pig when a little child.
262 If you do, you will have misfortune.

Do not eat sour things if some one has died in the house, unless he is a relative.

Do not eat venison during the harvest season. If you so, your stomach will become large like the deer's, and you will consume too much rice.

784 Do not speak angrily at a rat. If you do, the rats will eat all there is in the house.

784 241 Do not laugh while planting *ubi* or *camote*. If you do, these root vegetables will laugh so that all their skins will be found to be burst open when you harvest them.

Do not look up while planting bananas. If you do, the plants will grow so tall that it will be hard to pick the fruit.

764 A fence is constructed around the house, and all neighbors are strictly prohibited, *canao*, from entering [82] it or even from coming around the place. The rela- [262] tives dress in white as a sign of mourning and drink *basi;* but they do not eat rice nor meat; only plain food, such as camotes and bananas. There is no music, dancing, or singing; only mourning in order that the spirit of the dead may be happy in the knowledge that they miss him.

The corpse is bathed, dressed, and laid out on a mat, length-wise with the house. Then the nearest relative (husband or wife), with hair cut short and dressed in white, must lie down by the side of the corpse just as if it were still alive, and remain there without food and without moving for two or three days, all during the *callas*. After a while it becomes torture for the person to stay still; but when he does move without permission, the relatives of the dead are there to punish him and force him to pay them indemnity.

764 While this is going on, all the relatives are eat- 533 ing, drinking and mourning. This mourning is not so much the grief of parting, but rather as entertainment for the dead. There are certain specified shouts and talking back and forth, using certain old cadences: sometimes expressing pity or carrying on vigorous debates which almost seem quarrelsome. As the *callas* continues, it all makes quite a noise.

764 In the meantime, the corpse has begun to smell and putrify. A relative takes some of the fluid beginning to come out of the mouth, ears, and eyes of the decaying body and rubs it as an ointment all over

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585 On the day fixed for the *ákit*, the relatives of the girl come together
263 at the latter's house, where a large amount of native sweets has been prepared for the purpose. These sweets are of different kinds:

The *sinandilá: dékat* rice pounded into powder and cooked with coconut oil, coconut milk and salt or sugar, in a shape like that of our ordinary pancakes;

The *binaladdibád* or *ininapát*, as explained previously;

The *linaxókog: dékat* rice pounded into powder, salted and cooked in lard, with neither sugar nor coconut products added to it; these cakes have more or less the form of our doughnuts, except that they are very flat; their diameter is usually from two to three inches, and there is a round hole in the center;

The *pinatará-: dékat* rice pounded into powder and cooked, after which it is cut into strips; in the meanwhile coconut milk is cooked in some other receptacle, and when the latter is boiling, first salt and then the *dékat* strips are added to it. The *pinatará-* take all kinds of shapes, but in general they are long and narrow, and look more or less like sections of a candle.

585 When everything is ready, the women take charge of the baskets
583 (*la-bá*) full of cakes, and one or more men carry a pig, which is called the *bálat* (revenge, taking turns, etc.) on this occasion. All these are so-called presents that will be distributed to the relatives of the groom by those of the bride. Then the whole procession, in which the *mañlakkát* plays the most conspicuous rôle, proceeds on its way to the boy's house; this may be done in the daytime as well as in the evening: no special time is set for the ceremony. It should be noted once for all that, if the groom is a married man and has a house of his own, all ceremonies connected with the *ákit* and the ensuing *lablabág* are conducted at his own house, and not at that of his parents.

585 And now as to the *mañlakkát*. This is always a young girl as yet
292 unmarried, and she is not allowed to wear any other body garment but the tapis or *akén*, and probably the *talút* or G-string, which after all remains invisible. A *sarikaw* hat, like the one worn by a woman after her delivery when she goes to take her first bath, completes her attire. Out of modesty, however, the *mañlakkát* does not wear her tapis in the customary way, that is, from the waist down, but she passes it over her breasts, so that the latter are covered, with the obvious result that her thighs are partially uncovered, as the lower end of the tapis barely reaches half-way down between the buttocks

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[586] 585 then there is always a way open to them, and divorce is not so very uncommon among the Isneg as to be considered an extraordinary event.

[836] Bride and groom having already had coitus more than once, there is no question of course of ceremonial defloration, jus primae noctis, looking for proofs of virginity, and so on. The morning after the *ákit*, the *tádug* is brought over to the house of the girl's parents, and triumphantly escorted by a large group of people. Here a chicken is killed in order to celebrate the happy event, and all present are allowed to partake of it, but some of the blood must be smeared on the objects that make up the *tádug*. This is called *banít:* the girl's parents are those who *mamanít*, they *banítan* the *tádug*.

585 263 One or two days later a certain quantity of sweets is again prepared at the house of the bride's parents, for the ceremony called *lablabág;* but the *pinatará-* variety of cakes is taboo on this occasion. The reason is that it would cause the future offspring of the newly wed to get sore ears (a kind of otitis with concomitant suppuration).

[805] 585 On the third day, three nights (the Isneg always count by nights, not by days) after the *ákit*, the young couple *maglablabág:* they first go to observe the flight of the *labág* bird. If the omen is bad, nothing will be done and a more favorable occasion will be awaited, because to go ahead under the circumstances would entail the early death of one of the interested parties. The whole *lablabág* ceremony, however, is almost always performed on that day anyhow, as there is more than one hour in a day and more than one *labág* bird in Apayaw. After having obtained a good augury, if the house of the boy's parents is near, the young couple direct their steps toward it in the afternoon; otherwise they start in the morning. The members of their 585 escort carry all eatables prepared for this occasion, and these are 262 then distributed to the people at the house of the groom. These eatables,—sweets, meat, etc.,—are called *talinabáw*, but the cakes are far from being as abundant as at the time of the *ákit*. The whole ceremony, beginning with the observance of the flight of the *labág* and ending with the distribution of the *talinabáw* at the house of the boy's parents, is called *lablabág*.

585 The next day, four nights after the *ákit*, the husband goes to live (*maggiyán*) with his young wife at the latter's house, and stays there as long as has been determined at the *amómán*, after which he takes his wife home to his parents' house, where the woman stays (*maggiyán*) from now on. In case the groom does not stay at the house

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fruits (*bísi-*), male flowers (*bu-gá-*), and young shoots (*rańáw*) are used for vegetables.

The *tabuńáw* (Lagenaria leucantha [Lam.] Rusby), bottle gourd, especially the Hercules'-club. Its fruits (*bísi-*) and young shoots (*rańáw*) are used for vegetables. Several varieties of bottle gourd are cultivated by the Isneg:

The *kandól*, dipper gourd.

The *bakóba-*, calabash. Universally used for storing rice.

The *lupíáy*: A kind of huge calabash.

The *tabáyad*: A kind of small white calabash. Sometimes used for storing rice.

The *busińán*: A kind of very small calabash. Universally used for storing lime.

The *bakuwáw*. Its young shoots are glabrous.

The *kabatíti* (Luffa cylindrica, Roem.). Its fruits (*bísi-*) are used for vegetables. The variety with ribbed fruits is called *balídan*.

The *pariyá* (Momordica charantia, L.). Its fruits and young shoots are used for vegetables.

The *tańkúy* (Benincasa hispida [Thunb.] Cogn.). Its fruits are used for vegetables.

The *kasímun* (Cucumis sativus, L.), cucumber.

The *túpa-* (Citrullus vulgaris [L.] Schrad.), watermelon.

The *kamáit* or *amákis* (from the Spanish *tomates*), (Lycopersicum esculentum, Mill.), tomato. The variety with small globose fruits.

The *tarón* (Solanum melongena, L.), eggplant.

The *amsí* (Solanum nigrum, L.), nightshade. Its young leaves are used for vegetables.

The *síli*, a general name for the following plants:

The *to-rán* (Capsicum frutescens, L.), chile or spur pepper. Its young leaves (*pat-ó-*) are used for vegetables, and its small fruits for condiments.

The *amílíi*, a variety of the preceding, with somewhat larger fruits.

The *zappó-* (Capsicum annuum, L.), green pepper. Its young leaves (*pat-ó-*) and fruits (*bísi-*) are used for vegetables.

The *kambóń*, perhaps Solanum crassipetalum, Wall. Its large fruits are used for vegetables.

The *salúyut* or *salúyaw* (Corchorus olitorius, L.), jute or Jews' mallow. Its leaves are used for vegetables.

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241 The *laṅṅá* (Sesamum orientale, L.), sesame or benne. Cultivated 824 for its seeds (*bokál*).

262 The *aglây* (Coix lachryma-jobi, L.), Job's-tears. A variety with edible young capsules that are much elongated.

The *naṅná*, *bannuwáṅ* or *sábug* (Setaria italica, Beauv.), Italian millet. It is considered as good luck to find seeds (*bokál*) with two or three (instead of one) eyes or hila.

The *baxindt* (Andropogon sorghum [L.] Brot.), sorghum.

The *kumâyo* (Manihot utilissima, Pohl.), cassava, manioc or tapioca plant.

The *lampákan*, a plant resembling the taro. Its branchy rhizome is edible.

The *baxáṅ*, probably Tacca sp. Cultivated for its edible roots.

The *basáṅ* (Zingiber officinale, Rosc.), ginger.

The *sagó* (Maranta arundinacea, L.), arrowroot.

The *lasoná* (Allium cepa, L.), onion.

[263] The *báwaṅ* (Allium sativum, L.), garlic.

The *piniyá* or *apiniyá* (from the Spanish *piña*), (Ananassa sativa, [283] Lindl.), pineapple. The fibres of its leaves are used for strings. Its suckers (one on top, several at the base) are called *piṅpíṅ*.

IV. The Tobacco Field

247 Gardens and tobacco (*tabáko*, from the Spanish *tabaco*) fields (*bakáṅ*) are both prepared from old rice fields, but, in the case of the *bakáṅ*, the level parts are usually preferred; and so the term *maxónut* for "clearing a level plot of ground" is also the common term for "clearing the *bakáṅ*".

The term *magkípug* for "weeding" has exactly the same meaning here as when it is used in connection with the *kadánan* (garden). It is customary, however, to remove as much as possible all trees and stumps of trees that were left in the field, when former crops were raised: this work is called *magkusáp*. Felling trees for timber is *magkallán*.

The biggest difference between a *kadánan* (garden) and a tobacco field is the absence of a regular fence around the latter. Its only protection against the inroads of animals is the *dal-át* or heap of rubbish, that consists mostly of weeds and canes proceeding from the surrounding grounds and piled up all around. The same contrivance is occasionally resorted to in the case of fields planted with Indian

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245 The *santól* or *santór* (Sandoricum koetjape [Burm.f.] Merr.), sandal 824 tree. Fruit globose, yellowish; pericarp thick; seeds large, surrounded by a soft, translucent or pale, edible, acid pulp.

The *piyát* (Averrhoa bilimbi, L.). Its acid fruit is edible and much used for condiments.

The *ulílib*, growing wild and occasionally cultivated: A large tree, whose edible fruits, when ripe, consist in a yellow drupe, the size of a small tomato (globose variety), and contain two stones.

The Isneg have several ways of gathering fruits from a tree. Whenever possible of course they simply pick them from below; otherwise they either climb the tree or shake it (*xoyyowán* or *yagyaggán*). Sometimes they use a *raxúd*, a stick or bamboo provided with a hook, whether natural or artificial, in order to detach the fruits (*magdo-dó-*) and cause them to drop down. Finally they get some fruits by throwing a stick through the crown of a tree.

Fruits are gathered in the same way, whether one or more are picked (*magpanndí*) for present use, or all of them are harvested at once (*magdakná-*).

A fruit that has been overlooked and is left on the tree is called a *kátat*.

VI. Other Plants

Here follows a list of trees, shrubs and herbs that are cultivated by the Isneg and have been omitted in the preceding treatment of the garden and the orchard. Most of them are planted somewhere at the outskirts of the village or around the house yard, like the coco palm and other fruit trees; but I thought it better to treat them separately, because, either they are not trees at all, or else they could hardly be counted as fruit trees in the strict sense of the word. Some of the herbs are found occasionally in the *kadánan* (garden), but this is rather exceptional.

Cultivated for culinary purposes

241 The *marońday* (Moringa oleifera, Lam.), horse-radish tree. Its 824 leaves and fruits are used for vegetables.

262 The *katúday* or *kasúday* (Sesbania grandiflora [L.] Pers.). Flowers and pods are used for vegetables.

[263] The *salamági* (Tamarindus indica, L.), tamarind. Its pods are used for condiments.

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The *tôsi*, *katôsit* or *antôsit* (Bixa orellana, L.), achiote or annatto tree. The seeds are used for condiments.

The *kapé* (from the Spanish *café*), coffee. The plants known in commerce as *robusta* are much more frequently cultivated in Apayaw than the *arabica*: this points to a comparatively recent introduction.

The *kakáw* (from the Spanish *cacao*), (Theobroma cacoa, L.), cacao or chocolate tree.

Palms and bamboos

The *bowá* (Arecga catechu, L.), betel palm or areca palm.

The *lítag*, wild betel palm, occasionally cultivated.

The *alimmuxđyān*, a variety of betel palm with very small nuts.

The *lańpá* or *labíd* (Livistona rotundifolia, Mart.), a kind of fan palm whose leaves are used for raincoats, thatch, etc. Its fruits are called *kulébań* or *kulalbáń*.

The *kawđyan* (Bambusa blumeana, Schultes. f.), the ordinary spiny bamboo.

The *pasíńan*: A kind of spiny bamboo whose walls are lined with a membrane. It is used in basketwork, in the building of huts, in traps for catching wild boars, etc.

The *pa-lí*: A kind of slender spiny bamboo, mostly used in basketwork.

The *bólo* (Schizostachyum mucronatum, Mack.), the ordinary unarmed bamboo. Occasionally cultivated.

Cultivated for their perfume

The *alańízān* (Canangium odoratum [Lam.] Baill.), ylang-ylang.

The *bańńáw*: A shrub with round brown fruits. Its leaves are used for perfume.

The *sapitđn* (Andropogon citratus, DC.), lemon grass. Sometimes planted in the *kómān* (rice field).

Cultivated for ornamental purposes

The *sarawénes* or *barawénes* (not genuine Isneg), (Delonix regia [Boj.] Ral.), peacock flower, flame tree or flamboyant.

The *lăyańá* or *ăyańá* (Hibiscus rosa-sinensis, L.), China rose or shoeblack plant.

The *malmalókoń* (Northopanax cochleatum [Lam.] Miq.), saucer-leaf.

The *dummariyá* (from the Spanish *Doña María*, "Lady Mary"),

The vegetables may be: tomatoes, egg- 262
plants, squash, peppers, corn, beans, camote, gabi, or [244
yams. Fruits may be: bananas, coconuts, pineapples, 245]
jack fruit, oranges, lemons, guavas, melons, *lucban*,
mangoes, or papaya. The beverages may be: coffee, [272]
cocoa, or water. Honey is included in the diet. From [263]
sugar cane are produced candied fruits and vegetables,
molasses, *basi*, and vinegar. A strong tobacco is raised 276
and smoked—sometimes in a small pipe; but generally
one leaf is rolled into a small cigar. Both men and
women smoke. Boys and girls start smoking at an
early age.

In growing these things, the people do not use ir- 311
rigation; but follow the *kaiñgin* method of farming. 241
A suitable piece of wild land is selected. The vegetation [312]
is cut down, allowed to dry, and then burnt. Seeds
are planted in the ashen earth by making a hole with
a sharp stick and dropping a seed in it The plot is [317]
is enclosed with a bamboo fence. The men clear and [462]
fence the land, while the women do much of the rest
of the work. In two years the soil has become leached
and packed by the heavy tropical rains and so sterile
that a new *kaiñgin* is made elsewhere.

The rice is an upland variety which does not re- 243
quire much water. The seeds are planted during the
beginning of the rainy season in April and May. When
ripe, the heads are cut off by hand, using a miniature
aliwa. These heads are gathered into bundles, tied, and [25]
then stored in a specially built square granary whose 343]
architectural design follows that of the house. Tobacco 249
and vegetables are usually planted during January af- 244
ter the harvest, in the *kaiñgins* where rice was grown.

When the woman wishes some rice to cook, she 252
threshes several bundles on a mat or skin with a club; 412

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question and bring the water home, when without such trouble, the same, and even a much better, result can be obtained by using the water where it is found 575

The Isneg wash their hands before meals, or, to speak correctly, dip one of their hands in water with a semblance of washing it: they occasionally tell their offspring to do the same. 264 515 862

In order to satisfy the wants of nature, they always retire far away from the presence of other human beings lest they offend the latters' sense of smell: an Isneg resents nothing more than the disregard of this elementary courtesy, and children receive a severe scolding and sometimes a sound thrashing, if they fail to imitate their elders in this respect. Special closets for the purpose were entirely unknown here until Government officials introduced them by force: there is no lack of space in Apayaw. 514 863 177

Isneg women sweep the house, not only daily, but whenever there is a reason for doing so, and they clean the yard very often. Small girls are regularly told to help their mother or their elder sisters, and sometimes to do the sweeping in their stead, so that they also may learn how to perform the duties of a good housewife. 356 863

Let us now pass to the noble sport of *bisndg*. *Bisndg* is very popular all over the northern part of the Mountain Province, while Ibaloy and Kankanay seem not even to know it. Among the Isneg, not only boys and young men, but also men of mature age, frequently indulge in it; nay, at stated times, adults take part in it as in a kind of religious rite or ceremony; but more of this later. Isneg youngsters usually practice *bisndg* in imitation of their elders, merely as a kind of play, whenever it takes their fancy to do so. Although this sport is not formally taught, older people often urge boys to take part in it, and they rarely fail to break out into vociferous applause, whenever one of the young braves has performed his part befittingly, in this way encouraging the whole group to do better and better. 524 857 865 865 201 861

Bisndg certainly inures the partakers to hardship and develops their bodily strength, although, to use a minimum of words, one might say that it merely consists in slapping one another's thigh. But such a statement is all too simple; in reality the sport is much more complicated. There must be at least two men in order to play *bisndg* (Figures 1 and 2), and strictly speaking, two men are sufficient: the one who slaps, whom I shall call the agent for short, and the one who is slapped, the patient. 524 865

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yourself as best you can. Any kind of excuse will do in order to escape a thrashing or a severe scolding, provided it proves acceptable; but take care not to be caught lying: this could but add to the latter's resentment. To get out of a bad predicament a little deceit is not forbidden, but not everybody can use it with good results; so be careful about it".

Lately, when paying a visit to *Basílig* at Pansian, his daughters set the table (in the Isneg way, of course) for him, and partook of the food only after their father had finished his own meal, although this is not required by custom.

In general the Isneg have a high regard for their parents and elders, although in our eyes their conduct may sometimes seem to be lacking in outward signs of respect. Their standard of etiquette and politeness is not exactly the same as our own. An Isneg child calls its parents "father" and "mother", and a usual title of respect for aged people is *kakáy*, but for the rest it is not very demonstrative.

So, when an Isneg mother recently came to visit her son at my house, the other boys repeatedly told him that his mother was there, but he did not move in the least: the old woman had to go and look for him herself somewhere around the house. Nevertheless that boy had asked me on a former occasion to be allowed to stop going to school in order to help his widowed mother with the wages he would be able to earn that way.

To be convinced that Isneg children respect their elders, although most all outward signs common to our own code are usually absent, it is sufficient to observe their behavior and that of their elders, whenever something untoward has happened. Isneg children look like angels, if you compare their attitude and whole demeanor with that of older men and women, who shout and gesticulate and allow the whole neighborhood to know what happened, without having to go out of its way to listen to the conversation. Boys and girls usually keep quiet when their parents are angry, while in the case of older people it is a question of proving who has the loudest voice, the one that carries the farthest: among the Isneg, the biggest shouter usually gains the victory.

An unmannerly person is called *toxároń*; this epithet, however, is only applied as far as I know, to a person who drinks directly from the *urúd*, a bamboo that is used for fetching water, instead of using a cup.

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857 *Magdaldál*: Said of a mother who badly wants to see her absent child.

192 *Kakóboń*: Family, parents and children.

104 *Makikóboń*: To live together in the same house (two different families, servants of the family).

601 *Amá* or *ammá*: Father.

Iná or *innó*: Mother.

Waxí: Brother, sister. Plural: *wawáxi*.

Manákam: Oldest brother or sister (the first of all); also: parents, ancestors.

Udiyán: Youngest brother or sister (the last of all).

Ulitág: Uncle.

Ikit: Aunt.

Kapinsán: First cousin.

Kapidnwá: Second cousin.

Kapi-ló: Third cousin (prefix *kapi* and stem *talló*, "three").

Katuxáńón: Father-in-law, mother-in-law.

Manúxań: Son-in-law, daughter-in-law.

Káyoń or *katāyūg*: Brother-in-law.

Ipāg: Sister-in-law.

Kabírat: The relation that exists between the husbands or wives of two brothers or sisters, or the husband of a woman and her brother's wife.

Bálo: widower, widow (mourning).

Búkud: widower, widow (after the mourning period is over).

601 Many of these terms have a very elastic meaning. *Waxí* may be either a real brother or sister, or simply any kind of relative. *Amá* and *iná* may sometimes refer to any relative whose relation is similar to that of father and mother, for instance: uncle and aunt, etc. *Káyoń* may be either a real brother-in-law or the husband of a first cousin, etc.

III. Daily Routine

512 Although the daily life of an Isneg is not regulated by the clock, there is nevertheless a certain order in the routine of his duties and 264 occupations. The family generally rises at daybreak. An Isneg begins the day as soon as artificial light can be dispensed with, and if yams (*úbi*) or sweet potatoes (*kamusí*) are available, the women cook them on the never-absent fire, and all inmates of the house try to get their share as best they can. As soon as this informal break-

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fast is over,—or, if none of the above-named tubers are to be had, which is by far the most usual case, as soon as all limbs have been duly stretched out,—everyone turns to his occupations: the women mostly repair to their fields, and the men either go fishing or attend to some other kind of work that devolves upon them; a good many times, however, they simply do nothing.

About ten or eleven o'clock a. m., the Isneg take their first substantial meal: this has been prepared by the women, who usually come back a little earlier than the men, in case the latter have been out, and it is generally taken in common, the whole family squatting around the plates that are set out on some particular spot on the floor, not too far from the hearth. After that the men act in the same way as in the morning, while women either go back to the field or attend to the pounding of rice, the feeding of the pigs and other chores.

In the evening the second principal meal is cooked, and it is partaken of very often by the light of the flickering flames of the hearth, but never at a very late hour, as the Isneg goes to sleep almost with the chickens. When I say "goes to sleep", I do not of course mean "sleeps", as a comparatively long interval of time generally separates the two actions: this gap is filled in by story-telling and so on, while the young men roam around to see their sweethearts or to court the girls. When there is moonlight, the youngsters usually pass the first part of the night in romping and playing.

In a few families the first substantial meal is cooked and eaten in the morning, before the inmates of the house leave for their respective occupations; and then, cooked yams or sweet potatoes are occasionally partaken of at or about noon. Others again, instead of eating their first meal at home, take along some cooked provisions (*kupíl*; never *bálon*, "provisions of uncooked food"), and eat them at the place of their work.

Such is the Isneg daily life under ordinary circumstances. At the time of the year devoted to the preparation of the fields (clearing the forest and burning the grasses), the men very often start early in the morning, after breakfast, and come back only in the evening, when they partake of their last meal. The women rarely fail to come back more or less early in the afternoon in order to attend to their ordinary household duties.

Whenever the men intend to leave the house very early, whether to go to the field, or to start on a journey that will last for several days, the women arise long before daybreak, at the first crowing of the

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cock, in order to prepare breakfast, which early preparation is called *magsira*.

Actually children who attend school continue to follow the general Isneg rule, and leave home early in the morning, before having taken any breakfast. As they have to wait until noon before partaking of their first meal, it is needless to say that such conditions will hardly improve the health of the next generation.

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Divisions of day and night as known to the Isneg:

Mawarnit: Immediately before sunrise.

Pagmakát: Morning, from sunrise till about ten o'clock a. m.

Alzów: Day.

Xídam: Evening, from about five o'clock p. m. till darkness sets in.

Xabí: Night.

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585 allowed to mount the ladder, either by herself or on the back of the *mañlakkát*.

Once inside she has to go immediately toward the place where a *balanddn* blanket, the property of the boy's parents, has been spread on the floor, and to sit down upon it. The *balanddn* consists of three rectangular pieces of cloth, sewn together at the sides, not at the edges; the two sutures are provided with large ornamental stitches of purple thread. The bride, however, is not to stay there very long, as she has barely squatted down on the *balanddn* when her mother pulls it away from under her, and takes possession of the same. Here also the *mañlakkát* dons her customary attire, — jacket, headband and the rest, — as her rôle is finished by this time.

585 574 264 The parents of the boy usually prepare a banquet for all present; chickens or pigs and dogs are slaughtered, according to the social standing of the owners of the house, but, as previously noted, no shaman performs the *maxanito*. Should the *bálat* be killed on this occasion, which is not absolutely necessary, as the boy's parents may prefer to keep it alive, neither bride nor groom, nor any of the girl's relatives, is allowed to partake of it. If any of them should infringe this taboo and eat the meat of the *bálat* pig, his or her children, whether born already or to be born in the future, would die a certain death. The same prohibition obtains with reference to the cakes. It is certainly a great sacrifice for an Isneg not to partake of a meal of pork and rice, and only the fear of some dire punishment such as that of death for his children could effectively check his appetite in that direction. But in nearly all cases the boy's parents slaughter some other animal, of which all present are allowed to partake. It goes without saying that a copious flow of *bási* keeps the whole company in merriment, otherwise you could not very well call it a marriage feast.

585 583 431 The principal ceremony, however, consists in the distribution of gifts, of which there are two classes:

1. The *ákit* (from which the whole marriage ceremony takes its name, *mañakit:* to perform a marriage ceremony): these are gifts of beads, clothes, etc., offered by the boy's relatives and outsiders to the women of the girl's party in exchange for a certain amount of cakes, or some part of the *bálat*, in case the latter is slaughtered.

2. The *tugnúl:* gifts of spears, headaxes, *xúsi* jars, etc., also offered by the boy's relatives and outsiders, but this time to the men of the girl's party, again in exchange for cakes or portions of the *bálat*.

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Every day the women reap one *ikkám* (one day's harvest) and, if the sun shines, throw down (*ukáyan*) the latest addition to the *bańíbāń* (bundles of rice piled up in the *sízăy*-hut), and spread the *battá-* (bundles) in the sun (*mamilág*; said of palay, clothes, etc.) to dry (*maxáńo*; also said of Indian corn, beans, etc.; not: of clothes, etc.). Even palay that has been dried for several days, if it is found to be *nalumăy* or damp (not thoroughly dry), is brought out again and sunned, unless they prefer to dry it over the fire. But the latter process is never resorted to with paddy that has not passed through the ordinary stages of sunning, or that happens to retain more than a slight degree of moisture, and so to be wetter than what is called *nalumăy*. Whenever rain threatens, the rice is piled up again (*magdalatún*) into a *bańíbāń* (heap of palay), inside the *sízăy*-hut. The women must be careful not to sun palay that is only half matured, lest it become entirely useless (*matúmăy*): it must be reserved for roasting, which will be explained in due time. To sun palay for the first time is *mańwarwár*; after that it is called *mamilág*, even though the rice be freshly cut. 243

The palay is sunned, either twice a day, late in the morning and some time in the afternoon, or only in the afternoon; but all bundles must be exposed to the sun and spread open in rows, at least three times. It is absolutely taboo to count the *battá-* (bundles) while sunning them or while piling them up into a *bańíbāń*; counting will be done later, when it will be attended to with special ceremonies.

Every day, about noon, a man (*manúxan*), usually the owner of the field, brings food to the reapers (*tumúxan*). This food has been cooked at home and wrapped up in leaves, either by himself or by somebody else. Any kind of leaves may serve the purpose, except the first time, when it is necessary to use leaves of the *lippokán*, a kind of banana, whose very small fruits have a thin greenish skin. The food always consists of cooked rice (*nabáw*) and *láda-* (residue of coconut meat from which the oil has been extracted); the addition of other viands is optional. 243 264

The *manúxan* is not allowed to cross a stream, to swim or to go to somebody else's house. If his *kómān* is at the other side of a stream from his house, he has to pass the night in the *sízăy*, and to cook the food as best he can, the hearth of the hut not being fitted out for cooking. The same man must be *manúxan* from the first to the last day of the harvest. 243 784

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243 Generally only one full meal is taken in the *sízăy*, everybody
264 partakes of it, and the following two ceremonies have to be performed
782 every time:

They take three small leaves (any kind) and put a pinch of *pinatúpāt*, placed in the *sízăy* for this purpose, mixed with coconut oil on each of them. The *pinatúpāt* is a block of rice pudding wrapped up in strips of palm leaves. Then the *manúxan* places one of these leaves in the hearth (*dapûg*), one on the palay stored inside (*bañíbāñ*), and one outside, near the ladder. At this juncture the following prayer may be recited. My informant, *Yadán* from Nagbabalayan (O dialect, K branch), called it *maglappá-*, a synonym for *pisi-* (offering food, etc. to the spirits).

Ne kuwámo ilāy paglaxíbannakami maggáni (Here, this is yours, Ilay, watch us harvesting).

For the second ceremony they take several (at least four) leaves of the *balbál*, a small tree with brown bark and leaves resembling those of the cabbage. On each of these leaves they put a little *nabáw* (cooked rice) and a small amount of *láda-* (just mentioned). Then they place one such leaf in the *patuxáw*-basket (containing immature rice, etc.), one on the *bañíbāñ* (heap of palay), one in the hearth, and one in the *damáxan*-basket, at the *pinudóñ*, behind the hut. The one in the hearth, near the fire, is placed there in honor of Pilay, so that he be favorably inclined toward his clients and make them *nadañgán*, "blessed with a rich harvest".

243 Before going on with the description of the activities of the reapers,
784 I shall explain the taboos that have to be observed by them. The reason is that these prohibitions are especially stringent at the beginning of the harvest, the first three or five days, namely all the time the *sarañásañ*-barrier (mentioned before) obstructs the path that leads to the field.

The *manírut*, or reapers who bind palay into *battá-* (bundles), are not allowed to swim, to enter the *balávа* (place near the house where rice is pounded), to take hold of a hatchet, to eat from a plate or dish (they must use leaves), to eat chicken. These taboos remain in force as long as their work lasts.

Any kind of loud noise is absolutely forbidden in and around the *kómān*. The reason for this and similar taboos is to prevent the spirit (*kaduduwá*) of the rice from becoming frightened and escaping.

Shouting and singing in or around the *kómān* is tabooed, under pain of imminent illness (*masipñúd*).

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remains after pounding) and some *asáp* (husks, what remains after winnowing), and wrap them in a leaf; after they have come home, they hang the latter somewhere in the *baláwa* (place where they pound rice). The same is done when new rice (not *inixúbān*) is winnowed for the first time.

Then we have the *uglây*, which must be set apart before anything else, when *inixúbān* is being prepared for the first time. The *uglây* consists of at least three liters of *inixúbān* that have to be kept for the Pilay who resides in the house, near the hearth. After the harvest, however, human beings consume what the spirit has left.

Husked *inixúbān* that is not consumed immediately, is stored up in calabashes, the ordinary kernels in *bakóba-* (the usual receptacles for husked rice), the broken ones in *busińgán* (a smaller kind of calabash). The latter must have *takkág*-amulets tied around the neck, and their contents are reserved for children to eat.

The Isneg eat the *inixúbān*[1] (*magdúm* or *manúm*) either with or without viands. Sometimes, especially when children are around, they put back in the mortar a certain amount of *inixúbān*, and pound it until it is reduced to powder; by mixing this flour with coconut meat, a kind of pudding (*limbá-*) is prepared that may be eaten either raw or cooked.

When you have been preparing *inixúbān* for the first time, this is the way to *magdúm* (to eat *inixúbān*): first, eat one mouthful of *inixúbān*, then pronounce the magic word *barîbarī*, and after that continue your meal in the ordinary way.

At this juncture one or both of the following prayers may be recited. The second one must be accompanied by an offering of some of the food (*maglappá-* or *magpísi-*).

Barîbarī di mapalpáli ya kanánmi (Baribari, our food is not easily consumed).

Barîbarī matugtugkîkami maggáni (Baribari, we harvest more and more).

Both texts were given me by *Yadán* from Nagbabalayan (O dialect, K branch).

The preparation of the *inixúbān* does not interfere with the usual routine of the harvest, and the reapers go on with their work until it is finished.

If you foresee that the amount of your palay will be very much smaller than that of other years, so that it will hardly be possible to

[1] [roasted immature rice. --Analyst]

000 in these jars, together with the beads. The[1] jars are
523 valued up to ₱200 and bead up to ₱150 each. They
[435] are usually inherited in the family as marriage dow-
[431] ries; but may be received as indemnity for injuries.
[425] Sometimes labels, in the ancient script, are chiseled
[583] on these jars. According to authorities, when the
[681] people came here, they had a high culture and read
212 and wrote fluently in the script; but this culture grad-
178 ually lessened from disuse until now there are only
523 a few treasured ancient manuscripts remaining.

415 One type of basket is used. The lip is circuar-
285 formed on rattan. The bottom is drawn out to four corners on which is secured a rattan base. Both wicker and twilled basket weaves are used, and the best ones are ornamented with colored lines and conventional designs. These baskets are woven in different sizes to fit various needs; so that a good housewife has a whole set of them which will nest together There are also some especially shaped baskets for particular uses.

415 At meal time the cooked rice is ladled out on new
264 banana leaves placed on the floor, and the other food may be placed in polished, half-coconut shells. These are also used as water cups, finger bowls, and general containers. The family squat around and help themselves to the food. Their fingers are washed and, being more convenient, are used in place of forks.

262 The rice has a pinkish hue, is sticky, has a good flavor, and is the basic food of the people. With this may be eaten portions of the flesh of fish, shrimp, snails, crabs, crocodiles, lizards, frogs, ants, chickens, 000 birds, or deer. The vegetables may be: tomatoes, egg-

[1] [ancient Chinese -- ANALYST]

In the morning the family prepares the food for 796
the guests. The men butcher the dog, chickens, and 574
pigs. They might go out and get a wild pig or two. 252
The women cook the rice, vegetables and meat. Boys 462
carry invitations to the houses of the guests, who be- 202
gin to arrive about noon, all dressed up in their best clothes.

When a guest arrives, he is given a drink of *basi-* 796
and also food, if he is hungry. Individual servings 574
of rice, together with some meat and vegetables, are 264
wrapped up in sections of bamboo leaf and passed 782
around. One package of food is placed for the family [772]
anito under the sacred big tree or bamboo clump where it lives, and where it is the custom to hang the heads taken by the family warriors. As the various animals are killed, a little of the blood and liver are placed in a coconut shell or a section of bamboo and hung up for the *anito* of the feast. That is his share. The people eat the rest for him. Also *runo* leaves are hung from a rafter above the stove, one for each pig killed.

Dancing, *talip*, in the house starts early in the 535
afternoon. The intriguing music is supplied by the 796
women, who beat a staccato rhythm on three instru- 534
ments: the *ludog*, a drum fashioned of a hollowed log 574
with a skin secured over one end; a large, shallow curved-bottomed kettle-shaped bronze gon*g*; and the *ganza*, a smaller, flat-bottomed bronze gong. Each [533]
has its own tone (base, soprano, alto) and beat; while the notes are short: quarter, eighth, and sixteenth. Thus the rhythm is fast and intricate: hard to follow. One couple dances at a time. One of the family hands 535
a special cloth to an honored guest. He starts walk- 796
574

pleasing lilt or perchance composing words in honor of some guest or circumstance. The tune used is called the *salecdomey*. Somewhere a boy may be openly courting the girl of his choice in a characteristic chant *adkaling*, but often composing his own words. Food and sweets may be served two or three times in the night, and the party goes on with increasing excitement, as more and more *basi* is consumed. Drunken quarrels may break out, leading to blows. Killings are not infrequent. One must have had quite a few drinks in order to really enjoy this party.

Along towards morning the music stops and the tired people lie down to sleep—either in that or adjacent houses. If, perchance, a boy has been successful in his courtship, he may follow his girl to where she lies down. After some further discussion, she probably accepts him.

The feast may continue the next day and next, according to the wishes and wealth of the family, and how long the *basi* and food lasts. At the end of the feast, the priestess again calls the *anito*: she tells it that they hope that it is pleased with its feast and will now grant their requests. Then the guests start for home. The relatives are each given some meat to take with them, and soon all is quiet again.

Probably the most popular feast is the *say-am*, given for the *anito*, Pilay, after the harvest. The *dildap* is a small, short feast given for the *anito Kaybacan*, sometimes for the health or welfare of the family, or to clinch some agreement. There is no dancing. The *magboto* is given before, and the *boda* after a head hunting expedition as described elsewhere. The

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yourself as best you can. Any kind of excuse will do in order to escape a thrashing or a severe scolding, provided it proves acceptable; but take care not to be caught lying: this could but add to the latter's resentment. To get out of a bad predicament a little deceit is not forbidden, but not everybody can use it with good results; so be careful about it".

Lately, when paying a visit to *Basílig* at Pansian, his daughters set the table (in the Isneg way, of course) for him, and partook of the food only after their father had finished his own meal, although this is not required by custom.

In general the Isneg have a high regard for their parents and elders, although in our eyes their conduct may sometimes seem to be lacking in outward signs of respect. Their standard of etiquette and politeness is not exactly the same as our own. An Isneg child calls its parents "father" and "mother", and a usual title of respect for aged people is *kakdy*, but for the rest it is not very demonstrative.

So, when an Isneg mother recently came to visit her son at my house, the other boys repeatedly told him that his mother was there, but he did not move in the least: the old woman had to go and look for him herself somewhere around the house. Nevertheless that boy had asked me on a former occasion to be allowed to stop going to school in order to help his widowed mother with the wages he would be able to earn that way.

To be convinced that Isneg children respect their elders, although most all outward signs common to our own code are usually absent, it is sufficient to observe their behavior and that of their elders, whenever something untoward has happened. Isneg children look like angels, if you compare their attitude and whole demeanor with that of older men and women, who shout and gesticulate and allow the whole neighborhood to know what happened, without having to go out of its way to listen to the conversation. Boys and girls usually keep quiet when their parents are angry, while in the case of older people it is a question of proving who has the loudest voice, the one that carries the farthest: among the Isneg, the biggest shouter usually gains the victory.

An unmannerly person is called *toxároñ*; this epithet, however, is only applied as far as I know, to a person who drinks directly from the *urúd*, a bamboo that is used for fetching water, instead of using a cup.

The vegetables may be: tomatoes, eggs 262
plants, squash, peppers, corn, beans, camote, gabi, or [244
yams. Fruits may be: bananas, coconuts, pineapples, 245]
jack fruit, oranges, lemons, guavas, melons, *lucban*,
mangoes, or papaya. The beverages may be: coffee, [272]
cocoa, or water. Honey is included in the diet. From [263]
sugar cane are produced candied fruits and vegetables,
molasses, *basi*, and vinegar. A strong tobacco is raised 276
and smoked—sometimes in a small pipe; but generally
one leaf is rolled into a small cigar. Both men and
women smoke. Boys and girls start smoking at an
early age.

In growing these things, the people do not use ir- 311
rigation; but follow the *kaiñgin* method of farming. 241
A suitable piece of wild land is selected. The vegetation [312]
is cut down, allowed to dry, and then burnt. Seeds
are planted in the ashen earth by making a hole with
a sharp stick and dropping a seed in it The plot is [317]
is enclosed with a bamboo fence. The men clear and [462]
fence the land, while the women do much of the rest
of the work. In two years the soil has become leached
and packed by the heavy tropical rains and so sterile
that a new *kaiñgin* is made elsewhere.

The rice is an upland variety which does not re- 243
quire much water. The seeds are planted during the
beginning of the rainy season in April and May. When
ripe, the heads are cut off by hand, using a miniature
aliwa. These heads are gathered into bundles, tied, and [25]
then stored in a specially built square granary whose 343
architectural design follows that of the house. Tobacco 249
and vegetables are usually planted during January af- 244
ter the harvest, in the *kaiñgins* where rice was grown.

When the woman wishes some rice to cook, she 252
threshes several bundles on a mat or skin with a club; 412

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869 to be able to do so; and the same story may be repeated several times
538 all over again on different occasions without the young people losing any interest in the matter.

The cry "*udôdit*" (a story) is heard very often when the young
869 people have placed themselves in a position for slumber, and the ex-
517 clamation "*udôditko*" (I have a story; literally: my story), emitted
538 by an uninvited story-teller, is usually sufficient to gain him the
[273] attention of all present. Consequently Isneg tales are mostly bedtime stories; nevertheless it also happens that they are recited, this time mostly by men, at the opening of a jar of *bâsi* (alcoholic beverage obtained from the juice of the sugar cane), or rather during the absorption of its contents. On such occasions, whenever an old man begins to tell a story, the youngsters have no sooner got wind of the affair but they leave everything in order to come near and to listen all ears to these wonderful happenings of times gone by or of a world
[602] alien to their own. It may sometimes happen also that parents or
855] grandparents call their children or grandchildren together at the time of going to sleep in order to relate to them some traditional myth or legend: in this case, of course, the teaching should be called entirely formal.

869 How to look for omens and auguries and how to distinguish between
787 good and bad ones are both the subject of almost exclusively direct
[602 instruction. Parents and older brothers and sisters are the accepted
855] purveyors of this knowledge, which to the Isneg is absolutely indispensable if he wants to live in peace and beyond the power of malevolent imps and spirits.

E. MORAL EDUCATION

577 When reading books of travel, especially old ones, written by men
121 who spent a few days at the home of some primitive people, one usually meets with the statement that the latter seem to have no concept of truth and honesty, and one almost always meets with several concrete instances, which apparently prove the truth of that assertion. Not to go too far out of my way, I shall cite as an example a book that has to do almost immediately with the Philippine Islands. We read in the account of Magellan's travels written by Pigafetta that on a certain day, during his famous voyage which led to the discovery of our archipelago, the expedition landed at a place among a group of islands, the inhabitants of which boarded the vessels, laid hands on whatever took their fancy and ran away to hide among the bushes;

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in the power of my drugs instead of following exclusively his own superstitions. At least I inferred from his conduct that this was his state of mind; and I believe I was not far from the truth. Similar cases are frequent also among the Isneg: doctors and sanitary inspectors know all too well about them.

"Be generous toward your friends. A miser is abhorred among us. If you bring down a wild boar or deer in the forest, share your good luck with your relatives and friends. These things were not worked for by you; fate brought them into your hands. If you have tobacco, share it with your friends; be a generous companion to every Isneg. When you offer a sacrifice be not stingy with the *bási*, and give everybody who happens to come along his share of rice and vianda. Would you be happy if somebody prevented you from participating in a feast? Would you like to be excluded at the distribution of food and drink? Never cause your companions to say that you *umaxáwa* (or *iaxáwa*, "to put away dainties when a visitor is seen approaching the house, lest one should have to let him have a share in them") or *gumisdâ* (to close the doors at the appearance of a stranger while eating some delicious food, for the same reason): these are very opprobrious terms. With reference to the Ibanag, remember that those in authority have come here to help us, and more especially the white man: he has unbounded riches, and he has come here for the evident purpose of spending it upon us. Even though some of us are considered rich among ourselves, they are poor when compared with him. Let him pay double the price for whatever he needs. Is he not rich beyond anything you can imagine? Do not exclude him from your feasts, if he wants to participate in them, but expect him to be generous toward you in all transactions and business affairs."

Kaddío, who is considered the richest man in Apayaw, has come to my house more than once in order to sell articles which he could not get rid of elsewhere, and he usually charged us twice the regular price. When we told him that he is a rich man, which by the way he likes to hear very much, and that he at least should remember how we feed many of his people without remuneration, when we told him that he should help us in order to be merciful to the poor Isneg instead of taking advantage of our good will, he invariably retorted by saying that we have money galore, and what should we do with it except distribute it to the Isneg. Is this not the reason why we live among them? And *Kaddío* is not the only Isneg who entertains such an opinion.

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up a good many friendships, and it is the starting point of not a few quarrels among them. Voluntary talebearing, by which I mean here reporting to the interested person the gossip that somebody has spread about him, is, as far as I can judge about the matter, rather rare, at least among men.

Drunkenness is a vice that is mostly indulged in only at the time of some *sáy-ám* or other sacrifice, and this mostly by old men. Comparing their use of intoxicating drinks with what I have seen in civilized countries, I should say that the Isneg is a temperate man. Nevertheless theory is stricter than practice, except in the case of youth.

Three points are still to be considered now, namely: chastity, honesty and truthfulness.

And first as to chastity and the virtues related to it. Complete nudity is habitual among youngsters under six years of age; the little coat usually worn even by small boys, is not sufficiently long to cover them decently. Such nakedness is not considered shameful as long as the children are small; nevertheless there is some ground for concluding that it may have an effect upon sex behavior. Indeed small children are very after tickled (*magkuríra-, kurirkán*) in order to cause them to laugh, and this tickling is very commonly practised on or near the genitals, not only by the parents, but also by young boys and girls; especially in the case of small boys, the principal use of their penis seems to be that of being fingered by every passer-by.

As soon as the child is able to lisp a few words, the pronunciation by the child of any obscene term that finds its way into the child's vocabulary is greeted with laughter; and if later on foul language is heard to proceed from the small boy's mouth, he is applauded for his cleverness instead of being chastised for his forwardness. Little girls are usually brought up in a less dirty atmosphere, as the mother takes care of them almost exclusively as soon as they are able to walk; but little or no separation of the sexes at night is insisted upon during the first years of the little Isneg's life.

Everything considered, the sight of nudity in both sexes, touching of one another's genitals without reproof, the early excitation of the boys' genitals through indecent handling by older children and adults, the use of dirty speech without the least restraint and almost with encouragement, all these combined can do nothing else but detract from the efficiency of subsequent teaching on sex morality. The existence of the term *kassár* seems to support my inference; *kassár*

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585 allowed to mount the ladder, either by herself or on the back of the *mañlakkát*.

Once inside she has to go immediately toward the place where a *balandán* blanket, the property of the boy's parents, has been spread on the floor, and to sit down upon it. The *balandán* consists of three rectangular pieces of cloth, sewn together at the sides, not at the edges; the two sutures are provided with large ornamental stitches of purple thread. The bride, however, is not to stay there very long, as she has barely squatted down on the *balandán* when her mother pulls it away from under her, and takes possession of the same. Here also the *mañlakkát* dons her customary attire, — jacket, headband and the rest, — as her rôle is finished by this time.

585 574 264 The parents of the boy usually prepare a banquet for all present; chickens or pigs and dogs are slaughtered, according to the social standing of the owners of the house, but, as previously noted, no shaman performs the *maxanito*. Should the *bálat* be killed on this occasion, which is not absolutely necessary, as the boy's parents may prefer to keep it alive, neither bride nor groom, nor any of the girl's relatives, is allowed to partake of it. If any of them should infringe this taboo and eat the meat of the *bálat* pig, his or her children, whether born already or to be born in the future, would die a certain death. The same prohibition obtains with reference to the cakes. It is certainly a great sacrifice for an Isneg not to partake of a meal of pork and rice, and only the fear of some dire punishment such as that of death for his children could effectively check his appetite in that direction. But in nearly all cases the boy's parents slaughter some other animal, which all present are allowed to partake. It goes without saying that a copious flow of *bási* keeps the whole company in merriment, otherwise you could not very well call it a marriage feast.

585 583 431 The principal ceremony, however, consists in the distribution of gifts, of which there are two classes:

1. The *ákit* (from which the whole marriage ceremony takes its name, *mañakit:* to perform a marriage ceremony): these are gifts of beads, clothes, etc., offered by the boy's relatives and outsiders to the women of the girl's party in exchange for a certain amount of cakes, or some part of the *bálat*, in case the latter is slaughtered.

2. The *tugnúl:* gifts of spears, headaxes, *xúsi* jars, etc., also offered by the boy's relatives and outsiders, but this time to the men of the girl's party, again in exchange for cakes or portions of the *bálat*.

low box about three feet square, filled with earth. In its center are set on end three long stones in a triangular position, which hold the clay cooking pot over the fire beneath. Fire is obtained by striking flint with steel and kindling tinder with the spark; or by rubbing two bamboo sticks together. There are also a round-bottomed iron frying pan and various paddles and ladles. Above the stove is a drying rack, and against the end wall are secured shelves which hold the old Chinese plates and other articles and materials. This end of the room is used for the kitchen, sometimes as the dining room, and as a general work shop. Woven sleeping mats are used, and there are chests for the securing of precious articles. Light from the fire furnishes illumination at night.

There should also be several lovely old ancestral Chinese jars, *gasi*, probably of the Ming dynasty period. In these is kept the *basi*, a pleasant wine made from the juice of the sugar cane. These ancient Chinese jars are much prized by the people. They have a typical shape, and range in size from one to three feet in height. Some of them have dragons and other figures embossed on them. Others have pictures of Chinese scenes and conventional patterns: this being especially true of the white jars with blue designs. They are glazed; some in lovely shapes of brown, yellow and blue. The people have quite a lore about them. There are a number of different varieties and different qualities in each variety. The *dordori* stands first; next is the *garadogod*. Some of the others are the *dinalasan*, *banaag*, *kindi-ingan*, *binilibil*, *boddi* and *garang*. Much of the wealth of the Apayaos is held in these jars, together with the beads.

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576 When approaching a house he wants to enter, the Isneg usually says something aloud to the inmates of the house, just to let them know that he is there and indirectly to tell them to keep their dogs at bay; but for the rest he enters without more ado: the ladder being in place will show him that somebody is at home, and if there are no signs of taboos of any kind, things he very well knows and understands, he has free access to the house. On taking leave, he says: "*Mawĕyāin*, I go now (*mawĕkamiyin*, we go now)" or "*Mapánnāin*, I go away now (*mapánkamiyin*, we go away now)". When meeting people on the road or at some other place outside the house, a polite Isneg says: "*Áwán ɔawádmo*? (Have you no betel pepper?)" or something similar with reference to chewing betel; in some cases he asks for it, in others he proffers it. Such is the usual salutation all over Apayaw.

[276]

576 858 Among the Isneg the code of etiquette is indeed reduced almost to its most simple expression; their respect is mostly of the rough kind: general principles, few details. Youngsters are usually allowed to mix freely in the conversation of older people, without having the semblance of being at all forward, and they will rarely be rebuked for doing so. The old fellows will answer them most of the time just as earnestly as if they were of their own age. Nevertheless a certain respect, which may seem a very vague thing to define, is always required and rarely absent.

577 609 But let us go back to our Isneg code of morals.

"If you want to be considered as a really good Isneg, be loyal to your friends. Love your friends, hate your enemies: that is our golden rule. Help all Isneg who are not an enmity with your settlement whenever you can. For instance, if two of you have to cross a river and your companion cannot swim, see to it that you save him from drowning, if necessary. Whenever there is question of taking revenge, stand by your own people; their quarrels should be yours. If they need you as a witness in their defense, do not fail them. Ibanag justice has been imposed upon us, but never mind, save your friends from jail by all possible means: lying before an Ibanag judge is no sin, provided it redounds to your own good or to that of your friends. Rather share the punishment of a companion than save yourself by furnishing state's evidence. We have our own ways of administering justice, the Ibanag do not understand them; why should we submit to their ways imposed upon us by force? Outwardly of course you should comply lest worse befall you; but never forget that you have to put your own people above everybody else. If you

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577 on a similar occasion. Gifts as such do not exist, a gift is something
431 akin to a loan: what is given to-day should be returned some future day. Nevertheless there is a difference which you will understand presently. If a person is ungrateful to you and, instead of showing his appreciation of your help, repays you with ingratitude and does what is harmful to you, this may be a sufficient reason for revenging yourself, but do not remind him of your past kindness toward him: this would not only be very disagreeable to him, but it might give him a pretext for thinking himself in the right when he is quarreling with you. If you remind somebody of his debt of gratitude toward you, you make him ashamed and so exasperate him; he knows it all right or should know it anyhow; it is not for you to tell him about it. Do not say that in such a case you are simply doing what any creditor does, when he asks for the payment of a debt; no, this is quite different: to the return of what you lent, you have full right; but to gratitude, none. You helped him freely; let him remember his duty about it without the need of being told. Among us a loan is supposed to be asked back; nobody borrows anything without the tacit agreement that he will be requested to return it at some future time; this cannot be compared with the question of helping somebody in need
577 and reminding him of the fact afterwards. Gratitude is never obli-
609 gatory toward the Ibanag, especially toward those in authority. Is it not rather the reverse that is true? Is it not rather for them to be thankful to us for allowing them to rule us undisturbed? Is it not rather the Ibanag who have to be grateful to us for accepting their ministrations?"

602 A native Isneg has recently been appointed teacher in an agglomer-
577 ation belonging to the municipal district of Kabugaw. He rarely has anything out of his monthly salary left for himself, as the bulk of it goes to his relatives, helping them in their studies, paying their taxes, etc. The reason is that he wants to repay them now for the sacrifices they imposed upon themselves when he needed money while at school. And such cases are far from rare.

609 On the other hand, while I was living among the Kankanay, at a
577 place where no sanitary inspectors were residing and where the Gov-
[276] ernment furnished me with medicines for free distribution among the natives, more than once after I had bandaged a poor fellow's arm or else had poured medicine on some wound or sore, the patient would simply ask me for a few leaves of tobacco. Gratitude? Well, this had to be on my side, because the poor fellow showed his belief

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Iwaxán: a spirit who formerly was a man, assiduous in courting the girls and very clever in causing the latter to allow him to perform coitus with them. If the boy who goes to court the girls happens to have a small bottle of coconut oil on his person, which is quite customary, *Iwaxán* sometimes enters the bottle, so that the girl may smell the fragrance he emits and fall in love with the boy.

5. The wearing of beads. The most powerful in this line are the *buláwan*, round beads, varying much in size, of the color of silver, and possessing a kind of silky lustre. They appear in strings that are worn as necklaces or as ornaments around the headband. Although they prove very attractive to the girl when worn by the boy who comes to court her, these beads are not the exclusive property of the male sex: both men and women make use of them for ornamental purposes.

6. The giving of presents, as rings, trinkets, clothes, and so on. Isneg young men of marriageable age very often carry their articles for chewing betel nut in a pouch (*kĕláy*), a rather large and generally multicolored handkerchief, hanging from the neck and dangling on the chest; two ends are knotted immediately over the contents with a large double knot, the other two are joined at the top and reach the neck of the wearer. All along both sides, from the receptacle up to about half-way between the latter and the neck, a series of rings (*sańkilát*) covers the cloth. The girl takes betel nut, etc., out of the pouch, and both, boy and girl, occasionally interchange rings, the boy detaching one of his own from his *kĕláy* to give it to the girl, and the latter adding one of her rings to those of the boy's *kĕláy*. Such an interchange of rings, however, is not always necessarily a sign of consent on the part of the girl to the advances of the boy: this in modification of a statement made by me in a previous paper (CAC–P, 1:226).

Incidentally it should be noted here that lovers' gifts are never returned, even though no further steps be taken or though some obstacle come in the way of the realization of the young people's dreams; such gifts always remain the property of the donee.

7. The use of love charms (*mańímud*) to force the girl to think of him. This item is so exceedingly important that I feel obliged to devote a few paragraphs to the same.

Love charms are used exclusively and very often, if not universally, by young men, never by girls. They usually consist of some herbs

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832 [435] (*kaddát*), which are bought from the shaman and remain her own secret. A jacket or something of equal value is the usual price paid by a lover to the old woman who furnishes him with the much-coveted [278] charm. These herbs are either ground into powder or otherwise pressed and crumpled until they are unrecognizable, and then mixed with coconut oil (*dênu*), lest an uninitiated person get to know them, and their virtues disappear: indeed, a love charm whose ingredients, the oil excepted, have been called by name, be it by the shaman herself or anybody else, is completely valueless. This is certainly a wise precaution, otherwise the shaman would not receive many presents of jackets and so on: Isneg youngsters would be able to find the herbs without anybody's help, as they are undoubtedly very common plants, although I am ignorant of their identity; they also probably differ from shaman to shaman. Anyhow if this supposed loss of virtue through the pronunciation of the name of the herbs in question is not a shaman's trick, it certainly serves the latter's interests perfectly well.

[293] Once the boy has obtained his love charm, which he places in some small receptacle, usually a small bottle, he generally carries it along at least when he goes to court the girl of his choice, and he usually keeps it all the time either in his *túput* (belongings rolled up in an *amakattán* kerchief and carried on the back at the waist) or in his *kélay*, lest he lose it or somebody else lay hands on it. Whenever an Isneg lover goes to see his girl in the evening, he does not fail to pour some of this precious ointment on the palms of both hands and pass the latter over his hair, so that the girl may be forced to love him,—at least if he can do so unobserved, that is if there is no light to betray his actions. This, however, might be called only a measure of precaution or something to be done by all means, lest perchance a better and surer way be wanting. And indeed the love charm is considered as almost irresistible if it comes in mediate or immediate contact with the girl's body.

832 276 576 The inveterate custom of chewing betel nut, betel pepper and lime is not confined to the older people among the Isneg: youngsters very soon learn to imitate their elders in that respect. The asking and giving of the necessary ingredients is, if not the only, at least one of the most usual forms of salutation, and no polite Isneg will forego either to ask or to proffer these precious chewing materials, whenever he happens to meet somebody, and more especially when he is conversing with somebody who is more or less familiar with him, for instance, a relative, a partner in some kind of work, etc.

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the girl in question; as soon as she swallows a part of the juice of this mixture, her love for the other boy will have disappeared in its entirety, and you will have taken his place in her affections.

To complete the account I shall add here the means used by a spurned lover in order to revenge himself on the girl who despises his love. The first thing to do is to obtain another kind of herb or mixture of herbs from the compliant shaman. After that the boy pays a last nocturnal visit to the house of the girl who has definitively refused his advances, and throws a part of this charm, which in this case is not a love charm of course, at the girl in question. If it sticks to her body or to her clothes, the Isneg firmly believe that she will conceive through the sole adherence of the herbs thrown at her; in such a case she will forever be scorned by other young men, and the young man's revenge will be complete. If the charm falls down and does not stick to the girl, she will escape unscathed. Similar [71] beliefs are to be found among other Mountain tribes; in certain Kankanay tales, for instance, there is question of a girl who crosses a brook or takes a bath at a place below the one where a boy has thrown his anklet (Kankanay: *bóyat*) into the water: the latter, having floated down, encircled one of the girl's legs, with the inevitable result, not only that she became pregnant at once, but that her being with child became apparent almost immediately.

All the above information concerning the means used by Isneg lovers to win a girl was given to me by young men who had exactly the required age to know everything about the subject from personal experience. From some of the Isneg boys I have also obtained texts giving typical dialogues between a boy and a girl whom he courts. Owing to their content and length and to the necessity of prefacing them with certain linguistic data of a more general nature, they are given as an appendix to the present paper (pp. 261-80).

The Isneg believe that, if the betel (nut, leaf and lime) which a girl prepares for her lover to chew, causes a burning sensation in the latter's mouth, it is a favorable omen for him. In such a case the boy may hope to find his sweetheart ready to accept his suit. So also, if the betel prepared by a lover for his sweetheart burns in the latter's mouth, the girl understands that the boy is really in love with her.

An Isneg lover generally looks for a good omen before going to court the girls, at least when the affair has become serious or when he takes the necessary steps to know definitively whether his feelings

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4. M.: Would you not, companion, like it, if you were those (who ask for it).
W.: We are grateful indeed if it is like that.

5. M.: Surely you do not like though to prepare betel for somebody.
W.: Yes indeed, if it is for you.[27]

6. M.: If so thus you do not like to distribute your betel (for chewing).
W.: Do we know if you like betel that crept over the ground.[28]

7. M.: You would not like it, woman, if it is you (who want betel).
W.: Yes, you say so only, 'you', like this.

8. M.: I will not resent it though, even though it be betel that crept over the ground.
W.: If you do not resent it, do not repent thus when I prepare betel for you.

9. M.: How can we do it then, companion.
W.: What is really the matter with your thinking, 'you', like this.

10. M.: It depends on my thought, 'you', which is in my head, is it not?
W.: If it depends on your thought, 'you', thus you do not think of somebody else.

11. M.: To whom could I finally belong if not to this one.
W.: I am a woman, 'you', without use.

12. M.: Why is your thought put upon the roof like this.
W.: Would to God my thought were put upon the roof.

13. M.: That is only what you do, is it not, 'you'.
W.: Would my fault not be big if I acted like this.

14. M.: Yes indeed, companion, but I am the one who is here.
W.: Ah, not so thus, but I say so though.

15. M.: Prepare betel for me though, really, 'you', won't you?
W.: How can we know, companion, if your thought like this will be permanent.

[27] I do not want to do it for you.

[28] Betel that crept up along a stalk, etc. is the only one considered good by the Isneg.

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What has been said of the *aliwá* or hatchet as a man's tool, may also be said of the *ikó* as a woman's tool: no Isneg woman goes to work without her *ikó*, which is nothing else but a diminutive headaxe, usually of the *binarawád*-type, and which she carries stuck in her headband. While she makes use of several other implements, as the occasion demands, the *ikó* is the only one that is almost constantly needed.

The handle of the *ikó* is ordinarily made of wood, like the helve of the *aliwá*,[8] but there are a few women who make use of the *kiraddân*, which is all iron. The latter type of *ikó* has a curved handle, and its ring or *palábo* is mostly spherical, instead of being cylindrical like that of the ordinary *ikó* and of the *aliwá* or headaxe.

Some of these *ikó* are exceedingly small, the length of the blade (not its breadth) being about one half of that of an ordinary penknife: these are called *paílôt*. A small *ikó* that is very old and has seen much service, is called *pakiurât*: its handle is always made of wood, and consequently straight.

Other implements used by Isneg women will be treated in their proper place.

When an Isneg woman works in the field, she is rarely seen without her *saríkaw*, which is a very broad hat, sometimes one yard or more in diameter, almost flat, and more or less resembling a native winnow. The *saríkaw* is made of plaited palm leaves trimmed with strips of bamboo or of rattan or of both.

In order to avoid tedious repetitions I think it not amiss to give here a short description of the *inapúxān* or betel for chewing, which the Isneg frequently offer to the spirits and which I shall have to mention again and again in the course of this paper. The ordinary *inapúxān* as used by the Isneg, consists of a section of betel nut (*bowá*) and a sprinkling of lime (*ápug*) enveloped in a piece of betel leaf (*zawád*), while the one offered to the spirits, although essentially the same, has a few special characteristics.

When preparing *inapúxān* for the spirits, instead of using ripe betel nuts, which are the only ones fit for chewing, the Isneg choose a bunch of immature nuts (*lúsit*), and these they cut into tiny pieces (*riŋgám*), which are much smaller than those used for betel chewed by man. The lime is the same as that used in ordinary *inapúxān*:

[8] Cf. op. cit.

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it is made of burnt shells[9] and usually kept in a small calabash (*busiŋán* or *tabáyad*).[10] The betel (*xawád*) may be the same as that used by man (any of several varieties) or it may consist in the very small leaves (*dazapá*) that are absolutely of no use to human beings.

In order to become a proficient farmer it is necessary to have at least a fair knowledge of what the Isneg call the *taxímmatón* or *taxemmatón*, the "signs". Here are a few of them:

The *yaŋyáŋ*, which is supposed to be a small insect: it announces the coming of the dry season, usually some time in March. No Isneg can claim ever to have set eyes upon it, as it is completely invisible: it is known only from its voice, which is very sweet.

The *sibulbúg*, a kind of large bird: its cry announces the arrival of the rainy season, usually some time in November.

The first appearance of the *buníln* or rainbow, which is one of the multitudinous spirits known by the Isneg: it proves that the rainy season has set in.

The *ariwánat* or Milky Way: if it becomes visible after a prolonged period of rain, it forecasts fair weather for several days to come.

The *bibig*, which is a kind of bird of average size with grey plumage: it foreshadows a period of very heavy rainfall.

Other *taxímmatón* that indicate the time at which some particular kind of work is to be performed, will be mentioned in due time.

As it is exceedingly important for the progress and the final success of any kind of business that all necessary rules be observed, that no taboos be infringed, and that nothing be done that might go counter to the will of the spirits, indicated in various ways, I shall now give a few hints to the farmer with reference to work in the field in general. At the same time, some of these hints may be of use to an Isneg who wants to embark on some enterprise that has nothing to do with farming or gardening.

First of all, the Isneg should be convinced that none of his exertions will be of any benefit to him, if they go on without the blessing and coöperation of the spirits. Therefore, whenever possible, he must recite the following prayer, or a similar one, in the morning, before going to work:

[9] *Dazíkan, azodón*, etc., different kinds of fresh-water gastropods, all of them having a long tapering spire. The *azodón* is larger than the *dazíkan*.

[10] The *tabáyad* is a small white calabash with a very narrow neck, although less narrow than that of the *tahúb*, which is the kind of calabash used by the Isneg when they prepare *inapúran* in honor of the *Pílay*-spirits, at harvesting time.

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bamboo grass stuck in the ground in a slanting way. The *anitáp* is a very common tree; its flowers are white.

It is customary to place *xappidán* next to the last *bonóbon* (seedling) that has been transplanted, so that the tobacco may reach a strong and healthy growth. The *xappidán* is a herb, some eight inches tall; it is found in forested areas.

Other amulets that may be used in the *bakáu* (tobacco field) are:

Leaves of the *daúlá* (Cordyline terminalis [L.] Kunth.), the ti or palm lily, on account of their red color. The ti or palm lily is much used all over the Mountain Province in connection with pagan sacrifices, and the leaves play a prominent part in the ornaments displayed by dancers.

Talimúúay (Clerodendron sp.), a tall herb with beautiful red flowers and round leaves, growing in forested areas. It causes the tobacco leaves to become red when they are mature.

Padáyaw: A herb, some eight inches tall, found in forests. It causes people to admire and praise (*dāyáwan*) the tobacco.

Daláyāy: A low herb, growing almost anywhere. It prevents the tobacco from being attacked by harmful insects and worms.

If, nevertheless, the tobacco field has been invaded by worms, one must have recourse to the *amrás* to drive them away. The *amrás* is a small herb with blue flowers; it has a very offensive smell and grows almost in any place.

Tobacco is one of the few products exported by the Isneg on a large scale and it is comparatively little used for home consumption: indeed, chewing betel is much more common than smoking. It is frequently resorted to, however, for poisoning fish, and so even low grades of tobacco are sometimes encountered in the *bakán*, for instance the *damáro*, a variety with large leaves, not much esteemed for smoking purposes.

When the tobacco has almost attained its full growth, the Isneg prune the stalks (*magkapún*), nipping off the buds that grow in the axils, and the younger leaves, in order to improve the quality of the older leaves.

As soon as a certain amount of leaves are completely mature, they are culled (*magátu*) by the women, who pick them with their fingers. The first leaves to be gathered are the lower ones, the *andy*, which are not much esteemed: they rarely affect a smoker with giddiness. The *padyug*, growing higher up, are considered the best.

000 to be quite a differenc in their customs and dialects.
197 Along the length of the Apayao River there are three
162 separate groups. They can understand each other about the way that a Spaniard understands an Italian.

DRESS

291 The ordinary dress of the people is simple. The
[302] men wear breechcloths or G-strings, *abag*. They keep their hair long and coil it on the head. It is confined with a length of cloth wrapped turban fashion.
[304] The hands and wrists are tattooed in the boat pattern.
[142] The teeth are blackened. Each man has a small, de-
[276] corated bag, *bulsa*, in which he keeps his betel nut,
[293] *buyo*, lime bottle, tobacco, flint, tinder, and other small belongings. This is tucked, either into the G-string or in a belt woven of rattan. The woman, when about
301 her work, wears only a tapis. She has a necklace of
523 ancestral beads, shaped from chalcedony, silver and carved amulet bones. There are also patterned porcelain beads in the string. Many of these were obtained from the Chinese when they were active traders here some five centuries ago. Gold does not appear
[304] to be used. The woman has boat-pattern tattoo marks
[291] on the back of her hands as an aid to beauty. The
[854] small children make their skins do as clothing. Babies are carried about by the mothers in slings passed over one shoulder.

292 When all dressed up and ready to go to a party,
301 the woman wears a dark tapis, *aquen;* a cloth girdle, *bajacat;* a short-waisted, long-sleeved, black, pull-on shirt, *badiyo*, all characteristically embroidered in red; a head cloth with spangles, *laddong* and *saban*, topped

The vegetables may be: tomatoes, egg- 262
plants, squash, peppers, corn, beans, camote, gabi, or [244
yams. Fruits may be: bananas, coconuts, pineapples, 245]
jack fruit, oranges, lemons, guavas, melons, *lucban*,
mangoes, or papaya. The beverages may be: coffee, [272]
cocoa, or water. Honey is included in the diet. From [263]
sugar cane are produced candied fruits and vegetables,
molasses, *basi*, and vinegar. A strong tobacco is raised 276
and smoked—sometimes in a small pipe; but generally
one leaf is rolled into a small cigar. Both men and
women smoke. Boys and girls start smoking at an
early age.

In growing these things, the people do not use ir- 311
rigation; but follow the *kaĩñgin* method of farming. 241
A suitable piece of wild land is selected. The vegetation [312]
is cut down, allowed to dry, and then burnt. Seeds
are planted in the ashen earth by making a hole with
a sharp stick and dropping a seed in it The plot is [417]
is enclosed with a bamboo fence. The men clear and [462]
fence the land, while the women do much of the rest
of the work. In two years the soil has become leached
and packed by the heavy tropical rains and so sterile
that a new *kaiñgin* is made elsewhere.

The rice is an upland variety which does not re- 243
quire much water. The seeds are planted during the
beginning of the rainy season in April and May. When
ripe, the heads are cut off by hand, using a miniature
aliwa. These heads are gathered into bundles, tied, and [25]
then stored in a specially built square granary whose 343]
architectural design follows that of the house. Tobacco 249
and vegetables are usually planted during January af- 244
ter the harvest, in the *kaiñgins* where rice was grown.

When the woman wishes some rice to cook, she 252
threshes several bundles on a mat or skin with a club; 412

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832 [435] (*kaddát*), which are bought from the shaman and remain her own secret. A jacket or something of equal value is the usual price paid by a lover to the old woman who furnishes him with the much-coveted [278] charm. These herbs are either ground into powder or otherwise pressed and crumpled until they are unrecognizable, and then mixed with coconut oil (*dênu*), lest an uninitiated person get to know them, and their virtues disappear: indeed, a love charm whose ingredients, the oil excepted, have been called by name, be it by the shaman herself or anybody else, is completely valueless. This is certainly a wise precaution, otherwise the shaman would not receive many presents of jackets and so on: Isneg youngsters would be able to find the herbs without anybody's help, as they are undoubtedly very common plants, although I am ignorant of their identity; they also probably differ from shaman to shaman. Anyhow if this supposed loss of virtue through the pronunciation of the name of the herbs in question is not a shaman's trick, it certainly serves the latter's interests perfectly well.

[293] Once the boy has obtained his love charm, which he places in some small receptacle, usually a small bottle, he generally carries it along at least when he goes to court the girl of his choice, and he usually keeps it all the time either in his *túput* (belongings rolled up in an *amakattán* kerchief and carried on the back at the waist) or in his *kêlây*, lest he lose it or somebody else lay hands on it. Whenever an Isneg lover goes to see his girl in the evening, he does not fail to pour some of this precious ointment on the palms of both hands and pass the latter over his hair, so that the girl may be forced to love him,—at least if he can do so unobserved, that is if there is no light to betray his actions. This, however, might be called only a measure of precaution or something to be done by all means, lest perchance a better and surer way be wanting. And indeed the love charm is considered as almost irresistible if it comes in mediate or immediate contact with the girl's body.

832 276 576 The inveterate custom of chewing betel nut, betel pepper and lime is not confined to the older people among the Isneg: youngsters very soon learn to imitate their elders in that respect. The asking and giving of the necessary ingredients is, if not the only, at least one of the most usual forms of salutation, and no polite Isneg will forego either to ask or to proffer these precious chewing materials, whenever he happens to meet somebody, and more especially when he is conversing with somebody who is more or less familiar with him, for instance, a relative, a partner in some kind of work, etc.

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832 with her body. Or he may resort to a stratagem very often used in
789 magic, namely, he may place a drop of the oil in question on one of
171 the girl's footprints. Belief in the efficacy of such actions is not confined to the Isneg. Many Iloko, all of whom were converted to Christianity in Spanish times, believe that the caudal spine (*barábur*, in Iloko) of the sting ray thrust into the footprint of a person or in the place made wet by the latter's urine, invariably causes the death of the person in question.

832 Sometimes, instead of this ordinary love charm prepared by a shaman, the boy uses one of his own choice: he tears off a diminutive section of a thread from one of the fringes at the hind part of his G-string, and mixes it with the betel (betel nut, leaf of the betel pepper, and lime) which he prepares for his girl to chew.

832 I have also been able to obtain the names of a few herbs, used for
824 love charms, which were known to the boys who gave me this infor-
278 mation. It goes without saying that the shaman is completely left out in such cases. These herbs, none of which I have been able to identify as yet, are:

sagúbdy: a small herb, the leaves of which are used to win a girl's love;

tagalomá- and *taññó-:* small herbs, to be mixed with oil, as explained above;

añímud: a small herb, to be mixed with the betel given to the girl;

oñam-ámo: a small herb, placed either on the girl's mat or under her nose so that she can smell it;

danórán, tagiámo and *pa-paámo:* small herbs, the first two growing on trees. The boy does nothing else but put one or more of them in his pouch when he goes to court the girls: they merely serve him as an amulet in order to win his girl's love. *Amo* in the last two of these three names, and in the preceding one, means "taming";

dalúpa-: a small herb, to be put secretly in the pouch of a girl who is "wild" to you.

The use I give for each of the above herbs is simply the one that was given to me by my informants, and I repeat it exactly as I heard it, without any addition or explanation on my part.

A Tawit boy gave me the following receipe, which works both ways: If you want to win the love of a girl who is engaged to some other boy, gather a few *tuma-ddy* herbs (a creeping herb growing in the forest), and mix some part of them with the betel nut you hand to

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the girl in question; as soon as she swallows a part of the juice of this mixture, her love for the other boy will have disappeared in its entirety, and you will have taken his place in her affections.

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241 The *laṅṅá* (Sesamum orientale, L.), sesame or benne. Cultivated
824 for its seeds (*bokál*).

262 The *agláy* (Coix lachryma-jobi, L.), Job's-tears. A variety with edible young capsules that are much elongated.

The *naṅná*, *bannuwáṅ* or *sábug* (Setaria italica, Beauv.), Italian millet. It is considered as good luck to find seeds (*bokál*) with two or three (instead of one) eyes or hila.

The *baxinât* (Andropogon sorghum [L.] Brot.), sorghum.

The *kumâyo* (Manihot utilissima, Pohl.), cassava, manioc or tapioca plant.

The *lampákan*, a plant resembling the taro. Its branchy rhizome is edible.

The *baxáṅ*, probably Tacca sp. Cultivated for its edible roots.

The *basáṅ* (Zingiber officinale, Rosc.), ginger.

The *sagó* (Maranta arundinacea, L.), arrowroot.

The *lasoná* (Allium cepa, L.), onion.

[263] The *báwaṅ* (Allium sativum, L.), garlic.

The *piniyá* or *apiniyá* (from the Spanish *piña*), (Ananassa sativa,
[283] Lindl.), pineapple. The fibres of its leaves are used for strings. Its suckers (one on top, several at the base) are called *piṅpíṅ*.

IV. The Tobacco Field

247 Gardens and tobacco (*tabáko*, from the Spanish *tabaco*) fields (*bakáṅ*) are both prepared from old rice fields, but, in the case of the *bakáṅ*, the level parts are usually preferred; and so the term *maxónut* for "clearing a level plot of ground" is also the common term for "clearing the *bakáṅ*".

The term *magkípug* for "weeding" has exactly the same meaning here as when it is used in connection with the *kadánan* (garden). It is customary, however, to remove as much as possible all trees and stumps of trees that were left in the field, when former crops were raised: this work is called *magkusáp*. Felling trees for timber is *magkallán*.

The biggest difference between a *kadánan* (garden) and a tobacco field is the absence of a regular fence around the latter. Its only protection against the inroads of animals is the *dal-át* or heap of rubbish, that consists mostly of weeds and canes proceeding from the surrounding grounds and piled up all around. The same contrivance is occasionally resorted to in the case of fields planted with Indian

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241 824 (Codiaeum variegatum [L.] Blume), croton. Leaves very variable in form and color.

The *patoddóñ* (Euphorbia neriifolia, L.), a fleshy shrub.

The *sinandilá*, (Nopalea coccinellifera [Mill.] Salm-Dyck.), cochineal fig.

The *binaág* (Helianthus annuus, L.), sunflower or turnsole.

[301] The *tugnúr*: A herb about half a yard tall. Its red fruits, strung on a thread, are worn around the head by boys and girls.

The *báoñ* (Crinum asiaticum, L.). Flowers white and fragrant.

The *katañláy* (Alosia cristata, L.), cockscomb.

The *batónit* (from the Spanish *botones*, "buttons"), (Gomphrena globosa, L.), globe amaranth.

The *apasopáso* (Alternanthera versicolor, Regel). Leaves green and red or purplish.

And several others mentioned before, chiefly when treating tobacco amulets.

Cultivated for other uses

241 824 The *xawád* (Piper betle, L.), betel or betel pepper.

The *dilawá*: A variety of domesticated betel with large yellow leaves.

[229] The *túba* (Croton tiglium, L.). Its fruits are used for poisoning fish.

The *sañláy* or *kápat* (Ceiba pentandra [L.] Gaertn.), God tree, ceiba tree, Bombay ceiba, silk-cotton tree or kapok tree.

[291] The *arinosó*: A tree whose bark is used for G-strings, headbands, strings, etc. Its leaves are very large.

The *darapiniyá* (derived from *piniyá*, Spanish *piña*, "pineapple"), *magí* or *amaxáy* (from the Spanish *maguey*), (Agave cantula, Roxb.), maguey, sisal hemp or century plant. Its fiber is used for thread to [283] sew clothes.

The *lubixán* (Sansevieria zeylanica [L.] Willd.), bowstring hemp. It prevents smallpox from entering the village.

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462 The same may be said with reference to simple and ordinary carpentry, in which most all Isneg are more or less expert. Indeed
335 when there is question of building a new house, the whole agglomer-
868 ation is summoned to take part. Nevertheless one or more men, more skilled than the rest, usually take the lead, and others do what they are told; in the meanwhile the youngsters pick up whatever they can according to each one's capacity of understanding and skill of hand.

462 Baskets are woven by the women, while the weaving of bownets
285 falls to the share of the men. In both cases young people learn the
868 work merely by imitating what is done by their elders.

462 Perhaps the only kind of work that is performed among the Isneg
326 by special craftsmen, and not by everybody indifferently, is that of
868 the blacksmith, and here again boys learn by imitation. While still small, they merely go and look; but once they have attained their
184 tenth year or so, they help their elders and learn the profession through practice. This is the more easy, as such occupations are not monopolized by a few individuals in each agglomeration, but are professed by the whole settlement or at least by several families, in a very restricted number of places.

868 One subject in which a boy generally receives formal instruction, at least if he wants to learn it, is that of managing a boat, of handling an oar, a paddle and a pole: the father is the recognized teacher of his offspring in this respect; but the whole is of course limited almost exclusively to places that are situated along the Apayaw in its lower course. In a few other places, parents teach their children how to manage a raft, but such teaching is generally much less formal, at least when there is only question of crossing a stream or of travelling over parts of a river that are easy to pass, as most youngsters, girls not excluded, will have seen their elders at work, and will try to imitate them without the necessity of such teaching. An occasional plunge rarely does them any harm, as the majority swim like rats, and those who would not float in case of taking an involuntary bath usually do not take the risk of trying to manage any water craft without the help of others.

D. RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

771 And now we come to the fields of religion and morality, which, in the case of the Isneg, seem to have each their own rather well-defined sphere, without encroaching the one upon the other, at least in so far as morality is concerned with man's duties to his fellow men. Nevertheless generalities are of little or no value, so I shall try to give as

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The *tősi, katősit* or *antősit* (Bixa orellana, L.), achiote or annatto tree. The seeds are used for condiments.

The *kapé* (from the Spanish *café*), coffee. The plants known in commerce as *robusta* are much more frequently cultivated in Apayaw than the *arabica*: this points to a comparatively recent introduction.

The *kakáw* (from the Spanish *cacao*), (Theobroma cacoa, L.), cacao or chocolate tree.

Palms and bamboos

The *bowá* (Arecga catechu, L.), betel palm or areca palm.

The *lítag*, wild betel palm, occasionally cultivated.

The *alimmuzáyan*, a variety of betel palm with very small nuts.

The *lańpá* or *labíd* (Livistona rotundifolia, Mart.), a kind of fan palm whose leaves are used for raincoats, thatch, etc. Its fruits are called *kulébań* or *kulalbáń*.

The *kawáyan* (Bambusa blumeana, Schultes. f.), the ordinary spiny bamboo.

The *pasińan*: A kind of spiny bamboo whose walls are lined with a membrane. It is used in basketwork, in the building of huts, in traps for catching wild boars, etc.

The *pa-lí*: A kind of slender spiny bamboo, mostly used in basketwork.

The *bólo* (Schizostachyum mucronatum, Mack.), the ordinary unarmed bamboo. Occasionally cultivated.

Cultivated for their perfume

The *alańixan* (Canangium odoratum [Lam.] Baill.), ylang-ylang.

The *bańńáw*: A shrub with round brown fruits. Its leaves are used for perfume.

The *sapitán* (Andropogon citratus, DC.), lemon grass. Sometimes planted in the *kómān* (rice field).

Cultivated for ornamental purposes

The *sarawénes* or *barawénes* (not genuine Isneg), (Delonix regia [Boj.] Ral.), peacock flower, flame tree or flamboyant.

The *lăyańá* or *ăyańá* (Hibiscus rosa-sinensis, L.), China rose or shoeblack plant.

The *malmalókoń* (Northopanax cochleatum [Lam.] Miq.), saucer-leaf.

The *dummariyá* (from the Spanish *Doña María*, "Lady Mary"),

000 in these jars, together with the beads. The[1] jars are
523 valued up to ₱200 and bead up to ₱150 each. They
[435] are usually inherited in the family as marriage dow-
[431] ries; but may be received as indemnity for injuries.
[425] Sometimes labels, in the ancient script, are chiseled
[583] on these jars. According to authorities, when the
[681] people came here, they had a high culture and read
212 and wrote fluently in the script; but this culture grad-
178 ually lessened from disuse until now there are only
523 a few treasured ancient manuscripts remaining.

415 One type of basket is used. The lip is circuar-
285 formed on rattan. The bottom is drawn out to four corners on which is secured a rattan base. Both wicker and twilled basket weaves are used, and the best ones are ornamented with colored lines and conventional designs. These baskets are woven in different sizes to fit various needs; so that a good housewife has a whole set of them which will nest together There are also some especially shaped baskets for particular uses.

415 At meal time the cooked rice is ladled out on new
264 banana leaves placed on the floor, and the other food may be placed in polished, half-coconut shells. These are also used as water cups, finger bowls, and general containers. The family squat around and help themselves to the food. Their fingers are washed and, being more convenient, are used in place of forks.

262 The rice has a pinkish hue, is sticky, has a good flavor, and is the basic food of the people. With this may be eaten portions of the flesh of fish, shrimp, snails, crabs, crocodiles, lizards, frogs, ants, chickens,
000 birds, or deer. The vegetables may be: tomatoes, egg-

[1] [ancient Chinese--ANALYST] 8

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583 and, if they consider them to be as valuable as that, it is their own
435 business after all. The same may be said with reference to the beads:
422 a single one, if very valuable in the eyes of the natives, may command the price of a carabao or water buffalo, from thirty to fifty dollars, while other ones may be had almost for the asking.

583 All these jars are earthenware of Chinese make, imported from
435 China long before the arrival of the Spaniards; consequently an-
422 tiquity is an important item in the estimation of their value. Jars
353 that have been imported recently usually command a much lower
415 price. A great many of the beads also antedate the coming of the
178 Spaniards and were also originally imported from China. Actually,
523 however, beads of all kinds have been put on the market and their origin is very often shrouded in mystery. Isneg plates are all made of coarse earthenware and have mostly been introduced from China; but, although most of them date from comparatively recent times, they are still of the same kind, shape, color and composition as those they have replaced, as may be proved by fragments occasionally unearthed in places formerly inhabited by Isneg. These people certainly hold fast to their old ways and customs; modern crockery is not to their taste. As the Isneg do not weave their own clothes, the latter have of necessity to be bought from outsiders.

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584 During the *amómân* it is also decided whether the boy has to stay
583 with his parents-in-law or not, and for how long in case he has to
591 do so, which is the customary way. The number of years varies very much, as some stay three years, others from five to ten, and even in a few cases the husband never goes back to the house of his own parents.

574 No really important business can be transacted, of course, among
584 the Isneg, without remembering the cravings of the stomach. In the
262 ordinary course of events one or more pigs are slaughtered according to the social standing of the girl's parents. If they are too poor to indulge in such prodigality, a chicken will do. In both cases a dog may complete the menu, although this is not absolutely required. No special name is given to the killing and consuming of the chicken; but if one or more pigs enter the lists, the whole ceremony is called *pildáp*. Nevertheless in a few isolated cases, when the people are much too poor, the banquet is completely left out, and the deliberations are conducted on empty stomachs.

584 All during the *amómân* the men conduct everything that is con-
574 nected with the *pildáp*. The *dorarákit* or shamaness does not inter-
562 fere in the least.

with a row of feathers; a head band of small beads, *bajaban;* earrings, *lubay;* a necklace of larger beads, *ambusao;* red spangles hanging from back of the head, *bajuoyboy;* red spangles hanging on forehead, *pati;* small anklet beads, *pasag;* a bead wrist band, *sinali,* and a silver ring, *sankilat.* Her lips are made red with betel nut, *ma-ma,* and she makes a charming picture. The man also has a striking appearance, being dressed in his breechcloth or G-string, *abag;* red-embroidered black pull-on shirt, *baddo;* bag, *pulsa;* neckband with a handsome shell breast-piece, *bising;* and an ornamented head dress formed of red and blue cloth entwined in a turban, *linijot.* This is topped with odorous leaves.

The people have no knowledge of weaving or pottery making. They obtain their clothing, pots, salt, and other materials from Ilocano traders in exchange for their honey, beeswax, rope, baskets and mats.

FAMILY LIFE AND OCCUPATIONS

The people live in substantially constructed houses which have artistic lines. The usual size is about 20 x 34 feet. In building a house, the four long, sturdy corner posts and two central side posts are first set in the ground. They are shaped from some very hard and durable timber such as *molave* or *ipil.* On these posts the structure is framed with heavy, hand-hewn lumber. The timbers are so neatly hewn with miter, bead, feather, and tongue joints that they do not require further fastening. The roof is finished first. Three heavy, well-braced trusses rest on the posts. Their bearing, or upper sides are hewn into an outward bow which will shape the roof in an equilateral

105, 113, 131, 142, 157, 161, 177, 262, 291, 302, 304, 721, Apayao OA5,

[For information on location, physical type, personality, population, acculturation, diet, clothing, toilet, tatooing and headhunting, see 58: Barton, OA1 Philippines, category 116, pp. 300-301.]

THE ISNEG LIFE CYCLE

854 When the mother takes her child along, she carries it on her back
853 in a piece of cloth (addún; see PUBL. CATH. ANTHROP. CONF., v. I, no. 5, Fig. 52, p. 231), in which the little one takes a sitting position, its feet dangling freely beneath, and its head protruding above. At one side, the addún passes over one of the shoulders of the carrier, mostly the right one, and at the other side, under the opposite arm, its tips being knotted in front; sometimes, although rarely, the addún passes under both arms. In order to give her child the breast, the only thing the mother has to do is to give the whole outfit a little shift, allowing the baby to pass under the left arm toward the front; but even without going to such extremes, a little freedom in the position of the little one will give the latter a chance occasionally to get a few mouthfuls from the left breast of its mother by pushing its head under her left arm. This way of carrying her infant does not hamper the mother in her ordinary work, such as cleaning the field, pounding rice, and so on; besides, her movements will very often serve the child for a swing and rock it to sleep.

854 When the baby becomes a little older it is frequently carried sitting on the hip in a straddling position one foot in front and one at the back (abbayán). An older brother or sister, or some other kind-hearted person occasionally takes the place of the mother and carries the child around in one of the ways just mentioned.

/824/ Besides the ordinary precautions that have to be taken to keep the
821 child from injury, anybody who is carrying a baby around in the
854 evening should not fail to pick a leaf of tabbán or cogon grass along
789 the road and tie it to the child's ankle. Then, as soon as they reenter the house, the child should be made touch one of the three stones (taxán) of the hearth, on top if possible; if this were not done the Isneg firmly believe that the little one would get sick sooner or later. Nothing of the kind has to be done, however, if the walk took place in the morning.

854 Incidentally it may be mentioned here that small babies dispense
301 with all clothing whatsoever. A string to which a few seeds or cowries
291 (kamusáy) have been attached, and which serves it for a bracelet or, more rarely, for a necklace, is considered more than sufficient for the time being, and a small piece of cloth laid under the little one when at rest takes the place of swaddling clothes. The greatest concern of the parents is to keep the child in good health, and the amulets, whether seeds or cowries, will look after that.

854 All rags that are used with newborn babies and which are called dappin (in some places dappán), for instance the cloth that is some-

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854 times spread under them, clothes used to wipe or clean them, occasional wrappers, etc., have to be washed inside the house. If they were washed in the river or brook, which is the customary place for that kind of work, the Isneg firmly believe that the child would die a premature death.

855 291 Later on, when a few years old, the child wears a little dress, whenever possible, and when a girl has attained perhaps her fourth or fifth year, the first piece of the customary Isneg outfit that is given to her is the *kalaŋkáŋ*, a string around the waist, which she wears under her little dress if she has any, and which will be used afterwards to insert the *talút* or G-string. In many cases a boy will be given an ordinary Isneg *bádo* or coat long before he wears the *abág* or G-string. But more of this for some other chapter.

2. *Abnormal Cases*

845 I shall now consider a few extraordinary cases.

Posthumous children, which of course are comparatively rare, are, as far as I have been able to ascertain, treated in exactly the same way as other children, and the Isneg do not seem to look upon the matter as anything out of the ordinary.

Nothing special is to be noted with reference to a child who dies in its mother's womb, and with reference to a mother who dies before her child is born; in such cases the Isneg have no means of saving the survivor, and the same rites are observed as in the case of the death of an ordinary adult. A mother who cannot bring forth her child is said to be *matalándn* or *masaltán* (the latter term also means "to be stopped", for instance, a bottle, etc.). The only practice the Isneg resort to in such a case is the *maxanito*, which is cutomary with any kind of sickness.

847 Voluntary abortion seems to be neither known nor practised. Here of course one is treading upon dangerous ground when inquiring into the matter, but nevertheless it was told me very emphatically by persons whose entire confidence I possessed that such practices were never resorted to. Do not some Isneg at least know about it, and does it not happen occasionally in some spot or another of the extensive Apayaw district? I do not know. It should be taken into consideration though that to the Isneg all children are welcome, and even in the case of a child that would be born out of wedlock, its premature death would not save the girl from the anger of her parents, nor the boy from his duty to marry the girl or to suffer some terrible punish-

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"As soon as an Isneg boy knows the meaning of shame, he should wear a G-string. From then on never go around stark naked, at least under ordinary circumstances. But if there is danger of your clothes getting wet, you can take them off of course: for instance, when mounting a raft, and sometimes also when riding a canoe, more especially when you have to tow the latter and enter the water at every turn, or when you have to cross rivers and brooks that are comparatively deep. You should not even take the trouble to put your G-string off and on at every step, provided of course you are alone or among your own people, and in the latter case provided you are circumcised, otherwise your companions would laugh at you. It is not shameful for a circumcised man to expose his genitalia and to walk along in a state of complete nudity, when there is a reason for doing so: nobody will be scandalized at that. Be very careful though never to appear naked when women may be espying you; there is no excuse for any man to expose his naked body to the gaze of women. That should be avoided by all means: would not these chatterboxes go around and tell everybody about it and make you the laughing stock of all the girls of the neighborhood?

"A girl should be modest. Do not fail to wear your G-string under your tapis as soon as you have attained a certain development; indeed, it might happen that your outer garment gets loose, and even in your ordinary movements it might sometimes be hard not to bare your body indecently, if no G-string is worn. A woman should always wear all her lower garments, except of course when she has to cross a deep stream or to take a bath, but then she should put them on again immediately afterwards. However, if men, her husband excepted, or strangers are around, she should prefer to wear wet clothes rather than take them off even for a single moment. Grown-up girls should always wear their jacket; they should never expose their breasts to the gaze of anybody. If you are a married woman, you need not be so meticulous; but cover yourself though when leaving the house, at least when strangers are around. Exposing the breasts from under the jacket is always allowed when giving a baby the breast; nor is it usually shameful to leave the breasts partially uncovered, when you are carrying a child or when a little one is otherwise present. Take this as a rule: except in the case of water sports and so on, and in the exclusive presence of persons of your own sex, never expose your genitalia, and, if you are as yet unmarried, your breasts. For the rest, you need not be very

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577 834 291 particular, although it would certainly be utterly immodest for any grown-up woman purposelessly to take off her tapis completely, even though seen only from behind; and going around half-naked is not to be recommended, even to a married woman, when in the presence of outsiders."

In 1927, while on my way to Karagawan, I followed the course of the river which I had to cross at every turn; so my Isneg carrier took off his G-string at the first crossing and did not put it on again, except on a certain occasion, when we were approaching a house. "Wait a moment", he said, "I shall put on my G-string, as who knows but there may be some women at home there espying me".

At the teachers' house I had a talk with the mother of one of the Iloko teachers, and, in the course of the conversation, she related to me how astonished the Isneg women of that place had been, when she had told them that she wore no G-string. "But suppose your saya came off, would not your genitalia be exposed to view?" they had exclaimed, with horror painted all over their faces. The Isneg have a special qualifying term for an Isneg woman who wears no G-string: she is called *pańńáw*.

577 834 291 177 Several years ago, there came an order, I believe from the Bureau of Education, that all school children should pass a physical examination before the physician of the district; but very soon the order had to be revoked, as otherwise it was feared that an uprising would occur among our Mountain people. The Isneg in particular could find no plausible reason for any man causing a girl to take off her garments in his presence.

836 577 684 "All Isneg boys should be careful not to render a girl pregnant: this is one of the delinquencies that are abhorred more than anything else among the Isneg. You may be inclined to sow your wild oats; that is but natural, but here you have to look out. You should never under any pretext impregnate a girl whom you could not marry afterwards, and even though you could make her your wife, it would still be a dangerous thing to do; suppose some obstacle comes in the way, you know the consequences; you know very well that the relatives of the offended girl will get the *awát*: they will raid your house and carry away your precious jars, your beads and all that is valuable. There is no mercy for a boy who has committed a crime like that; so do not be rash: fornication is a dangerous thing. When you go to court the girls (*mamabáy*) in the evening, use love charms and try to win the girl you love; to force her against

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up a good many friendships, and it is the starting point of not a few quarrels among them. Voluntary talebearing, by which I mean here reporting to the interested person the gossip that somebody has spread about him, is, as far as I can judge about the matter, rather rare, at least among men.

Drunkenness is a vice that is mostly indulged in only at the time of some *sáy-án* or other sacrifice, and this mostly by old men. Comparing their use of intoxicating drinks with what I have seen in civilized countries, I should say that the Isneg is a temperate man. Nevertheless theory is stricter than practice, except in the case of youth.

Three points are still to be considered now, namely: chastity, honesty and truthfulness.

And first as to chastity and the virtues related to it. Complete nudity is habitual among youngsters under six years of age; the little coat usually worn even by small boys, is not sufficiently long to cover them decently. Such nakedness is not considered shameful as long as the children are small; nevertheless there is some ground for concluding that it may have an effect upon sex behavior. Indeed small children are very after tickled (*magkuríra-*, *kurírkán*) in order to cause them to laugh, and this tickling is very commonly practised on or near the genitals, not only by the parents, but also by young boys and girls; especially in the case of small boys, the principal use of their penis seems to be that of being fingered by every passer-by.

As soon as the child is able to lisp a few words, the pronunciation by the child of any obscene term that finds its way into the child's vocabulary is greeted with laughter; and if later on foul language is heard to proceed from the small boy's mouth, he is applauded for his cleverness instead of being chastised for his forwardness. Little girls are usually brought up in a less dirty atmosphere, as the mother takes care of them almost exclusively as soon as they are able to walk; but little or no separation of the sexes at night is insisted upon during the first years of the little Isneg's life.

Everything considered, the sight of nudity in both sexes, touching of one another's genitals without reproof, the early excitation of the boys' genitals through indecent handling by older children and adults, the use of dirty speech without the least restraint and almost with encouragement, all these combined can do nothing else but detract from the efficiency of subsequent teaching on sex morality. The existence of the term *kassár* seems to support my inference; *kassár*

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867 means "to suffer erection", and is used only of boys and girls who
831 have not yet attained the age of puberty; another term is in use for adults.

867 And so we have reached the period between the age at which the
834 little one wears lower garments for the first time and that of puberty. Formal teaching about the first elements of sex morality usually starts
• 291 about this time, and so little girls of this age are generally very modest; although boys are not so meticulous. Provided they are
858 circumcised, the latter do not mind very much exposing their naked
183 body, and even when as yet uncircumcised, there is no comparison between their behavior and that of their modest little sisters. For the rest much freedom still exists, as my reference to the special term just explained seems to indicate, so that it might be called a miracle if the youngsters live a chaste life once they have attained the age
[835] of puberty. Recently a young man of some eighteen years old was arrested for having violated his little sister who is barely six years old; he said he wanted "to try".

836 Grown-up girls are of course much better in this respect than boys,
183 and both sexes usually observe the laws of modesty that have been taught them by their parents according to the Isneg code; but in
577 general I think that the morals of young people are decidedly loose. *Magdaldallów* (joking one another, boys and girls), *magkabbál* (to
867 finger a girl's breasts; said only of boys), and similar terms, seem to indicate that the teaching of their elders is not very successful. Add to this that young men have free access at night to all houses where girls of marriageable age may be found, and it will not be wondered at that chastity is a rare flower among Isneg youth.

836 The fear of pregnancy and of its consequences is of course a great
183 deterrent to young people of both sexes, but, even leaving aside the question of self-pollution, simple fornication must not be so exceed-
867 ingly rare after all. It is true that my informants usually assure me that coitus is never practised among unengaged boys and girls of mature age; but this in my opinion cannot be accepted without a grain of salt. Indeed, the same men have also told me at first that continence is imposed upon engaged couples before their marriage, but I have learned since that the latter are free to sleep together as often as they wish even though none of the usual ceremonies has yet been performed,—and this I now know to be a universal custom all over Apayaw.

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and, if they consider them to be as valuable as that, it is their own business after all. The same may be said with reference to the beads: a single one, if very valuable in the eyes of the natives, may command the price of a carabao or water buffalo, from thirty to fifty dollars, while other ones may be had almost for the asking.

All these jars are earthenware of Chinese make, imported from China long before the arrival of the Spaniards; consequently antiquity is an important item in the estimation of their value. Jars that have been imported recently usually command a much lower price. A great many of the beads also antedate the coming of the Spaniards and were also originally imported from China. Actually, however, beads of all kinds have been put on the market and their origin is very often shrouded in mystery. Isneg-plates are all made of coarse earthenware and have mostly been introduced from China; but, although most of them date from comparatively recent times, they are still of the same kind, shape, color and composition as those they have replaced, as may be proved by fragments occasionally unearthed in places formerly inhabited by Isneg. These people certainly hold fast to their old ways and customs; modern crockery is not to their taste. As the Isneg do not weave their own clothes, the latter have of necessity to be bought from outsiders.

During the *amómân* it is also decided whether the boy has to stay with his parents-in-law or not, and for how long in case he has to do so, which is the customary way. The number of years varies very much, as some stay three years, others from five to ten, and even in a few cases the husband never goes back to the house of his own parents.

No really important business can be transacted, of course, among the Isneg, without remembering the cravings of the stomach. In the ordinary course of events one or more pigs are slaughtered according to the social standing of the girl's parents. If they are too poor to indulge in such prodigality, a chicken will do. In both cases a dog may complete the menu, although this is not absolutely required. No special name is given to the killing and consuming of the chicken; but if one or more pigs enter the lists, the whole ceremony is called *pildáp*. Nevertheless in a few isolated cases, when the people are much too poor, the banquet is completely left out, and the deliberations are conducted on empty stomachs.

All during the *amómân* the men conduct everything that is connected with the *pildáp*. The *dorarákit* or shamaness does not interfere in the least.

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What has been said of the *aliwá* or hatchet as a man's tool, may also be said of the *ikó* as a woman's tool: no Isneg woman goes to work without her *ikó*, which is nothing else but a diminutive headaxe, usually of the *binarawád*-type, and which she carries stuck in her headband. While she makes use of several other implements, as the occasion demands, the *ikó* is the only one that is almost constantly needed.

The handle of the *ikó* is ordinarily made of wood, like the helve of the *aliwá*,* but there are a few women who make use of the *kiraddán*, which is all iron. The latter type of *ikó* has a curved handle, and its ring or *palábo* is mostly spherical, instead of being cylindrical like that of the ordinary *ikó* and of the *aliwá* or headaxe.

Some of these *ikó* are exceedingly small, the length of the blade (not its breadth) being about one half of that of an ordinary penknife: these are called *paílōt*. A small *ikó* that is very old and has seen much service, is called *paṣiwát*: its handle is always made of wood, and consequently straight.

Other implements used by Isneg women will be treated in their proper place.

When an Isneg woman works in the field, she is rarely seen without her *saríkaw*, which is a very broad hat, sometimes one yard or more in diameter, almost flat, and more or less resembling a native winnow. The *saríkaw* is made of plaited palm leaves trimmed with strips of bamboo or of rattan or of both.

In order to avoid tedious repetitions I think it not amiss to give here a short description of the *inapúxān* or betel for chewing, which the Isneg frequently offer to the spirits and which I shall have to mention again and again in the course of this paper. The ordinary *inapúxān* as used by the Isneg, consists of a section of betel nut (*bowá*) and a sprinkling of lime (*ápug*) enveloped in a piece of betel leaf (*xawád*), while the one offered to the spirits, although essentially the same, has a few special characteristics.

When preparing *inapúxān* for the spirits, instead of using ripe betel nuts, which are the only ones fit for chewing, the Isneg choose a bunch of immature nuts (*lúsit*), and these they cut into tiny pieces (*riṅgám*), which are much smaller than those used for betel chewed by man. The lime is the same as that used in ordinary *inapúxān*:

* Cf. op. cit.

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241 (Codiaeum variegatum [L.] Blume), croton. Leaves very variable in 824 form and color.

The *patoddóń* (Euphorbia neriifolia, L.), a fleshy shrub.

The *sinandilá*, (Nopalea coccinellifera [Mill.] Salm-Dyck.), cochineal fig.

The *binaág* (Helianthus annuus, L.), sunflower or turnsole.

[301] The *tugnúr*: A herb about half a yard tall. Its red fruits, strung on a thread, are worn around the head by boys and girls.

The *báoń* (Crinum asiaticum, L.). Flowers white and fragrant.

The *katańláy* (Alosia cristata, L.), cockscomb.

The *batónit* (from the Spanish *botones*, "buttons"), (Gomphrena globosa, L.); globe amaranth.

The *apasopáso* (Alternanthera versicolor, Regel). Leaves green and red or purplish.

And several others mentioned before, chiefly when treating tobacco amulets.

Cultivated for other uses

241 824 The *xaicád* (Piper betle, L.), betel or betel pepper.

The *dilawá*: A variety of domesticated betel with large yellow leaves.

[220] The *túba* (Croton tiglium, L.). Its fruits are used for poisoning fish.

The *sańláy* or *kápat* (Ceiba pentandra [L.] Gaertn.), God tree, ceiba tree, Bombay ceiba, silk-cotton tree or kapok tree.

[291] The *arinosá*: A tree whose bark is used for G-strings, headbands, strings, etc. Its leaves are very large.

The *darapiniyá* (derived from *piniyá*, Spanish *piña*, "pineapple"), *magi* or *amaxáy* (from the Spanish *maguey*), (Agave cantula, Roxb.), [283] maguey, sisal hemp or century plant. Its fiber is used for thread to sew clothes.

The *lubixán* (Sansevieria zeylanica [L.] Willd.), bowstring hemp. It prevents smallpox from entering the village.

000 to be quite a differenc in their customs and dialects.
197 Along the length of the Apayao River there are three
162 separate groups. They can understand each other about the way that a Spaniard understands an Italian.

DRESS

291 The ordinary dress of the people is simple. The
[302] men wear breechcloths or G-strings, *abag*. They keep their hair long and coil it on the head. It is confined with a length of cloth wrapped turban fashion.
[304] The hands and wrists are tattooed in the boat pattern.
[142] The teeth are blackened. Each man has a small, de-
[276] corated bag, *bulsa*, in which he keeps his betel nut,
[293] *buyo*, lime bottle, tobacco, flint, tinder, and other small belongings. This is tucked, either into the G-string or in a belt woven of rattan. The woman, when about
301 her work, wears only a tapis. She has a necklace of
523 ancestral beads, shaped from chalcedony, silver and carved amulet bones. There are also patterned porcelain beads in the string. Many of these were obtained from the Chinese when they were active traders here some five centuries ago. Gold does not appear
[304] to be used. The woman has boat-pattern tattoo marks
[291] on the back of her hands as an aid to beauty. The
[854] small children make their skins do as clothing. Babies are carried about by the mothers in slings passed over one shoulder.

292 When all dressed up and ready to go to a party,
301 the woman wears a dark tapis, *aquen;* a cloth girdle, *bajacat;* a short-waisted, long-sleeved, black, pull-on shirt, *badiyo,* all characteristically embroidered in red; a head cloth with spangles, *laddong* and *saban,* topped

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This girl is supposed to be cultivating her camotes.

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This couple grew old together in Apayao.

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Girl dancing at a feast.

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Another characteristic dance pose.

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Students from the Apayao River, at the Trinidad Agricultural High School.

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Students from Nabuañgan River, at the Trinidad Agricultural High School.

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Students from Luna River at the Trinidad Agricultural High School.

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Students from Bayog River, at the Trinidad Agricultural High School.

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585 On the day fixed for the *ákit*, the relatives of the girl come together
263 at the latter's house, where a large amount of native sweets has been prepared for the purpose. These sweets are of different kinds:

The *sinandilá: dékat* rice pounded into powder and cooked with coconut oil, coconut milk and salt or sugar, in a shape like that of our ordinary pancakes;

The *binaladdibád* or *ininapát*, as explained previously;

The *linaxókog: dékat* rice pounded into powder, salted and cooked in lard, with neither sugar nor coconut products added to it; these cakes have more or less the form of our doughnuts, except that they are very flat; their diameter is usually from two to three inches, and there is a round hole in the center;

The *pinatará-: dékat* rice pounded into powder and cooked, after which it is cut into strips; in the meanwhile coconut milk is cooked in some other receptacle, and when the latter is boiling, first salt and then the *dékat* strips are added to it. The *pinatará-* take all kinds of shapes, but in general they are long and narrow, and look more or less like sections of a candle.

585 When everything is ready, the women take charge of the baskets
583 (*la-bá*) full of cakes, and one or more men carry a pig, which is called the *bálat* (revenge, taking turns, etc.) on this occasion. All these are so-called presents that will be distributed to the relatives of the groom by those of the bride. Then the whole procession, in which the *mańlakkát* plays the most conspicuous rôle, proceeds on its way to the boy's house; this may be done in the daytime as well as in the evening: no special time is set for the ceremony. It should be noted once for all that, if the groom is a married man and has a house of his own, all ceremonies connected with the *ákit* and the ensuing *lablabág* are conducted at his own house, and not at that of his parents.

585 And now as to the *mańlakkát*. This is always a young girl as yet
292 unmarried, and she is not allowed to wear any other body garment but the tapis or *akén*, and probably the *talút* or G-string, which after all remains invisible. A *saríkaw* hat, like the one worn by a woman after her delivery when she goes to take her first bath, completes her attire. Out of modesty, however, the *mańlakkát* does not wear her tapis in the customary way, that is, from the waist down, but she passes it over her breasts, so that the latter are covered, with the obvious result that her thighs are partially uncovered, as the lower end of the tapis barely reaches half-way down between the buttocks

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and the knees. Consequently the *mañlakkát* wears neither *badiyó* (jacket) nor *baxákat* (girdle), and the *laddóñ* or headband has been replaced by the *sarikaw*, so that her hair hangs loose down her back. All this is done, according to the Isneg, lest the bride experience difficulty in giving birth to her children; the loose attire of the *mañlakkát* is supposed to have a magical influence on the deliveries of the future mother, so that they be accomplished with the utmost ease.

In some places the *mañlakkát* carries the bride on her back, not on her hip, all the way from the latter's house to that of the groom. Nevertheless if the distance is too great, she only carries the girl down the ladder of the house, and then puts her down, not to take her up again until they arrive at the boy's house, where she carries her up the ladder. When mounting the ladder, the *mañlakkát* has to skip one of the rungs, all the while carrying her burden. In most places she contents herself with carrying the bride up the ladder of the groom's house, skipping one of the rungs as usual. According to the Isneg, the reason of this action is the same as that given for the looseness of the *mañlakkát*'s apparel. In Kankanay folklore one occasionally hears a husband invite his wife, who experiences difficulty in giving birth to her child, to climb his back. In other places, however, at least at present, the *mañlakkát* merely escorts the bride, without carrying her even for a single moment; but her attire always remains the same scanty outfit just referred to, and she never carries any of the baskets filled with sweets.

This custom of carrying the bride all the way through is very generally observed at Bayag (G branch of *O* dialect), while at Baliwanan and Dangla (Main branch of *O* dialect), and at Musimut (K branch of *O* dialect), she is merely carried up the ladder of the boy's house. The latter eventuality is remembered by the Isneg to have happened once at Alumani (near Kabugaw; Main branch). This does not obtain, at least in every case, at Kumaw and Bolo (Main branch), at Abbil and Dibagat (G branch), and at Talifugu (*Bó* dialect).

As soon as the procession arrives at the house of the groom, where in the meanwhile the latter's relatives and many other people invited as guests have been gathering, a few important ceremonies take place. If some members of the girl's party are living near the house of the boy, and in this case only, they *magtaluñáb*, which means that they stop before the ladder of the house and forbid the bride to enter until the boy's parents have given them a present, which usually consists of a *xúsi* jar or of a few beads. After that the bride is

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allowed to mount the ladder, either by herself or on the back of the *maúlakkát*.

Once inside she has to go immediately toward the place where a *balandán* blanket, the property of the boy's parents, has been spread on the floor, and to sit down upon it. The *balandán* consists of three rectangular pieces of cloth, sewn together at the sides, not at the edges; the two sutures are provided with large ornamental stitches of purple thread. The bride, however, is not to stay there very long, as she has barely squatted down on the *balandán* when her mother pulls it away from under her, and takes possession of the same. Here also the *maúlakkát* dons her customary attire, — jacket, headband and the rest, — as her rôle is finished by this time.

The parents of the boy usually prepare a banquet for all present; chickens or pigs and dogs are slaughtered, according to the social standing of the owners of the house, but, as previously noted, no shaman performs the *maxanito*. Should the *bálat* be killed on this occasion, which is not absolutely necessary, as the boy's parents may prefer to keep it alive, neither bride nor groom, nor any of the girl's relatives, is allowed to partake of it. If any of them should infringe this taboo and eat the meat of the *bálat* pig, his or her children, whether born already or to be born in the future, would die a certain death. The same prohibition obtains with reference to the cakes. It is certainly a great sacrifice for an Isneg not to partake of a meal of pork and rice, and only the fear of some dire punishment such as that of death for his children could effectively check his appetite in that direction. But in nearly all cases the boy's parents slaughter some other animal, which all present are allowed to partake. It goes without saying that a copious flow of *básí* keeps the whole company in merriment, otherwise you could not very well call it a marriage feast.

The principal ceremony, however, consists in the distribution of gifts, of which there are two classes:

1. The *ákit* (from which the whole marriage ceremony takes its name, *maúakit:* to perform a marriage ceremony): these are gifts of beads, clothes, etc., offered by the boy's relatives and outsiders to the women of the girl's party in exchange for a certain amount of cakes, or some part of the *bálat*, in case the latter is slaughtered.

2. The *tugnúl:* gifts of spears, headaxes, *zúsi* jars, etc., also offered by the boy's relatives and outsiders, but this time to the men of the girl's party, again in exchange for cakes or portions of the *bálat*.

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811 *Kútaw*'s boat, which is always fastened at the *dodóńān* (place on
772 the bank of a river where a boat is fastened, landing place) on this
side of the pond when not in use, has only one *pidpíd* or side plank,
776 which means that one side of the boat is open and unprotected, and nevertheless no water ever enters her and she never goes down. Thus the *kaduduwá* is ferried over the water in a boat that consists of only about one half of an ordinary one, a boat cut in two from stem to stern. When asked how anybody could possibly cross the *lablabbáń* in such a contrivance, the Isneg merely state that they do not know. And in this they are most certainly right. But who would dare say that the actions of the spirits have to correspond exactly with our own? Their ways are not our ways, and that settles the matter. Besides, the *lablabbáń* is not an ordinary *labbáń*, neither are *Kútaw* and the *kaduduwá* ordinary men, so why should the boat be an ordinary one?

772 The only other detail I have heard about the *lablabbáń* is that it is full of cogon grass (*tabbáń*) and of worms.

776 *Kútaw* himself was once described to me as wearing a coat from which a certain portion of cloth had been torn out entirely, and his
292 headax or *aliwá* as being deprived of one of its essential parts, namely
411 the *sáwit* or blunt projection at the back (cf. CAC–P, 1:233, fig. 68).

Once at the other side, the *kaduduwá* live a happy life in the *Aglalannawán* (called *Tagtaggáyan* at Bayag) or realm of the dead:
775 it is good (*napiyá*) to be there. Their life is comparable to a dream: they live in the same way as we do when we are dreaming. For the rest, they do not change in their ways: they plant and reap as before, have the same likes and dislikes, live on the same kind of food, with none of their old preferences gone, and so on. The house they live in, however, is not made of timber or bamboo: it is a real gold or silver one. There they stay and never come back, except at times
775 and temporarily,—for instance, when they come to get one of their
787 relatives, in which case the latter is *makaduduwá*, becomes sick and dies (such *kaduduwá* are called *gíbu-*), or when they enter the body of a shaman in order to communicate with the living, or even appear to the latter (perhaps only to the shaman), at the time of a *sáy-ám* sacrifice, etc.

775 It seems to result from all this that even the Isneg have a kind of double fate for man after death: one of happiness for those who prove acceptable to *Kútaw*, and one of privation for those who have to remain behind or are left unguided at the entrance to the *Aglalan-*

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764 When the first outburst of lamentations, in the case of our dead
292 Isneg, has come to an end, the bystanders at once proceed to the preparation of the *innát* or corpse. The latter is first stripped of its old clothes, and carefully washed and cleaned; after that it is wiped dry and finally dressed up in the best clothes available. Some natives do not even shrink from clothing the corpse in silk, if their means allow such luxury; at any rate, it would be utterly shameful to the Isneg not to dress a dead body decently. This latter performance is called *magpaar-armát* (transitive: *paarmattán;* from the stem *armát*, "garments"). As has been stated before, each garment is partially torn (*maxáyxáy*) at one side.

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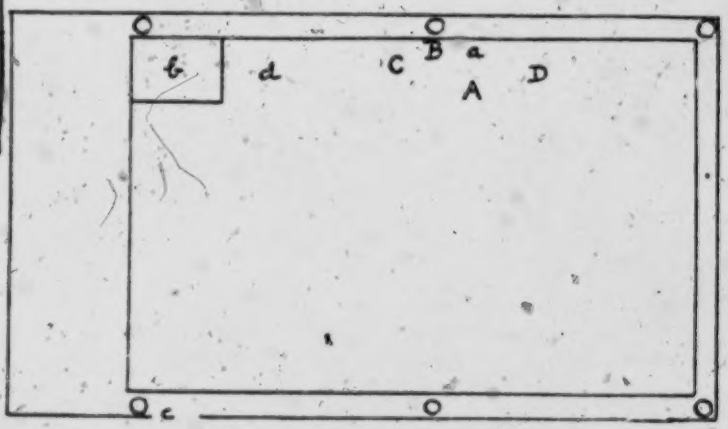

FIG. 3. FLOOR OF AN ISNEG HOUSE

A, Place of bier; a, place of the head of the *innát*; B, place of the *innát* in sitting posture; C, place of the *aróbon;* D, place of mourning relatives; b, hearth; c, door; d, place of woman in childbed.

764 In some places they insert a few *libnó* herbs in the clothes of the
775 *innát* for the following reason: on its way to the realm of the dead, the *kadudwá* is supposed to pass through a camote or sweet-potato
772 field, in which there is a hut inhabited by an old woman, who is intent on taking away from all passers-by their provisions and all their belongings; but if the latter have *libnó*-herbs about their person, the old woman is powerless and they pass along unscathed.

764 In the meanwhile some others have been preparing the *tádag* or bier. The *tádag* consists of a certain number of entire bamboos, tied

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together side by side in three places, at both ends and in the middle; it corresponds exactly to an ordinary raft or *zákit*, except of course that it is much shorter. 764

The *tádag* is then laid down near the middle post of one of the longer sides of the house, namely the one opposite to the door (fig. 3), and the body is stretched out upon it at full length, with its head near the wall, arms crossed over the chest, hands flat and fingers extended. In this position the *innát* has the place of the hearth to one side, but it is comparatively far away from it, as between this and the *tádag* is a certain space, that is usually reserved for women after childbirth; the middle post just referred to is kept immediately at the side of the head of the deceased, between the latter and the hearth. The *innát*'s pillow consists of the garments of which the deceased has just been stripped, jacket and G-string or tapis, etc.; they are rolled up into a bundle and placed under the head of the dead person. The latter's eyes have been closed; but the mouth may remain open: the lower jaw is never bound up.

After this a few pinnae of a young coconut leaf (*palátań*) are twisted and formed into a kind of crown, which is placed over the head of the deceased. This crown, which the Isneg call *sinazíkaw*, is never absent. Then the whole body is covered with a fine new blanket, which leaves only the crowned head visible. [824] [292]

If the deceased is a married man, his surviving wife cuts off her tresses at the height of the shoulders (*maggańád*), and these are tied to the head of the *innát* and arranged in such a way as to form one with his own hair. [302]

It should be noted once for all that all ceremonies and observances connected with death and burial are the same for men and women, for adults and children, for shamans and ordinary mortals, except for an occasional detail that will be recorded at the proper place. 766

In some special cases the *innát* is kept in a sitting or squatting posture, this time immediately in front of the central post and facing the door. It is kept sitting on a small bench, with head and waist tied to the post just referred to, and hands resting on the thighs; there is no question of course of any *tádag* or bier.

At other places, as at Bayag, some corpses are kept squatting in a jar, always at the customary place. A large *zúsi* jar (earthenware imported from China), a *tadóxan* in the case of an adult, a *dordori* in the case of a child, both very precious to the Isneg, is cut into two almost equal parts, and the body is placed in a squatting position

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765 Widows and widowers are not allowed to take a bath as long as
515 they have to wear their mourning apparel, and, in some settlements, for instance at Karagawan, they are not even allowed to cross a stream.

765 It goes without saying that many of the taboos described above are nothing but signs of mourning; nevertheless there are other tokens that are more clearly and exclusively (at least in our own eyes) distinctive characteristics of the sorrow that affects man when he suffers some bereavement.

And first as to mourning apparel.

765 As soon as the body is interred, the nearest relative or relatives
●292 don their mourning apparel, they *magwáis*. Widows and widowers are of course obliged to do so by custom; for the others, everything depends on their esteem for the deceased. At the death of some persons a whole lot of people wear mourning, while others are barely mourned by a single relative. At any rate, mourning apparel (*kolmót* or *pusá-*; the term *kolmót* more especially refers to men's mourning apparel, while *pusá-* is almost exclusively used for women's mourning apparel; *napusá-* also means "white") once put on has to be worn all the time until the *obóbāt*. In Apayaw the color is white, and nice clothes are taboo. All mourners, men and women alike, wear a white headband (*ábal*; pronounced *kábal* at Bolo), which consists in an *inarosó* at Bolo; *arinosó* at Bayag; *rinosó* at Dangla), a comparatively narrow strip of bark, mostly taken from the *taudáw* tree and especially prepared for the purpose. If the persons in question also abstain from rice and taro (*maŋgabí*), they wear, besides the headband just mentioned, a kind of neckcloth, which is just a second *inarosó*, worn around the neck and left loose in front.

765 For many days after the burial of a near relative, the mourners
201 go every morning to weep at the tomb of their loved one, be it a husband or wife, a father or mother, or a much beloved child, brother or sister. After *Mámaw*'s husband had been buried at Nagbabalayan (beginning of 1926), the widow could be seen every morning, carrying her babe and accompanied by her grown-up son, silently directing her steps toward the graveyard. Once there both the widow and her son would squat down in the immediate proximity of the tomb and weep unceasingly for a considerable period of time, low murmurings and subdued sobs being the only audible manifestations of their grief. While doing so, they usually rested the right elbow on the right knee and extended the right hand over the eyebrows touching the fore-

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The *tŏsi, katŏsit* or *antŏsit* (Bixa orellana, L.), achiote or annatto tree. The seeds are used for condiments.

The *kapé* (from the Spanish *café*), coffee. The plants known in commerce as *robusta* are much more frequently cultivated in Apayaw than the *arabica*: this points to a comparatively recent introduction.

The *kakáw* (from the Spanish *cacao*), (Theobroma cacoa, L.), cacao or chocolate tree.

Palms and bamboos

The *bowá* (Arecga catechu, L.), betel palm or areca palm.

The *lítag*, wild betel palm, occasionally cultivated.

The *alimmuxáyan*, a variety of betel palm with very small nuts.

The *lañpá* or *labíd* (Livistona rotundifolia, Mart.), a kind of fan palm whose leaves are used for raincoats, thatch, etc. Its fruits are called *kŭlébañ* or *kulalbáñ*.

The *kawáyan* (Bambusa blumeana, Schultes. f.), the ordinary spiny bamboo.

The *pasíñan*: A kind of spiny bamboo whose walls are lined with a membrane. It is used in basketwork, in the building of huts, in traps for catching wild boars, etc.

The *pa-lí*: A kind of slender spiny bamboo, mostly used in basketwork.

The *bólo* (Schizostachyum mucronatum, Mack.), the ordinary unarmed bamboo. Occasionally cultivated.

Cultivated for their perfume

The *alañízan* (Canangium odoratum [Lam.] Baill.), ylang-ylang.

The *bañíáw*: A shrub with round brown fruits. Its leaves are used for perfume.

The *sapitán* (Andropogon citratus, DC.), lemon grass. Sometimes planted in the *kŏmán* (rice field).

Cultivated for ornamental purposes

The *sarawénes* or *barawénes* (not genuine Isneg), (Delonix regia [Boj.] Ral.), peacock flower, flame tree or flamboyant.

The *lăyañá* or *ăyañá* (Hibiscus rosa-sinensis, L.), China rose or shoeblack plant.

The *malmalókoñ* (Northopanax cochleatum [Lam.] Miq.), saucer-leaf.

The *dunámariyá* (from the Spanish *Doña María*, "Lady Mary"),

000 to be quite a differenc in their customs and dialects.
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292

Apayao girl in gala dress.

292

Profile view of same girl.

with a row of feathers; a head band of small beads, *sajaban;* earrings, *lubay;* a necklace of larger beads, *ambusao;* red spangles hanging from back of the head, *bajuoyboy;* red spangles hanging on forehead, *pati;* small anklet beads, *pasag;* a bead wrist band, *sinali,* and a silver ring, *sankilat.* Her lips are made red with betel nut, *ma-ma,* and she makes a charming picture. The man also has a striking appearance, being dressed in his breechcloth or G-string, *abag;* red-embroidered black pull-on shirt, *baddo;* bag, *pulsa;* neckband with a handsome shell breast-piece, *bising;* and an ornamented head dress formed of red and blue cloth entwined in a turban, *linijot.* This is topped with odorous leaves.

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292

An old warrior in his regalia dress.

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
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584 832 776

Iwaxán: a spirit who formerly was a man, assiduous in courting the girls and very clever in causing the latter to allow him to perform coitus with them. If the boy who goes to court the girls happens to have a small bottle of coconut oil on his person, which is quite customary, *Iwaxán* sometimes enters the bottle, so that the girl may smell the fragrance he emits and fall in love with the boy.

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584 832 431 293 276 415 531

6. The giving of presents, as rings, trinkets, clothes, and so on. Isneg young men of marriageable age very often carry their articles for chewing betel nut in a pouch (*kélăy*), a rather large and generally multicolored handkerchief, hanging from the neck and dangling on the chest; two ends are knotted immediately over the contents with a large double knot, the other two are joined at the top and reach the neck of the wearer. All along both sides, from the receptacle up to about half-way between the latter and the neck, a series of rings (*sańkilát*) covers the cloth. The girl takes betel nut, etc., out of the pouch, and both, boy and girl, occasionally interchange rings, the boy detaching one of his own from his *kélăy* to give it to the girl, and the latter adding one of her rings to those of the boy's *kélăy*. Such an interchange of rings, however, is not always necessarily a sign of consent on the part of the girl to the advances of the boy: this in modification of a statement made by me in a previous paper (CAC–P, 1:226).

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832 [435] (*kaddát*), which are bought from the shaman and remain her own secret. A jacket or something of equal value is the usual price paid by a lover to the old woman who furnishes him with the much-coveted [278] charm. These herbs are either ground into powder or otherwise pressed and crumpled until they are unrecognizable, and then mixed with coconut oil (*dénu*), lest an uninitiated person get to know them, and their virtues disappear: indeed, a love charm whose ingredients, the oil excepted, have been called by name, be it by the shaman herself or anybody else, is completely valueless. This is certainly a wise precaution, otherwise the shaman would not receive many presents of jackets and so on: Isneg youngsters would be able to find the herbs without anybody's help, as they are undoubtedly very common plants, although I am ignorant of their identity; they also probably differ from shaman to shaman. Anyhow if this supposed loss of virtue through the pronunciation of the name of the herbs in question is not a shaman's trick, it certainly serves the latter's interests perfectly well.

[293] Once the boy has obtained his love charm, which he places in some small receptacle, usually a small bottle, he generally carries it along at least when he goes to court the girl of his choice, and he usually keeps it all the time either in his *túput* (belongings rolled up in an *amakattán* kerchief and carried on the back at the waist) or in his *kélay*, lest he lose it or somebody else lay hands on it. Whenever an Isneg lover goes to see his girl in the evening, he does not fail to pour some of this precious ointment on the palms of both hands and pass the latter over his hair, so that the girl may be forced to love him,—at least if he can do so unobserved, that is if there is no light to betray his actions. This, however, might be called only a measure of precaution or something to be done by all means, lest perchance a better and surer way be wanting. And indeed the love charm is considered as almost irresistible if it comes in mediate or immediate contact with the girl's body.

832 276 576 The inveterate custom of chewing betel nut, betel pepper and lime is not confined to the older people among the Isneg: youngsters very soon learn to imitate their elders in that respect. The asking and giving of the necessary ingredients is, if not the only, at least one of the most usual forms of salutation, and no polite Isneg will forego either to ask or to proffer these precious chewing materials, whenever he happens to meet somebody, and more especially when he is conversing with somebody who is more or less familiar with him, for instance, a relative, a partner in some kind of work, etc.

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THE ISNEG LIFE CYCLE

854 When the mother takes her child along, she carries it on her back
853 in a piece of cloth (addún; see PUBL. CATH. ANTHROP. CONF., v. I, no. 5, Fig. 52, p. 231), in which the little one takes a sitting position, its feet dangling freely beneath, and its head protruding above. At one side, the addún passes over one of the shoulders of the carrier, mostly the right one, and at the other side, under the opposite arm, its tips being knotted in front; sometimes, although rarely, the addún passes under both arms. In order to give her child the breast, the only thing the mother has to do is to give the whole outfit a little shift, allowing the baby to pass under the left arm toward the front; but even without going to such extremes, a little freedom in the position of the little one will give the latter a chance occasionally to get a few mouthfuls from the left breast of its mother by pushing its head under her left arm. This way of carrying her infant does not hamper the mother in her ordinary work, such as cleaning the field, pounding rice, and so on; besides, her movements will very often serve the child for a swing and rock it to sleep.

854 When the baby becomes a little older it is frequently carried sitting on the hip in a straddling position one foot in front and one at the back (abbayán). An older brother or sister, or some other kind-hearted person occasionally takes the place of the mother and carries the child around in one of the ways just mentioned.

/824/ Besides the ordinary precautions that have to be taken to keep the
821 child from injury, anybody who is carrying a baby around in the
854 evening should not fail to pick a leaf of tabbán or cogon grass along
789 the road and tie it to the child's ankle. Then, as soon as they reenter the house, the child should be made touch one of the three stones (taxán) of the hearth, on top if possible; if this were not done the Isneg firmly believe that the little one would get sick sooner or later. Nothing of the kind has to be done, however, if the walk took place in the morning.

854 Incidentally it may be mentioned here that small babies dispense
301 with all clothing whatsoever. A string to which a few seeds or cowries
291 (kamúsay) have been attached, and which serves it for a bracelet or, more rarely, for a necklace, is considered more than sufficient for the time being, and a small piece of cloth laid under the little one when at rest takes the place of swaddling clothes. The greatest concern of the parents is to keep the child in good health, and the amulets, whether seeds or cowries, will look after that.

854 All rags that are used with newborn babies and which are called dappin (in some places dappán), for instance the cloth that is some-

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(Codiaeum variegatum [L.] Blume), croton. Leaves very variable in form and color.

The *patoddón* (Euphorbia neriifolia, L.), a fleshy shrub.

The *sinandilá*, (Nopalea coccinellifera [Mill.] Salm-Dyck.), cochineal fig.

The *binaág* (Helianthus annuus, L.), sunflower or turnsole.

The *tugnúr*: A herb about half a yard tall. Its red fruits, strung on a thread, are worn around the head by boys and girls.

The *báoń* (Crinum asiaticum, L.). Flowers white and fragrant.

The *katańláy* (Alosia cristata, L.), cockscomb.

The *batónit* (from the Spanish *botones*, "buttons"), (Gomphrena globosa, L.), globe amaranth.

The *apasopáso* (Alternanthera versicolor, Regel). Leaves green and red or purplish.

And several others mentioned before, chiefly when treating tobacco amulets.

Cultivated for other uses

The *rawád* (Piper betle, L.), betel or betel pepper.

The *dilawá*: A variety of domesticated betel with large yellow leaves.

The *túba* (Croton tiglium, L.). Its fruits are used for poisoning fish.

The *sańláy* or *kápat* (Ceiba pentandra [L.] Gaertn.), God tree, ceiba tree, Bombay ceiba, silk-cotton tree or kapok tree.

The *arinosó*: A tree whose bark is used for G-strings, headbands, strings, etc. Its leaves are very large.

The *darapiniyá* (derived from *piniyá*, Spanish *piña*, "pineapple"), *magí* or *amaxáy* (from the Spanish *maguey*), (Agave cantula, Roxb.), maguey, sisal hemp or century plant. Its fiber is used for thread to sew clothes.

The *lubixán* (Sansevieria zeylanica [L.] Willd.), bowstring hemp. It prevents smallpox from entering the village.

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105, 113, 131, 142, 157, 161, 177, 262, 291, 302, 304, 721, Apayao OA5

[For information on location, physical type, personality, population, acculturation, diet, clothing, toilet, tatooing and headhunting, see 58: Barton, OA1 Philippines, category 116, pp. 300-301.]

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584 1. The use of musical instruments, which he plays at the house of
832 the girls, usually while lying down in the evening, and which are
594 supposed to have a very soothing influence on the mind of any mem-
[828] ber of the weaker sex. As this is not the place to describe these instruments at length, I shall merely enumerate them and add a few of their most outstanding characteristics:

The *kuribáw*, a kind of Jew's-harp, entirely made of bamboo, whose tongue is struck by the finger at its fixed base.

The *axiwáń*, another kind of Jew's-harp, partially made of bamboo, whose metal tongue is moved by a string.

The *balíkiń* or nose flute, which consists of a slender tube of bamboo, open at both ends, and provided with holes along its length, three at one side and one at the other.

584 2. The singing of love songs (*magdaldallán*). This is done in the
832 daytime as well as in the evening, whenever the boy is moved by
533 concupiscence (*makibabbáy*). Such songs, however, are not the exclusive property of the male sex.

584 3. The pronunciation of special terms, otherwise meaningless, that
834 are supposed to have a magical influence on the female sex. These
192 are interwoven in the verses of the song and more or less connected with the rest of the sentence. Such terms are: *dumaripón, dumiñidíń, dumardaroóó*, etc.

584 4. The use of perfumes (*bańúg*), usually consisting of fragrant
832 herbs or leaves stuck in the headband; although unseen by the girl
302 in the evening, these perfumes forcibly strike her nostrils in an
824 agreeable manner. Any kind of perfume may be used for the purpose, but the most esteemed on such occasions is the *malindáw* (called *indáw* at Bolo). The *malindáw* is a small tree covered with spines and provided with very aromatic leaves. The *Andn* brook near Dangla flows through a thicket that is renowned for the abundance and variety of its odoriferous plants: *sildyon* (aromatic leaves, parasitic on trees), *ditán* (aromatic seeds, a kind of rattan), *malindáw*, etc.

584 Here two spirits occasionally play an important role: both of them
832 are supposed to spread a very agreeable odor, and they sometimes
776 accompany the boys on their courting expeditions, although nothing is done by the latter to attract them. They are:

Asináw: a spirit who lives in the hills and always wears very nice apparel; he is supposed to be visible at times. He merely accompanies the boy and through his fragrance influences the girl in behalf of her lover.

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together side by side in three places, at both ends and in the middle; it corresponds exactly to an ordinary raft or *xákit*, except of course that it is much shorter. 764

The *tádag* is then laid down near the middle post of one of the longer sides of the house, namely the one opposite to the door (fig. 3), and the body is stretched out upon it at full length, with its head near the wall, arms crossed over the chest, hands flat and fingers extended. In this position the *inndt* has the place of the hearth to one side, but it is comparatively far away from it, as between this and the *tádag* is a certain space, that is usually reserved for women after childbirth; the middle post just referred to is kept immediately at the side of the head of the deceased, between the latter and the hearth. The *inndt*'s pillow consists of the garments of which the deceased has just been stripped, jacket and G-string or tapis, etc.; they are rolled up into a bundle and placed under the head of the dead person. The latter's eyes have been closed; but the mouth may remain open: the lower jaw is never bound up.

After this a few pinnae of a young coconut leaf (*palátań*) are twisted and formed into a kind of crown, which is placed over the head of the deceased. This crown, which the Isneg call *sinazíkaw*, is never absent. Then the whole body is covered with a fine new blanket, which leaves only the crowned head visible. [824] [292]

If the deceased is a married man, his surviving wife cuts off her tresses at the height of the shoulders (*maggańád*), and these are tied to the head of the *inndt* and arranged in such a way as to form one with his own hair. [302]

It should be noted once for all that all ceremonies and observances connected with death and burial are the same for men and women, for adults and children, for shamans and ordinary mortals, except for an occasional detail that will be recorded at the proper place. 766

In some special cases the *inndt* is kept in a sitting or squatting posture, this time immediately in front of the central post and facing the door. It is kept sitting on a small bench, with head and waist tied to the post just referred to, and hands resting on the thighs; there is no question of course of any *tádag* or bier.

At other places, as at Bayag, some corpses are kept squatting in a jar, always at the customary place. A large *xúsi* jar (earthenware imported from China), a *tadóxān* in the case of an adult, a *dordorí* in the case of a child, both very precious to the Isneg, is cut into two almost equal parts, and the body is placed in a squatting position

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243 A part of the fruit and leaf of the lemon;
782 A few seeds of *lańńá* or sesame: these seeds have a peculiar [827] aptitude for "teaching" the rice how to grow vigorously;

A seed of *oldiyátan*, in order to guard the spirit of the rice, lest it leave the rice and the ears become empty. The *oldiyátan* is a forest tree with a thorny stem and round seeds that are used for toys;

A piece of zedoary or rhizome of *kannig* (Curcuma zedoaria [Berg.] Rosc.), which grows wild;

[303] A piece of galangale or rhizome of *disól* (Kaempferia galanga, L.), cut into small pieces. This plant is often cultivated, as old women use it for perfume;

Some pudding made from *madiliya*-rice, mentioned before.

All these are amulets (*tánib*) that insure the nice growth of the palay.

243 The seeds of this *la-bá* are now kept apart, and they will be planted in the field before any other ones.

Then the work of shelling goes on and, whenever there is a sufficient amount of *aggí-*, it is transferred to a bamboo tube, called *agaggikán* like the old mat itself. The term *agaggikán* consists of the stem *aggí-* and the locative combination *ag . . . án*: when referring to the mat, it means "the place where the woman *maxaggí-* or shells rice"; when applied to the bamboo tube, it means "the place of the *aggí-*". In some localities, instead of using a bamboo tube, the Isneg wrap the seeds in the leaves of the *asipúlo* or *sipúlo*: a forest tree with very large round leaves; its bark is sometimes used for chewing with the betel nut.

When the time of planting (*tognó*) draws near, the Isneg puts the finishing touch to the cleaning of his *kómań*. Some of the plants that had been cut during the *ańumá* or clearing, have sprung up again (*rumsí-*), after the field was burnt. And so the man takes his hatchet and the woman her *paló-* (hoe), which will be described presently, and proceed to the field in order to clean everything thoroughly before the planting is begun: this final preparation is called *magpatari-sí-* (*tari-sí-* means: young shoot of plants in general).

[462] For the planting or *tognó* (a term used for rice and Indian corn, not for beans, etc.), which is the exclusive work of the women, the latter need a special implement, namely a dibble.

412 Here I shall give the description of the aforementioned *paló-* (hoe) and of the two kinds of dibble used for planting rice, the *saguwá-* and the *xádań*.

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The *tősi, katősit* or *antősit* (Bixa orellana, L.), achiote or annatto tree. The seeds are used for condiments.

The *kapé* (from the Spanish *café*), coffee. The plants known in commerce as *robusta* are much more frequently cultivated in Apayaw than the *arabica*: this points to a comparatively recent introduction.

The *kakáw* (from the Spanish *cacao*), (Theobroma cacoa, L.), cacao or chocolate tree.

Palms and bamboos

The *bowá* (Arecga catechu, L.), betel palm or areca palm.

The *lítag*, wild betel palm, occasionally cultivated.

The *alimmuzdyān*, a variety of betel palm with very small nuts.

The *lańpá* or *labíd* (Livistona rotundifolia, Mart.), a kind of fan palm whose leaves are used for raincoats, thatch, etc. Its fruits are called *kulíbań* or *kulalbáń*.

The *kawdyan* (Bambusa blumeana, Schultes. f.), the ordinary spiny bamboo.

The *pasińan*: A kind of spiny bamboo whose walls are lined with a membrane. It is used in basketwork, in the building of huts, in traps for catching wild boars, etc.

The *pa-lí*: A kind of slender spiny bamboo, mostly used in basketwork.

The *bólo* (Schizostachyum mucronatum, Mack.), the ordinary unarmed bamboo. Occasionally cultivated.

Cultivated for their perfume

The *alańízān* (Canangium odoratum [Lam.] Baill.), ylang-ylang.

The *bańńáw*: A shrub with round brown fruits. Its leaves are used for perfume.

The *sapitán* (Andropogon citratus, DC.), lemon grass. Sometimes planted in the *kómān* (rice field).

Cultivated for ornamental purposes

The *sarawénes* or *barawénes* (not genuine Isneg), (Delonix regia [Boj.] Ral.), peacock flower, flame tree or flamboyant.

The *lăyańá* or *ăyańá* (Hibiscus rosa-sinensis, L.), China rose or shoeblack plant.

The *malmalókoń* (Northopanax cochleatum [Lam.] Miq.), saucer-leaf.

The *dummariyá* (from the Spanish *Doña María*, "Lady Mary"),

105, 113, 131, 142, 157, 161, 177, 262, 291, 302, 304, 721, Apayao OA5

[For information on location, physical type, personality, population, acculturation, diet, clothing, toilet, tatooing and headhunting, see 58: Barton, OA1 Philippines, category 116, pp. 300-301.]

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
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his rights, won the sympathy of every unbiased Isneg. He kept up the quarrel and finished it with a complete victory. If no constabulary soldiers had been in the province, the result would evidently not have been as bloodless as that, and a series of interminable feuds would have been the inevitable result. Right and wrong would gradually have been forgotten, and nothing would have been left but a series of revenges on both sides following one another in quick succession, revenges that would have come to be considered lawful in the eyes of every Isneg on account of the injuries that would have preceded them.

The above lines were written while I was away from Kabugaw. When on my way back thither, and before reaching the latter place, I heard that during my absence *Kadáw* had killed *Rukkadéñ*, a policeman from Baliwanan and the latest husband (he was the third one) of the woman referred to in the previous paragraph. Instead of going straight to Kabugaw, I stopped for a while at Bolo and had a little conversation about the matter with *Kăyábo*, a Bolo brave or *méñal*. Bolo is in sympathy with Lettuakan, *Kadáw's* place, and *Kăyábo* did not fail to show that he held no brief for Baliwanan, nor for *Pa-rây* either. At a certain moment the old fellow stopped his diatribe to ask for *Pa-rây's* title, and a complacent companion told him that *Pa-rây* was now "presidente". At this juncture *Kăyábo* said: "*Desirénte, kawél* (president, dung)", which is the most forceful expression of contempt in the mouth of an Isneg.

On the same occasion I purposely referred to *Basílig* of Pansian, who belongs to the *Pa-rây* faction, saying that I had seen an *andôri* (a special tattoo on the arm of a man who has taken the head of an enemy; this *andôri* may sometimes be tattooed on the arm of one of his children) on the arm of his daughter, which I told *Kăyábo* I supposed to be a proof of the valor of *Basílig*. But *Kăyábo* could not bear to hear any praise of a man who belonged to a faction he despised, and he used a most vulgar expression in denying *Basílig's* rights to such honors: "*Óki nâyá atáwana ya andôrina* (the vulva of his wife is his *andôri*)". This again shows that in the eyes of an Isneg an enemy has no rights, that no consideration is due to him, that he is a complete nonentity, while a friend is to be supported by all means, even though by committing a most flagrant injustice. *Kadáw* is now in jail, but most all Isneg are firmly convinced that ere long he will get out of it, because he is supposed to be the richest man in Apayaw.

000 to be quite a differenc in their customs and dialects.
197 Along the length of the Apayao River there are three
162 separate groups. They can understand each other about the way that a Spaniard understands an Italian.

DRESS

291 The ordinary dress of the people is simple. The
[302] men wear breechcloths or G-strings, *abag*. They keep their hair long and coil it on the head. It is confined with a length of cloth wrapped turban fashion.
[304] The hands and wrists are tattooed in the boat pattern.
[142] The teeth are blackened. Each man has a small, de-
[276] corated bag, *bulsa*, in which he keeps his betel nut,
[293] *buyo*, lime bottle, tobacco, flint, tinder, and other small belongings. This is tucked, either into the G-string or in a belt woven of rattan. The woman, when about
301 her work, wears only a tapis. She has a necklace of
523 ancestral beads, shaped from chalcedony, silver and carved amulet bones. There are also patterned porcelain beads in the string. Many of these were obtained from the Chinese when they were active traders here some five centuries ago. Gold does not appear
[304] to be used. The woman has boat-pattern tattoo marks
[291] on the back of her hands as an aid to beauty. The
[854] small children make their skins do as clothing. Babies are carried about by the mothers in slings passed over one shoulder.

292 When all dressed up and ready to go to a party,
301 the woman wears a dark tapis, *aquen;* a cloth girdle, *bajacat;* a short-waisted, long-sleeved, black, pull-on shirt, *badiyo*, all characteristically embroidered in red; a head cloth with spangles, *laddong* and *saban*, topped

847 ——*Kani maluhag da natudog gidam men. Ay ackat da pay amo to dalan di nalen da. Toto natudog da amin, agidogan da capagmat.*

——When the children woke up, it was already dark. So they did not know which way to go, as it was so very dark. They slept again and waited until dawn. In the morning they started for home. These children had no hope of reaching home, as they did not know the way and they were very hungry.

——*Ito pagmaat maway dan ca balay da. Am ackan da amo to dalan. Cana mabisan da paang natay da. To nagkatag da to ama da.*

——In the morning they started for home without knowing the way. They walked and walked until they died of hunger.

——*Cani matay da to ananac da nagpatay da paang. Ata bitig ya pananan da.*

——When the parents knew that they were dead, they were very happy: for they now had few children to support.

WHY THE PEOPLE ARE TATTOOED

304 775 If an old man is asked why his hands are tattooed on the back with the boat pattern, he will give the following account of his future life.

When a person dies his soul, *cadudorsa*, goes to live in a lovely place under the earth. It goes down

in the ordinary ground until it comes to a wide river which it cannot cross alone. 304 775

However, at the river the *cadudorsa* meets a ferryman whose name is Kutao. Before taking the *cadudorsa* across, Kutao must first inspect it to see if its appearance is right. He looks on the backs of the hands of the *cadudorsa* to see if they are tattooed with the boat pattern. If they are, Kutao ferries the *cadudorsa across*. If the hands are not tattooed, Kuta cuts them off before taking the *cadudorsa* across the river.

Upon arriving at the place, each *cadudorsa* becomes young and handsome again and changes so that all of the people in that place are similar in appearance. 775

The place of the *cadudorsa* is a wonderful country, with the same kind of plants and animals as on the earth; but everything is perfectly lovely. Life there is much as on earth; but everybody is happy because there is no pain, nor sorrow, nor work.

The ruler of the place is Ewagan fourth son of Hatan. He creates food for the people and takes care of all their needs so that they have no work and responsibilities, living in continuous leisure. [776]

Thus life in the Future is one continuous party. Also a *cadudorsa* is sometimes invited by his relatives to attend a *sayam* in his old home on earth. 769 776

2: Wilken--718 E-5 (ca. 1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1

Ipugao OA18 Bagobo OA7
Apayao OA5 Coastal Moro OA16
Malayo-Polynesians O4 Bontok OA12
Igorot OA20

A
If
Bn
Bg
CM
Ig
304

[665 cont.]

among the Bagobo and [666] the Samal (1), among the Guinan,

1. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1886, p. 15.

the Igorot (2), and Kiangan (3), and among the tribes who inhabit

2. Meyer, Publicationen a.d.Königl. Ethnogr. Museum zu Dresden, Table XVII, Figs. 1-2.

3. Blumentritt, "die Kianganen," Ausland, 1891, No. 6, p. 119.

the Gran Cordillera Central east of Abra, as well as the Bontoc and Apoyaos [Apayao] (4).

4. Verh. d. Berl. Ges. für Ethnol. Anthrop. und Urgesch. (1887), pp. 150-151.

MP
304

After this, there is certainly no need for further proof that the nose flute is more an Indonesian than an Oceanic instrument, because in Oceania only two instances are known where the occurrence of this instrument has been confirmed, on the Fiji and Tonga Islands (5).

5. Catalog. der Ethnogr - Anthrop. Abtheilung des Museum Godeffroy, pp. 172, 195.

Chapter 8

I
305

Page 238. As a supplement to this chapter, there is still some information about counting by nights, which is still generally

[Analyst's note—nose flute.]

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with the choice of a patch of ground to be cleared for a future rice field, and ending with the storing up of the harvest in the granary.

1. PREPARING A RICE FIELD

The first arduous work that we have to consider is the clearing (*mañumá*) of a patch of ground in order to prepare it for a future rice field, and this is the exclusive work of the men.

The last days of February or, more generally, the month of March, is the time at which the Isneg usually commence this business. But to know the exact time of the year appropriate for this kind of work, the Isneg has a few *taximmatón* or signs of his own.

One of them is the appearance of the *bakákaw* or *limbakákaw*, a kind of low herb that is found almost anywhere and is easily noticed on account of its color, which is red throughout, flowers included. The Isneg call it "the sign of the coming of the year (*magdaxún*)", because the time of the first work that has to be done in the field is considered as the beginning of a new year.

Another sign, usually more conspicuous but less common, is the flowering of the *tablán* or coral tree (Erythrina sp.), that bears large scarlet papilionaceous flowers. When this tree is in full bloom, however, it is often considered as a *taximmatón* or sign for subsequent work, as will be seen in its proper place.

The *basiñalán*-tree also serves to announce the coming of the same season: when the native sees its leaves crumbling, he knows that the time has come for making the first preparation of the ground.

Some time before that, however, the Isneg will have been on the lookout for a favorable spot in which to start his prospective *kóman*. Formerly, of course, he had to choose a part of the forest, as originally the whole of Apayaw must have been covered with woods. But actually he may select a patch of ground, either in the forest (*xinúbat*), which he rarely does on account of the difficulty of cutting down the big trees, or in the bushes (*sirát*), mostly sections of the mountain slopes that have been cultivated in former years. On no account, however, is he allowed to pick out a former rice field that has not been abandoned for at least three consecutive years. And so, because rice is only planted once on the same field, the work of clearing the ground is always a more or less arduous task, which it would be hardly possible for a woman to perform; but, even though she could do it, custom forbids, and this work is the exclusive privilege or duty of her husband and sons.

The vegetables may be: tomatoes, egg- 262
plants, squash, peppers, corn, beans, camote, gabi, or [244
yams. Fruits may be: bananas, coconuts, pineapples, 245]
jack fruit, oranges, lemons, guavas, melons, *lucban*,
mangoes, or papaya. The beverages may be: coffee, [272]
cocoa, or water. Honey is included in the diet. From [263]
sugar cane are produced candied fruits and vegetables, 276
molasses, *basi*, and vinegar. A strong tobacco is raised
and smoked—sometimes in a small pipe; but generally
one leaf is rolled into a small cigar. Both men and
women smoke. Boys and girls start smoking at an
early age.

In growing these things, the people do not use ir- 311
rigation; but follow the *kaĩñgin* method of farming. 241
A suitable piece of wild land is selected. The vegetation [312]
is cut down, allowed to dry, and then burnt. Seeds
are planted in the ashen earth by making a hole with
a sharp stick and dropping a seed in it The plot is [317]
is enclosed with a bamboo fence. The men clear and [462]
fence the land, while the women do much of the rest
of the work. In two years the soil has become leached
and packed by the heavy tropical rains and so sterile
that a new *kaiñgin* is made elsewhere.

The rice is an upland variety which does not re- 243
quire much water. The seeds are planted during the
beginning of the rainy season in April and May. When
ripe, the heads are cut off by hand, using a miniature
aliwa. These heads are gathered into bundles, tied, and [25]
then stored in a specially built square granary whose 343]
architectural design follows that of the house. Tobacco 249
and vegetables are usually planted during January af- 244
ter the harvest, in the *kaiñgins* where rice was grown.

When the woman wishes some rice to cook, she 252
threshes several bundles on a mat or skin with a club; 412

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243 A certain amount of rice (or Indian corn) that consists in a mixture of kernels of different colors, white (or yellow) and red, is said to be *naburábur*.

243 192 While other fields have either a common name, or a special name that is derived from the plants that are grown in them, a rice field is universally known all over Apayaw by the very specialized term *kómān*. This term is never applied to other plantations, even though they were formerly used for growing rice; as soon as they are planted with some other product, they cease to be *kómān* and become something else. The same happens to fallow rice fields: as soon as they have been abandoned, they automatically change their name. A former *kómān* that has been left unproductive for one year, is called *balnás*. Should it have remained in that state for over one year, it is an *ublág*. In case it has been abandoned for a long time, so that it is already partially covered with young trees, it is known as a *bannuwág*.

In the same way, the sides or edges of a field (whether rice field or not), a garden or an orchard, are known under the general name of *bíkat*, whereas a rice field has the distinction of possessing two sides or *bíkat* that are clearly differentiated by name. The lower part, or rather the edge of the rice field where the man starts his clearing of the ground, is called *atád*; and the opposite or upper edge is the *arpád*; while the common name for both the *atád* and the *arpád* is *nami-tán*. The two other sides, the one to the left and the one to the right when going up from the *atád* to the *arpád*, have to content themselves with the common appellation: *bíkat*.

A *kómān* in which both man and woman have the time of their life to make it productive, is said to be *napgús*, which I am tempted to translate "recalcitrant", or, if you prefer a milder term, "unresponsive". Clearing such a field, weeding it, fencing it, reaping it, every single piece of work that has to be done in it, can be brought to a successful issue only with the utmost difficulty.

312a 225 Should it happen that your rice field is situated far away from any kind of source or brook, whether you overlooked this item when making your choice of a patch of ground to be turned into a *kómān*, or because it nevertheless seemed to be the best available for this time, there is an easy way to supply that deficiency: look for a *kumó*, a kind of crab speckled yellow and red, and when you have found it, dig a hole in the ground somewhere at or near your field, and thrust the crab into

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it; after a comparatively short time the hole will have become a well and, in some cases, even a small pond.

Now before I give a detailed account of the process of growing rice, I shall try to make clear a few things the knowledge of which is of paramount importance to every Isneg farmer.

This has to do with the *Pílăy* or *Ilăy*. Merely to say that they are the tutelary spirits of the palay would be putting it much too mildly, as will be seen presently. The *Pílăy* (in some places called *Ílăy*, in others known by both names) are spirits, some of them female, others male, and all of them young, in fact mere children, but they have a tremendous power either for good or for evil. Here are some names of *Pílăy*-spirits: *Aggăyén, Kano-nít, Darikokkó, Kópań, Rukkiná-, Lapindy, Dapindy, Ruppitá-, Alindodóăy*, etc. The latter is a female *Pílăy*, as she is said to carry palay on her head (*magtotón*), which is the way for women to carry loads; men carry theirs on their shoulders (*mańagtó*). These *Pílăy* will be mentioned over and over later on, but here I shall give their special characteristics, their habitat, a few general means for winning their favor, etc.

Although there are many of them, the *Pílăy* are never gregarious, and so it never happens that two of them are met together in one and the same spot: each of them keeps to his or her own place. Some of them protect the *kómăn*, others reside in granaries, and in every Isneg house a *Pílăy* takes his abode near the post of the house that is next to one of the four corners of the hearth, either at its base, just above the floor, or more especially on the *páxa*, a shelf that is fixed over the hearth.

Pílăy (a term that also means "lame") is not the name of any of the ruling spirits, nevertheless he it is who guards your rice and punishes with lameness any stranger who dares touch a granary that does not belong to him, even though he does so without any malicious intent. Not only does *Pílăy* guard your palay, but he even causes it to increase, and, to accomplish this, he does not shrink from stealing rice for you from people who are not his votaries. One of these *Pílăy* rice thieves is called *Ruńád*. Whosoever is not able to walk, whosoever walks with difficulty, is supposed to have been struck by *Pílăy*, who punishes people not only for touching their neighbor's granary, but also for other acts that may be displeasing to him. Some of *Pílăy*'s victims are *madapindy*, one of their legs is shorter than the other; others are *pákań*, these can hardly walk and their pace is quite irregular; others again are *dapilán*, they crawl over the ground on their

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sugar cane are produced candied fruits and vegetables,
molasses, *basi*, and vinegar. A strong tobacco is raised 276
and smoked—sometimes in a small pipe; but generally
one leaf is rolled into a small cigar. Both men and
women smoke. Boys and girls start smoking at an
early age.

In growing these things, the people do not use ir- 311
rigation; but follow the *kaĩñgin* method of farming. 241
A suitable piece of wild land is selected. The vegetation [312]
is cut down, allowed to dry, and then burnt. Seeds
are planted in the ashen earth by making a hole with
a sharp stick and dropping a seed in it The plot is [417]
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of the work. In two years the soil has become leached
and packed by the heavy tropical rains and so sterile
that a new *kaiñgin* is made elsewhere.

The rice is an upland variety which does not re- 243
quire much water. The seeds are planted during the
beginning of the rainy season in April and May. When
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aliwa. These heads are gathered into bundles, tied, and [25]
then stored in a specially built square granary whose 343]
architectural design follows that of the house. Tobacco 249
and vegetables are usually planted during January af- 244
ter the harvest, in the *kaiñgins* where rice was grown.

When the woman wishes some rice to cook, she 252
threshes several bundles on a mat or skin with a club; 412

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249 (*magkaskás*) from the *agdĕrăyān*-pole and then piled up (*magsaldít*) somewhere on the floor of the house, next to the wall, where they are left to cure. To keep the bulk (*saldít*) of tobacco leaves in place, a stick is fixed somewhere in the floor, and the bulk of tobacco finds its place between this stick on one side and the wall of the house on the other.

249 415 314 While the tobacco is curing, the men prepare (*mañolapí*) boxes (*kolapí*) for the final storage. These *kolapí*, which are as high as they are long and very narrow, are made from the bark of one or more of the following trees:

The *adadn*, a forest tree with large leaves.
The *ánut*, a forest tree whose timber is not much esteemed.
The *labdó*, mentioned before, when treating sugar cane.

Before storing (*ipintá-*) the hands of tobacco in the *kolapí*, the Isneg spread some *bánăy*-leaves on the bottom, to serve as a pad (*annăp*) and to cause the leaves to become red. The *bánăy* is a very tall zingiberaceous plant with white flowers and grows in thickets of bamboo grass and in waste places.

To cause the tobacco to appear very valuable to prospective buyers, some *taróyog* are mixed with the leaves stored in the *kolapí* (box). The *taróyog* is a low herb that grows in forested areas.

V. The Isneg Orchard

245 The Isneg have no idea of a real orchard as we understand it. Nevertheless there is no village, almost no house, where they have not at least a few coco palms growing on the grounds, which surround the house yard or the group of houses that constitute a village. To people who walk along a mountain path or paddle down a river on a canoe or a raft, these coco palms are very often visible from a great distance and are the surest sign of the actual or former existence of one or more habitations in their immediate neighborhood.

All fruit trees planted by the Isneg are to be found on the grounds just mentioned, but there is none more precious and more important to the inhabitants of Apayaw than the universally cultivated coco palm or *iyúg*.

245 824 537 As to the question of its introduction into Apayaw, let us listen to what *Lampá* from Dangla (O dialect, Main branch) has to tell us about it:

Năggăyatăn năyá iyúg
Origin of the coconut

with a row of feathers; a head band of small beads, *sajaban;* earrings, *lubay;* a necklace of larger beads, *ambusao;* red spangles hanging from back of the head, *bajuoyboy;* red spangles hanging on forehead, *pati;* small anklet beads, *pasag;* a bead wrist band, *sinali,* and a silver ring, *sankilat.* Her lips are made red with betel nut, *ma-ma,* and she makes a charming picture. The man also has a striking appearance, being dressed in his breechcloth or G-string, *abag;* red-embroidered black pull-on shirt, *baddo;* bag, *pulsa;* neckband with a handsome shell breast-piece, *bising;* and an ornamented head dress formed of red and blue cloth entwined in a turban, *linijot.* This is topped with odorous leaves.

The people have no knowledge of weaving or pottery making. They obtain their clothing, pots, salt, and other materials from Ilocano traders in exchange for their honey, beeswax, rope, baskets and mats.

FAMILY LIFE AND OCCUPATIONS

The people live in substantially constructed houses which have artistic lines. The usual size is about 20 x 34 feet. In building a house, the four long, sturdy corner posts and two central side posts are first set in the ground. They are shaped from some very hard and durable timber such as *molave* or *ipil.* On these posts the structure is framed with heavy, hand-hewn lumber. The timbers are so neatly hewn with miter, bead, feather, and tongue joints that they do not require further fastening. The roof is finished first. Three heavy, well-braced trusses rest on the posts. Their bearing, or upper sides are hewn into an outward bow which will shape the roof in an equilateral

415
323

Ancestral jars, full load, set out at a feast.

325
348

The man in this blacksmith shop is operating the two cylinder bellows.

The cats and dogs are kept fed and are treated more as pets by the Apayaos than by most Orientals. The women refuse to eat the flesh of the dog at feasts. All the livestock are treated kindly. The men work industriously while at it; but take plenty of time for leisure and companionship. They could all become relatively wealthy in this land of plenty but are usually content with enough to satisfy their simple wants; and thus they might be called well-to-do.

The general utility tool is the *aliwa*: a thin-bladed, somewhat rhombic-shaped axe with the back point drawn out. Another type is sort of cleaver shaped and is called a *badang*. The head is affixed to a well-shaped hardwood handle. It is nicely balanced and a very handy tool. The man carries this axe, *aliwa*, with him everywhere. It is used for all cutting purposes. The blacksmiths do excellent work. Hard stone anvils and hammers are used. The bellows are two hollow wooden cylinders set on end. They are fitted with feather-ringed pistons pumped alternately by the blacksmith's helper, giving a steady forced draft on the fire. Smiths have been manufacturing *aliwas*, spear heads, hoes, and other implements here, from time immemorial.

The primitive method of fishing is to dive down in a deep pool in the river where the fish are lying. Down there, they are not frightened by another body; so a good fisherman can grab one in each hand. However, a short, light, barbed arrow shot from a bamboo bow is generally used. During the dry season a pool in the stream may be drained and the fish picked up. Sometimes the fish are poisoned with tobacco ooo

42 Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1930-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

462 The same may be said with reference to simple and ordinary carpentry, in which most all Isneg are more or less expert. Indeed
335 when there is question of building a new house, the whole agglomer-
868 ation is summoned to take part. Nevertheless one or more men, more skilled than the rest, usually take the lead, and others do what they are told; in the meanwhile the youngsters pick up whatever they can according to each one's capacity of understanding and skill of hand.

462 Baskets are woven by the women, while the weaving of bownets
285 falls to the share of the men. In both cases young people learn the
868 work merely by imitating what is done by their elders.

462 Perhaps the only kind of work that is performed among the Isneg
326 by special craftsmen, and not by everybody indifferently, is that of the blacksmith, and here again boys learn by imitation. While still
868 small, they merely go and look, but once they have attained their
184 tenth year or so, they help their elders and learn the profession through practice. This is the more easy, as such occupations are not monopolized by a few individuals in each agglomeration, but are professed by the whole settlement or at least by several families, in a very restricted number of places.

868 One subject in which a boy generally receives formal instruction, at least if he wants to learn it, is that of managing a boat, of handling an oar, a paddle and a pole: the father is the recognized teacher of his offspring in this respect; but the whole is of course limited almost exclusively to places that are situated along the Apayaw in its lower course. In a few other places, parents teach their children how to manage a raft, but such teaching is generally much less formal, at least when there is only question of crossing a stream or of travelling over parts of a river that are easy to pass, as most youngsters, girls not excluded, will have seen their elders at work, and will try to imitate them without the necessity of such teaching. An occasional plunge rarely does them any harm, as the majority swim like rats, and those who would not float in case of taking an involuntary bath usually do not take the risk of trying to manage any water craft without the help of others.

D. RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

771 And now we come to the fields of religion and morality, which, in the case of the Isneg, seem to have each their own rather well-defined sphere, without encroaching the one upon the other, at least in so far as morality is concerned with man's duties to his fellow men. Nevertheless generalities are of little or no value, so I shall try to give as

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with a row of feathers; a head band of small beads, *sajaban;* earrings, *lubay;* a necklace of larger beads, *ambusao;* red spangles hanging from back of the head, *bajuoyboy;* red spangles hanging on forehead, *pati;* small anklet beads, *pasag;* a bead wrist band, *sinali,* and a silver ring, *sankilat.* Her lips are made red with betel nut, *ma-ma,* and she makes a charming picture. The man also has a striking appearance, being dressed in his breechcloth or G-string, *abag;* red-embroidered black pull-on shirt, *baddo;* bag, *pulsa;* neckband with a handsome shell breast-piece, *bising;* and an ornamented head dress formed of red and blue cloth entwined in a turban, *linijot.* This is topped with odorous leaves.

The people have no knowledge of weaving or pottery making. They obtain their clothing, pots, salt, and other materials from Ilocano traders in exchange for their honey, beeswax, rope, baskets and mats.

FAMILY LIFE AND OCCUPATIONS

The people live in substantially constructed houses which have artistic lines. The usual size is about 20 x 34 feet. In building a house, the four long, sturdy corner posts and two central side posts are first set in the ground. They are shaped from some very hard and durable timber such as *molave* or *ipil.* On these posts the structure is framed with heavy, hand-hewn lumber. The timbers are so neatly hewn with miter, bead, feather, and tongue joints that they do not require further fastening. The roof is finished first. Three heavy, well-braced trusses rest on the posts. Their bearing, or upper sides are hewn into an outward bow which will shape the roof in an equilateral

342 arch, and the end peaks of the ridge are extended out-
335 wardly to a remarkable distance. The roof line runs from these peaks in long, graceful inward curves down to the corners of the building. Two by four inch purlins spaced at about six feet are placed on the trusses; and over these are bent the two by two inch roof rafters, spaced at about a foot, on which is laid a mat of *runo* (a tall reed-like grass) stalks. On this support is fastened, shingle-fashion, a thick layer of *runo* tops, which have long leaves. This thatch will probably last for fifteen years before it needs renewal. Durable rattan is used for all fastenings. The two by twelve inch floor joists are set about a foot apart on heavy sills some twelve feet above the ground. The flooring is a mat of long lengths of pencil-sized round rattan. The floor sills are secured to the insides of
[352] the posts; while the wall sills are on the outside. The two-foot space between is finished in a low, raised platform running around the four sides of the room. This is used for sitting, and for storage of various articles, leaving the floor clear. The walls are of hewn inch boards placed perpendicularly and set in grooves cut in the top and bottom sills. There are three very small windows on each side of the house and one small door on one side toward an end. The wooden cover-
[417] ings of these openings, close flush with the walls. En-
[355] trance to the door from the ground is gained by a
[231] ladder which is pulled in at night. There are also several dogs which start howling at the slightest unusual noise. Thus, the occupants are quite secure from their enemies at night.

[352] There is little furniture in the house. On the
354 floor near one corner, opposite the door, is placed a

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao
Igorot OA20
Benguet
Apayao OA5
Isneg

on the joists, as are the four sills *(opop)* mortised into them which receive the wall-boards *(dingding)* in rabbeted grooves. About waist-high the walls are strengthened by a kind of moulding *(balkes)* running around the four sides, and the upper ends of the wall-boards are fitted into beams called *goanan* (the equivalent of the Ifugao *wanan)*. Small tie-beams or crossbeams *(anayasan)* run from side to side from front to back, resting on these *goanan,* and carrying two kingposts *(kalasod)* which support the ridgepole *(bobongan)*. The ridgepole is longer and the rafters *(dagat)* shorter in the Bokod house than in most Mountain Province houses, so the exposed walls are given protection by a wide-flaring set of eaves *(sibey)* requiring their own rafters *(tikel)* with supporting braces *(sedngal* or *tedmek),* three on a side. The proportions of the Bokod house make it possible to walk upright under the eaves, which is possible in only some of the Ifugao houses and none of the Bontoc houses. Moreover, the square floor plan characteristic of the Southern Strain is sometimes extended into a rectangle by the addition of posts or another girder or floor joist.

The characteristics of the Northern Strain can be seen at their most sophisticated in the ingenious Isneg house (Fig. 6) with its rafters bowed into the shape of a Gothic arch, its floor and roof supported on completely independent series of posts, and the floor itself having slightly raised platforms along both sides. The Isneg floor plan, in contrast to the square houses higher on the Cordillera, is conceived in an elongated form, the underpinning vaguely suggesting marine architecture to the layman, with girders sometimes exceeding 24 feet, thus doubling the longest timbers of the buildings of the Southern Strain.

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA 19 Ifugao
Apayao OA5
Isneg

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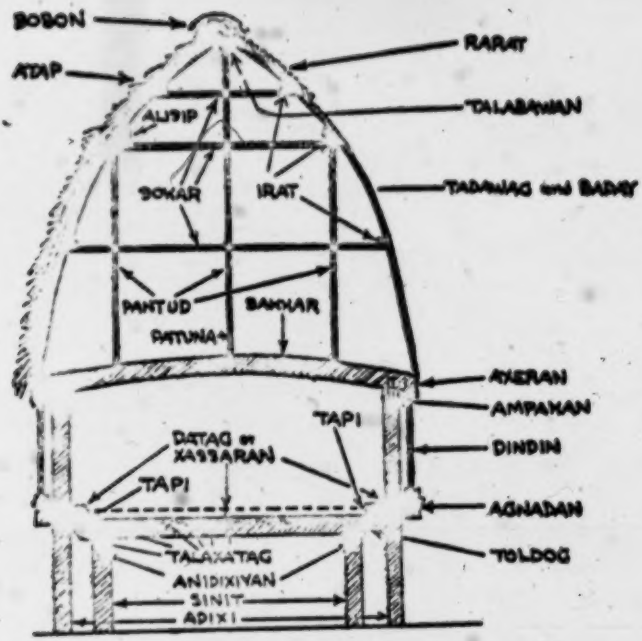

Fig. 6. -- Isneg *binuron*-style house. The diagram is a composite of an unoccupied house built about 1905 in *barrio* Magabta, Kabugao, and another unoccupied house in *sitio* Mallitaw, Namaltugan, examined on 18-20 April 1956; terminology taken from "Isneg Buildings" by Morice Vanoverberg, CICM, *The Philippine Journal of Science*, Vol. 82, No. 1 (March 1953), pp. 77-108.

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[113]

Southern Strain. Each of these two long girders (*anadixiyan*) is mortised into the top of three posts (*sinit*) which elevate the floor to about the height of a man's shoulder, and across these girders are eleven floor joists (*toldog*). The actual flooring (*datag* or *xassaran*), however, is a mat of bamboo grass or rattan, and it rests on a series of thin laths (*talaxatag*) mortised into the upper surface of the joists, parallel, therefore, to the girders beneath. Also riding on the joists are two longi-

[824]

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao
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Isneg

tudinal beams or stringers *(tapi)* whose top surface is about three inches higher than the flooring and into which are mortised, at the same level, four longer crossbeams *(agnadan)*—two at one end of the house and two at the other—which protrude a foot of more beyond the ends of the joists. Mortised into the outer ends of these crossbeams are their horizontal equivalent, sills into which the base of the wall-boards *(dingding)* are rabbeted; and between these sills and the parallel stringers short laths are also mortised to support a sort of flooring platform or seat about a foot wide along both sides of the house.

A remarkable feature of the Isneg house is the way in which the roof is supported on posts which are set in the ground *outside* the floor-supporting posts but *inside* the wooden walls of the house, passing up through the little side platforms. These six posts *(adixi)* carry two longitudinal beams *(ampakan)*, while three crossbeams *(sakkar)* are mortised into either the posts themselves or the *ampakan*-beams. Fitted into the outer ends of these crossbeams are longitudinal beams serving both as a base for the rafters *(tadawag* and *baday)* and as the upper track for the wall-boards, the appropriate groove being deep enough to allow the boards themselves to be lifted up and slipped out of the lower groove so that the house can be converted into a kind of open covered platform. From the crossbeams also rise a kingpost *(patuña* or *pantud)* and two queenposts *(pantud)*, across which are three tiebeams *(sokar)* terminating in three purlins *(irat)* on each inner face of roof, which is a base of reeds *(rarat)* to which the grass roofing *(atap)* is lashed. The rafters themselves, alternately wood and reed, are bowed into a graceful arc, and rise to a ridgepole *(talabawan)*

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao
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[113] [104] Cole, Fay-Cooper, "Distribution of the Non-Christian Tribes of Northwest Luzon," *American Anthropologist*, new series, Vol. XI, No. 3 (July-September 1909), p. 347.

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24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao
Kalinga OA24
Apayao OA5

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[166] The author is indebted to Dr. H. Otley Beyer for making this and other photographs available.

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao OA19
Apayao OA5
Isneg

The side areas are naturally more used for storage than the center and sleepers lie across the center section with their heads pillowed on the upper (indeed, in Manangol the stringers are called *pongan*—pillow), but the urgency with which the northern architect works this feature into his houses is hard to explain by recourse to such minor considerations. Nor does it seem plausible as an incidental feature consequent to the peculiar Isneg interlocking floor joists and roof posts — to say nothing of the fact that the Apayao house would appear rather too complex to serve as the prototype of the other varieties bearing the Northern Strain. Rather, one would suspect some common parent from which the Kabugao, Mabaca, and Kalinga *kulub*-style houses sprang and matured independently. Perhaps a clue is to be found in the honor which was presumably afforded the end platforms in the old Isneg houses, and the origin of the two-level floor sought outside the Philippine archipelago.

CONCLUSION

Two distinct types of simple houses were inhabited by the old swidden farmers of the Cordillera Central — the *abong*-style by the Kankanays and proto-Bontocs of the southwestern heights, a double lean-to built directly on the ground, and the *kulub*-style by the Kalingas of the northeastern foothills, a square bamboo shed with an entrance at ground level and a partial floor at two slightly different levels on an independent set of posts. An original granary-shaped house standing on three joists on two girders on four posts developed in Ifugao, and spread to Benguet (reaching the Inabaloi of the upper Agno valley only after they had already adapted for themselves a kind of lowland-style house), Lepanto and

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao OA19
Apayao OA5
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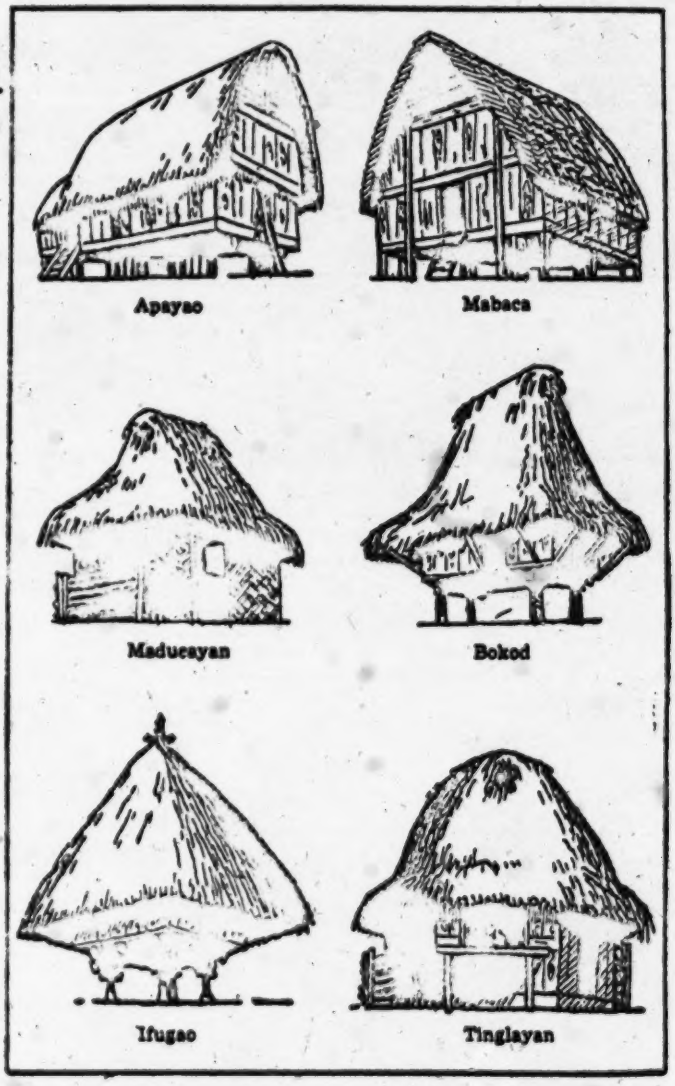

Fig. 1. — Representative houses of the Mountain Province.

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao
Igorot OA20
Benguet
Apayao OA5
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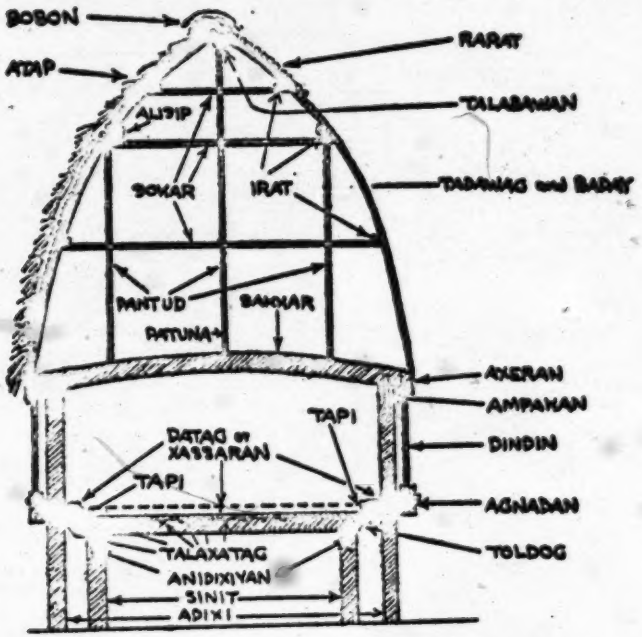

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OA19 Ifugao
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The Isneg house not being square in plan, its opposite ends are quite different from one another. At one end, just outside but a bit higher than the transverse beam into which the upper ends of the wall-boards are rabbeted, is another transverse beam whose upper edge is grooved to receive a second tier of wall boards which close the upper section of the gable save for a few feet at the top which are left open as a smoke hole or only loosely covered with horizontal bamboo. The other end of the house terminates in a kind of transverse platform or annex with a lean-to roof up against the gable itself; at the outer two corners of this little annex, in line with the full width of the building, are two more *sinit*-posts under the wall itself, a circumstance which has led some observers to report with slightly dramatic exaggeration that the floor, walls and roof of the Isneg house are supported on three separate sets of posts. The floor of this annex is slightly higher than even the little side platforms of the house proper; Cole reported fifty years ago that it was a special sleeping area for men,[104] and H. Otley Beyer recalls that women were not even allowed to set foot there.[105] In the long sides of the house three or four windows are produced simply by omitting some of the wall-boards; since the door opens into one of these sides, however, it might be more appropriate to refer to it as the "front" rather than "side". Entrance is gained by means of a permanent short flight of steps or ladder.

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24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao OA19
Apayao OA5
Isneg
Bontok OA12

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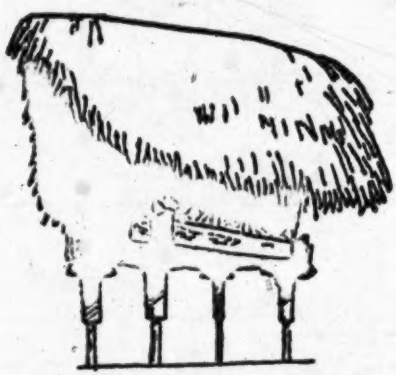

Fig. 10. — An Isneg granary (after Vanoverbergh).

I
also different: the storehouse rests on four girders mor- 341
tised across one another on the same level with their 343
ends protruding beyond the joint, which joints stand 171
directly on the foundation posts. It is not surprising 335
to find such simple supports nowadays under an increasing number of northern granaries whose walls are made of solid mortised planks.

B
Under the general designation of "huts" we include field shelters and temporary campsites, the community dormitories of the Bontocs (*ato* for boys, *olog* 341 342
for girls), and, somewhat unchivalrously perhaps, the houses of the poor. These structures are generally of [735]
somewhat makeshift character, but almost always have a ridgepole with a two-face roof (although rarely a simple sloping one-face "shed" roof). The walls of such huts are never wooden; they are most typically grass thatch, reeds or *sawali*, but sometimes bark. Three types B
of floor are utilized, depending upon the permanence of [824]
the building — a reed mat on the ground itself, an [362]
elevated bed-like platform independent of the rest of

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

of the girl's parents, or if he is a married man, both husband and wife remain where they are after the *lablabág* ceremony, namely in the house of the husband or in that of his parents.

C. FAMILY LIFE

It is not rare to find two or more Isneg families living in one and the same house, as these are usually very roomy. And so it may take a long time before any of the married sons attempt to live elsewhere. This is also a boon to the old people, of course, as in this way they always find a home for their old age with one of their married children.

From now on the young wife will have little time for pleasure, and, although it would be wrong to call her a slave, in our eyes at least she will be leading the life of a drudge. She will be the first to begin work and the last to finish it. Every day she will have to prepare the meals and to clean the dishes; most of her mornings, if not her entire days, will be passed in the field; and when coming back home in the afternoon, she will have to comply with her usual household duties: pound the rice or grind the corn, and feed the hogs. Most of the time she will have to nurse a baby while attending to her other work, not that the little ones come in such quick succession, as usually at least a year and a half elapses between the birth of two children, and very often one or more of them die in infancy, but because the time of nursing is not confined to the first year of her babe: even children two and three years old may be found occasionally partaking of their mother's milk and using it as a supplementary food.

The husband on the contrary will find his married life to be very little different from what he had been used to before. His life may perhaps even appear lighter to him now than it was before he contracted marriage, as he will be mostly his own master, and he will not pass so many sleepless nights as when, as a young man, he was assiduously courting the girls, a custom that plays havoc with the health of a good many Isneg boys.

1. Domestic Relationships

The Isneg husband is the head of the family, and ultimate decisions are always taken by him; nevertheless the woman is no unimportant entity in the government of the house. An Isneg man rarely transacts any important business without the consent of the women folk, and he is usually humble and obedient at the smallest hint of his

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

764 When the first outburst of lamentations, in the case of our dead
292 Isneg, has come to an end, the bystanders at once proceed to the preparation of the *inndt* or corpse. The latter is first stripped of its old clothes, and carefully washed and cleaned; after that it is wiped dry and finally dressed up in the best clothes available. Some natives do not even shrink from clothing the corpse in silk, if their means allow such luxury; at any rate, it would be utterly shameful to the Isneg not to dress a dead body decently. This latter performance is called *magpaar-armát* (transitive: *paarmattán;* from the stem *armát*, "garments"). As has been stated before, each garment is partially torn (*maxăyxáy*) at one side.

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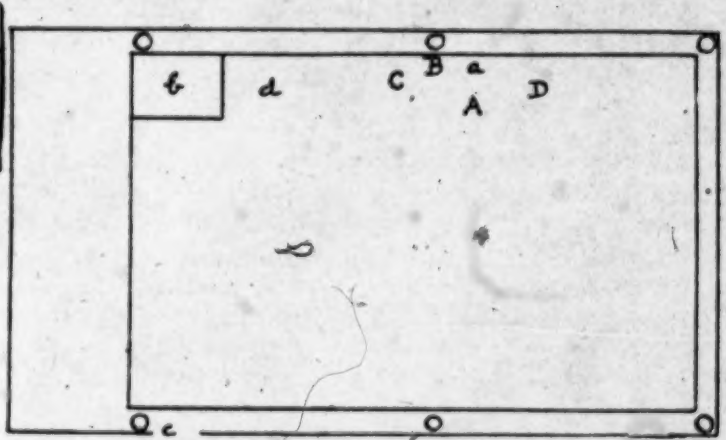

FIG. 3. FLOOR OF AN ISNEG HOUSE

A, Place of bier; a, place of the head of the *inndt*; B, place of the *inndt* in sitting posture; C, place of the *aróbon;* D, place of mourning relatives; b, hearth; c, door; d, place of woman in childbed.

764 In some places they insert a few *líbnó* herbs in the clothes of the
inndt for the following reason: on its way to the realm of the dead,
775 the *kadudúwá* is supposed to pass through a camote or sweet-potato field, in which there is a hut inhabited by an old woman, who is
772 intent on taking away from all passers-by their provisions and all their belongings; but if the latter have *líbnó*-herbs about their person, the old woman is powerless and they pass along unscathed.

764 In the meanwhile some others have been preparing the *tádag* or bier. The *tádag* consists of a certain number of entire bamboos, tied

with a row of feathers; a head band of small beads, *sajaban;* earrings, *lubay;* a necklace of larger beads, *ambusao;* red spangles hanging from back of the head, *bajuoyboy;* red spangles hanging on forehead, *pati;* small anklet beads, *pasag;* a bead wrist band, *sinali,* and a silver ring, *sankilat.* Her lips are made red with betel nut, *ma-ma,* and she makes a charming picture. The man also has a striking appearance, being dressed in his breechcloth or G-string, *abag;* red-embroidered black pull-on shirt, *baddo;* bag, *pulsa;* neckband with a handsome shell breast-piece, *bising;* and an ornamented head dress formed of red and blue cloth entwined in a turban, *linijot.* This is topped with odorous leaves.

The people have no knowledge of weaving or pottery making. They obtain their clothing, pots, salt, and other materials from Ilocano traders in exchange for their honey, beeswax, rope, baskets and mats.

FAMILY LIFE AND OCCUPATIONS

The people live in substantially constructed houses which have artistic lines. The usual size is about 20 x 34 feet. In building a house, the four long, sturdy corner posts and two central side posts are first set in the ground. They are shaped from some very hard and durable timber such as *molave* or *ipil.* On these posts the structure is framed with heavy, hand-hewn lumber. The timbers are so neatly hewn with miter, bead, feather, and tongue joints that they do not require further fastening. The roof is finished first. Three heavy, well-braced trusses rest on the posts. Their bearing, or upper sides are hewn into an outward bow which will shape the roof in an equilateral

342 arch, and the end peaks of the ridge are extended out-
335 wardly to a remarkable distance. The roof line runs from these peaks in long, graceful inward curves down to the corners of the building. Two by four inch purlins spaced at about six feet are placed on the trusses; and over these are bent the two by two inch roof rafters, spaced at about a foot, on which is laid a mat of *runo* (a tall reed-like grass) stalks. On this support is fastened, shingle-fashion, a thick layer of *runo* tops, which have long leaves. This thatch will probably last for fifteen years before it needs renewal. Durable rattan is used for all fastenings. The two by twelve inch floor joists are set about a foot apart on heavy sills some twelve feet above the ground. The flooring is a mat of long lengths of pencil-sized round rattan. The floor sills are secured to the insides of
[352] the posts; while the wall sills are on the outside. The two-foot space between is finished in a low, raised platform running around the four sides of the room. This is used for sitting, and for storage of various articles, leaving the floor clear. The walls are of hewn inch boards placed perpendicularly and set in grooves cut in the top and bottom sills. There are three very small windows on each side of the house and one small door on one side toward an end. The wooden cover-
[417] ings of these openings, close flush with the walls. En-
[355] trance to the door from the ground is gained by a
[23] ladder which is pulled in at night. There are also several dogs which start howling at the slightest unusual noise. Thus, the occupants are quite secure from their enemies at night.

[352] There is little furniture in the house. On the
354 floor near one corner, opposite the door, is placed a

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Grove of coconut, banana, orange, and betel-nut trees surround the houses so that they are not seen at a distance.

low box about three feet square, filled with earth. In its center are set on end three long stones in a triangular position, which hold the clay cooking pot over the fire beneath. Fire is obtained by striking flint with steel and kindling tinder with the spark; or by rubbing two bamboo sticks together. There are also a round-bottomed iron frying pan and various paddles and ladles. Above the stove is a drying rack, and against the end wall are secured shelves which hold the old Chinese plates and other articles and materials. This end of the room is used for the kitchen, sometimes as the dining room, and as a general work shop. Woven sleeping mats are used, and there are chests for the securing of precious articles. Light from the fire furnishes illumination at night.

There should also be several lovely old ancestral Chinese jars, *gasi*, probably of the Ming dynasty period. In these is kept the *basi*, a pleasant wine made from the juice of the sugar cane. These ancient Chinese jars are much prized by the people. They have a typical shape, and range in size from one to three feet in height. Some of them have dragons and other figures embossed on them. Others have pictures of Chinese scenes and conventional patterns: this being especially true of the white jars with blue designs. They are glazed; some in lovely shapes of brown, yellow and blue. The people have quite a lore about them. There are a number of different varieties and different qualities in each variety. The *dordori* stands first; next is the *garadogod*. Some of the others are the *dinalasan, banaag, kindi-ingan, binilibil, boddi* and *sarang*. Much of the wealth of the Apayaos is held in these jars, together with the beads.

634 women around, while the men are in bathing and swimming together, they keep thir private parts covered with one hand while they are out of the water.

186 476 342 Community spirit in a *barangay* is strong. They have common interests and often work together in exchange of labor, *pinta*. When one builds a house all the neighbors come and help, making a party of it.

417 628 648 676 672 721 Each *barangay* is surrounded by a heavy bamboo picket stockade. The bamboos are filled with small stones so they can not be easily cut away. A *barangay* has all the other *barangays* as enemies; but a peace-pact, *budong*, is often made between two of them. Peace-pact holders are appointed and held personally responsible that it is not broken. Each *barangay* is held accountable for the acts of any of its members. Then they are allies, helping each other in warfare and being mutually responsible for each other's property and personal safety. There is danger of forays at anytime from other barangays. So war is always imminent. There maybe old feuds to be settled and [554] deaths to be avenged. This is augmented by the fact that each warrior must take at least one head to establish himself, both in society and in the heart of the girl whom he desires.

HEAD HUNTING

721 411 726 When the demand either for revenge or for heads becomes strong, the *maingel* gives the order for a head hunting expedition to the enemy *barangay* selected. He will probably be the leader of the expedition. The warriors who are to go, prepare their weapons: shields, spears, and a special *aliwa*, which has the point on the cutting edge drawn out to make it more effective.

773 it struck the sky. The sky became frightened and
821 raised up, causing a great commotion, and the trees were torn out of the ground.

776 To the family of Hatan, I will add the names of
[771] some other *anitos*. The tendency is for them to lessen in scope, in number, and in interest (i.e.—toward monagony). First I will mention some good *anitos*.

776 *Kaybacan* is the guardian of the house. A feast,
527 *pildap*, is given to him upon completion of a new house.
242 Small spears are placed there in the house where he stays. Whenever there is meat, a small portion is placed on the spears. Otherwise the family will get
[704] sick. No eels, deer, or mud fish are brought into the house; for the *anito* dislikes their smell and would run away, leaving the family to sicken and die.

776 *Pilay* is the guardian of the farm. He lives in
241 the granary. If a stranger touches it, he becomes lame. A small feast, *pespes*, is given to him at the beginning of the harvest.

Ambungan is the guardian of the rice harvest. Before harvest one must mix some burnt rice with shredded coconut and eat it under a certain big tree
[821] where he is. If the owner d[illegible] not do this, strong winds and rain will come and blow down the grain.

776 *Danag* is the guardian of the fishermen and hunters; while *Ayan* induces the wild pig to run into the trap; but *Siwasion* helps the wild pig and deer to avoid the hunters.

Daguan makes one strong to work, and *Manglanbang* is the guardian of the warrior; while *Panugatang* is the guide. *Sangasan* guards the entrance to the *barangay*.

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao OA19
Apayao OA5
Isneg

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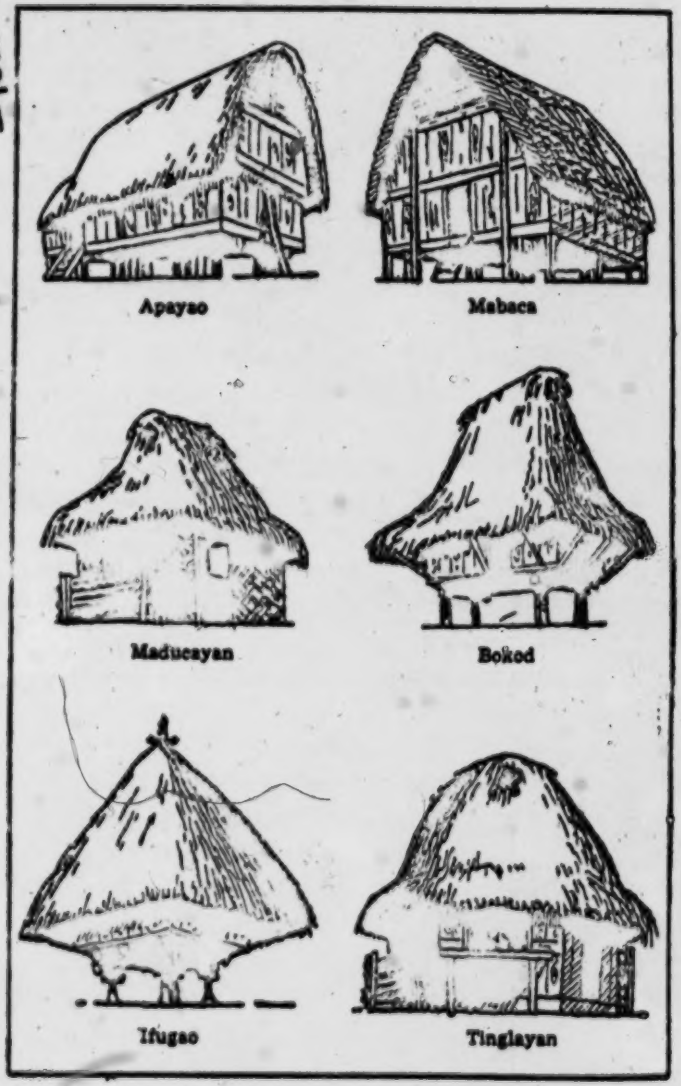

Fig. 1. — Representative houses of the Mountain Province.

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao
Igorot OA20
Benguet
Apayao OA5
Isneg

on the joists, as are the four sills *(opop)* mortised into them which receive the wall-boards *(dingding)* in rabbeted grooves. About waist-high the walls are strengthened by a kind of moulding *(balkes)* running around the four sides, and the upper ends of the wall-boards are fitted into beams called *goanan* (the equivalent of the Ifugao *wanan)*. Small tie-beams or crossbeams *(anayasan)* run from side to side from front to back, resting on these *goanan,* and carrying two kingposts *(kalasod)* which support the ridgepole *(bobongan)*. The ridgepole is longer and the rafters *(dagat)* shorter in the Bokod house than in most Mountain Province houses, so the exposed walls are given protection by a wide-flaring set of eaves *(sibey)* requiring their own rafters *(tikel)* with supporting braces *(sedngal* or *tedmek),* three on a side. The proportions of the Bokod house make it possible to walk upright under the eaves, which is possible in only some of the Ifugao houses and none of the Bontoc houses. Moreover, the square floor plan characteristic of the Southern Strain is sometimes extended into a rectangle by the addition of posts or another girder or floor joist.

The characteristics of the Northern Strain can be seen at their most sophisticated in the ingenious Isneg house (Fig. 6) with its rafters bowed into the shape of a Gothic arch, its floor and roof supported on completely independent series of posts, and the floor itself having slightly raised platforms along both sides. The Isneg floor plan, in contrast to the square houses higher on the Cordillera, is conceived in an elongated form, the underpinning vaguely suggesting marine architecture to the layman, with girders sometimes exceeding 24 feet, thus doubling the longest timbers of the buildings of the Southern Strain.

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA 19 Ifugao
Apayao OA5
Isneg

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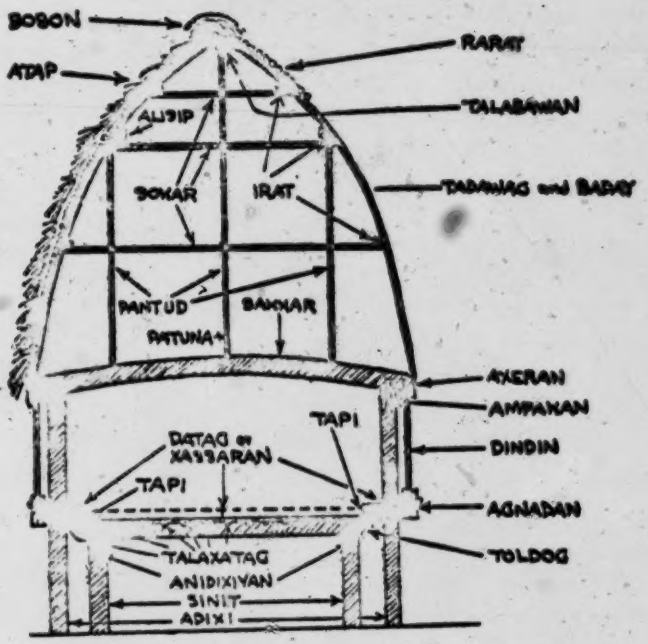

Fig. 6. — Isneg *binuron*-style house. The diagram is a composite of an unoccupied house built about 1905 in *barrio* Magabta, Kabugao, and another unoccupied house in *sitio* Malitaw, Namultugau, examined on 18-20 April 1956; terminology taken from "Isneg Buildings" by Morice Vanoverberg, CICM, *The Philippine Journal of Science*, Vol. 82, No. 1 (March 1953), pp. 77-108.

[114]
[113]

Southern Strain. Each of these two long girders (*anadixiyan*) is mortised into the top of three posts (*sinit*) which elevate the floor to about the height of a man's shoulder, and across these girders are eleven floor joists (*toldog*). The actual flooring (*datag* or *xassaran*), however, is a mat of bamboo grass or rattan, and it rests on a series of thin laths (*talaxatag*) mortised into the upper surface of the joists, parallel, therefore, to the girders beneath. Also riding on the joists are two longi-

[824]

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao
Apayao OA5
Isneg

tudinal beams or stringers *(tapi)* whose top surface is about three inches higher than the flooring and into which are mortised, at the same level, four longer crossbeams *(agnadan)*—two at one end of the house and two at the other—which protrude a foot of more beyond the ends of the joists. Mortised into the outer ends of these crossbeams are their horizontal equivalent, sills into which the base of the wall-boards *(dingding)* are rabbeted; and between these sills and the parallel stringers short laths are also mortised to support a sort of flooring platform or seat about a foot wide along both sides of the house.

A remarkable feature of the Isneg house is the way in which the roof is supported on posts which are set in the ground *outside* the floor-supporting posts but *inside* the wooden walls of the house, passing up through the little side platforms. These six posts *(adixi)* carry two longitudinal beams *(ampakan)*, while three crossbeams *(sakkar)* are mortised into either the posts themselves or the *ampakan*-beams. Fitted into the outer ends of these crossbeams are longitudinal beams serving both as a base for the rafters *(tadawag* and *baday)* and as the upper track for the wall-boards, the appropriate groove being deep enough to allow the boards themselves to be lifted up and slipped out of the lower groove so that the house can be converted into a kind of open covered platform. From the crossbeams also rise a kingpost *(patuna* or *pantud)* and two queenposts *(pantud)*, across which are three tiebeams *(sokar)* terminating in three purlins *(irat)* on each inner face of roof, which is a base of reeds *(rarat)* to which the grass roofing *(atap)* is lashed. The rafters themselves, alternately wood and reed, are bowed into a graceful arc, and rise to a ridgepole *(talabawan)*

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao
Apayao OA5
Isneg

342 335 192 824 which protrudes beyond the ends of the house to protect the smoke holes in the gables.

341 342 335 [824] The Isneg house not being square in plan, its opposite ends are quite different from one another. At one end, just outside but a bit higher than the transverse beam into which the upper ends of the wall-boards are rabbeted, is another transverse beam whose upper edge is grooved to receive a second tier of wall boards which close the upper section of the gable save for a few feet at the top which are left open as a smoke hole or only loosely covered with horizontal bamboo. The other end of the house terminates in a kind of transverse platform or annex with a lean-to roof up against the gable itself; at the outer two corners of this little annex, in line with the full width of the building, are two more *sinit*-posts under the wall itself, a circumstance which has led some observers to report with slightly dramatic exaggeration that the floor, walls and roof of the Isneg house are supported on three separate sets of posts. The floor of [513] [562] this annex is slightly higher than even the little side platforms of the house proper; Cole reported fifty years ago that it was a special sleeping area for men,[104] and H. Otley Beyer recalls that women were not even allowed to set foot there.[105] In the long sides of the house three or four windows are produced simply by omitting some of the wall-boards; since the door opens into one of these sides, however, it might be more appropriate to refer to it as the "front" rather than "side". [417] Entrance is gained by means of a permanent short flight of steps or ladder.

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[104] Cole, Fay-Cooper, "Distribution of the Non-Christian Tribes of Northwest Luzon," *American Anthropologist*, new series, Vol. XI, No. 3 (July-September 1909), p. 347.

[105] Personal statement during interview in Manila on Feb. 19, 1962.

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao
Kalinga OA24
Apayao OA5

In the Mabaca Valley which flows along the northern edge of Kalinga Sub-Province on the Apayao border and into the lower Saltan River just before that stream joins the Chico River at Pinokpok are other houses of the "pure Northern Strain," — that is, elongated and gabled. They do not duplicate, however, the complexity of the Isneg roofposts interwoven, as it were, between the walls and floor joists, and they have front doors entering the end of the house opposite to the annex or lean-to which here is a distinct room serving the purpose of kitchen rather than a kind of open platform. A photograph of a Pinokpok house taken a half-century ago[100] shows the sills carrying the wall-boards to be mortised into the roof-supporting posts, three on a side, with two more posts in between these three rising to the roof inside the wooden walls. In upper Mabaca and Buaya, these "extra" posts which have not been merged with the wall structure do not appear, the houses being shorter and the weight of the roof being distributed by enlarged purlins the size of the ridgepole itself, one on each side. These sturdy purlins form the fulcrum across which the rafters are bent, giving the roof on close inspection the shape of two shallow arcs rather than the continuous graceful curve of the Apayao roof. The pressure thus brought to bear on the purlins requires them to be carried at both ends on posts just as sturdy as the other roof-supporting posts, standing just outside the walls of the house at front and back. In Conner district of Apayao, similar houses have these purlin-supporting posts worked into the gabled wall as an integral part by mortising.

[100] The author is indebted to Dr. H. Otley Beyer for making this and other photographs available.

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao OA19
Apayao OA5
Igorot OA20
Nabaloi
Bontok OA12
Philippines OA1

lects (e.g., Ilocano *balay*, Cagayan Negrito *bali'*, Ibanag *bale*) and pretty generally throughout the Philippines (e.g., Mandayan *baey*, Tagalog *bahay*) — to say nothing of far Polynesia (e.g., Hawaiian *hale*, Samoan *fale*). The Bontocs, however, call their houses *afong*.

Bawi is another pan-Montane word which certainly appears to be cognate with *bali*, yet in almost all dialects both words are present and the distinction between them consistent — *bali* is "house" and *bawi* is "hut". More specifically, a *bawi* is a temporary or casual shelter like a campsite; in no dialect is it applied to buildings permanently occupied as dwellings. An element of permanence is incidentally lent some of the *bawi* in the Bontoc area because of the fact that such look-out or omen-seeking campsites on the ridges outside the town limits were prominent features of warfare in the old head-taking days, and trips to such sites have nowadays been fossilized into religious ceremonies which make the *bawi* somewhat shrinelike. Travelers who find themselves in between settlements at nightfall or in the face of threatening thunder-heads may build a grass *bawi*, and so might workers who have to stay all day in the hot sun in the fields. In Apayao the same term is applied to the simple roof erected over a blacksmith's forge. But generally, huts which have even a small permanent role to play in the community life are not called *bawi*; in Kalinga and Apayao, for example, sheds or shelters in the fields from which children scare birds away from the crops are called *sigay*, and in Benguet *abulan*. The Nabaloi do not use the word *bawi* for a campsite hut as such, but have the term as a verbal stem which underscores its basic meaning — to

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao OA19
Apayao OA5
Isneg
Kalinga OA24

Manangol, houses whose long girders are supported on six posts and houses whose floor joists are cut into the posts that support the roof are both called *'olub*. The big octagonal houses are called by various names (e.g., *kinipas* in Tanglag, *ginitob* in Dakalan), but *binayon* or *finaryon* is understood through most of Chico Kalinga. It may be noteworthy that the Isneg call their big houses, which are certainly anything but octagonal, *binuron*, and that while modern Kalinga informants distinguish their octagonal houses as being "round" or "eight-sided", older natives characterize them as "big and wooden". There is also a tendency in the common speech of eastern Kalinga and Conner district of Apayao to distinguish the big houses from the *kulub* as *balay*.

Comparison of the terminology of structural parts discloses only a few which are pan-Montane, and these happen also to be pan-Philippine. The cross-thatching which forms the ridging of the roof is called *bubong (bobon)* from Ifugao to Kabugao and the ridgepole supporting it *bobongan, panabfongan, pamabbongan, tampfongan, tappongan,* etc., while the Tagalogs apply the word *bubong* to the roof itself. The grass roofing (Ifugao *atop,* Bokod *atep,* Bangad *otop,* Isneg *atap)* shows up in distant Mindanao as Agusan Mandayan *atep* and Tiruray *atef,* and can even be recognized in Tagabili *kêtêf*. So, too, the walling of the house—it is *dingding* in Tagalog as all along the Cordillera from Apayao to Baguio, with variants like *diding* occuring as far apart as Sagada and Upi, Cotabato. Expert for these examples, however, Isneg architectural terminology has nothing in common with the rest of the Province, unless we hear an echo of their *talaxatag* in the *tarata* floor of the Bangad *'olub*. (It is to be noted, however,

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao OA19
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Isneg

A 192 197 342 that the Isnegs also have a smaller house constructed in their plantations for seasonal occupation, whose shorter floor-supporting posts are called *tukid* like the pan-Montane *tokod*, and whose *bansag* bamboo flooring is surely cognate with the *basag*-flooring of the Salegseg house.) Below the roof, there are almost no pan-Montane terms. The Ifugao *bughol* (rafters) reach western Bontoc, and their *kuling* (girders) as far down the Chico as Bangad, while certain Kalinga terms have fairly wide local circulation (e.g., their *bat-ang* joists or *pongo* rafters), but a common feature like the two girders present a whole list of unrelated forms — e.g., from south to north, *ballangan, kuling, ina, pyayon, mamansangan, andixiyan* — and even the two stringers distinctive of the Northern Strain are variously called *tapi, anisil, fuchis,* and *kinalayan*. This variety is to be expected inasmuch as it was not house styles that were transmitted from one people to another, but individual features and building techniques, — for which reason the rather awkward term "strain" has been adopted in this paper rather than "style."

I 192 197 171 343 Granaries throughout the Mountain Province are called *alang* except in the Kankanay speech of the western shoulder of the Cordillera which shares the Ilocano *agamang*. The word *agamang* itself is rather mysterious, for the Ifugaos apply it to the communal segregated dormitories whether they occupy big *bale*-style houses or mere *abong*-huts, and the Ilocanos themselves — at least in La Union — distinguish another shape of granary (one with vertical rather than slanting sides) as *salosal*. In the absence of further data, perhaps the following flight of fancy might be entertained as a tentative explanation. *Agamang* was originally a kind of

I [121] [178]

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao OA19
Apayao OA5
Isneg

The side areas are naturally more used for storage than the center and sleepers lie across the center section with their heads pillowed on the upper (indeed, in Manangol the stringers are called *pongan*—pillow), but the urgency with which the northern architect works this feature into his houses is hard to explain by recourse to such minor considerations. Nor does it seem plausible as an incidental feature consequent to the peculiar Isneg interlocking floor joists and roof posts — to say nothing of the fact that the Apayao house would appear rather too complex to serve as the prototype of the other varieties bearing the Northern Strain. Rather, one would suspect some common parent from which the Kabugao, Mabaca, and Kalinga *kulub*-style houses sprang and matured independently. Perhaps a clue is to be found in the honor which was presumably afforded the end platforms in the old Isneg houses, and the origin of the two-level floor sought outside the Philippine archipelago.

CONCLUSION

Two distinct types of simple houses were inhabited by the old swidden farmers of the Cordillera Central — the *abong*-style by the Kankanays and proto-Bontocs of the southwestern heights, a double lean-to built directly on the ground, and the *kulub*-style by the Kalingas of the northeastern foothills, a square bamboo shed with an entrance at ground level and a partial floor at two slightly different levels on an independent set of posts. An original granary-shaped house standing on three joists on two girders on four posts developed in Ifugao, and spread to Benguet (reaching the Inabaloi of the upper Agno valley only after they had already adapted for themselves a kind of lowland-style house), Lepanto and

44:Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date)1941 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

243 yard, and this work is mostly done before building the fence. This *alasiyáń* serves several very useful purposes: it allows the builder of the fence a clear space for his work and the occasional passerby an easy passage; it prevents the vines from overgrowing the fence and ultimately bringing about its downfall, not exactly on account of their weight, but by causing it to rot through an excess of moisture; and finally it serves for a scarecrow to wild animals, because, when they emerge from the bushes, this clear path barred by a fence of canes always looks suspicious to them.

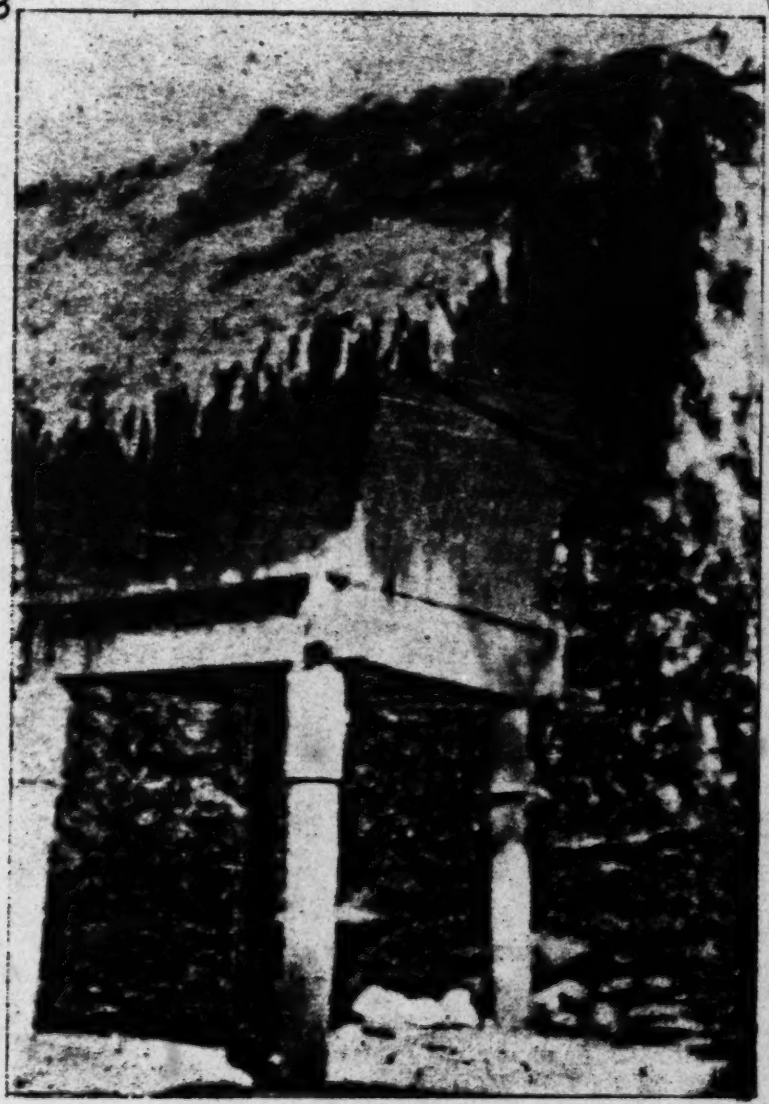
243 343 And now as to the *sízăy*-hut, without which no rice field is complete. The *sízăy* is a hut, either big or small, raised on posts, but not as high above the ground as an ordinary house, and made of light materials, as bamboo, canes of bamboo grass, rattan, cogon-grass, leaves, stems of young bamboo grass, palm leaves, etc. The posts are often nothing but stems of the *lańpá*-palm (Livistona rotundifolia, Mart.). The only distinctive features of the *sízăy* are: that it is built in a rice field and that it is square in shape (*magbakál*). If length and breadth were not equal, the Isneg believe that everything would go wrong with the crop.

Here the farmer and his family find shelter from sun and rain. Here they often take their midday meal for weeks at a time, even sometimes for a whole month or more, according to the work that has to be done. Here on certain occasions, for instance when guarding the ripening crop or when lying in wait for wild boars and so on, they pass the night (*magtáw*).[32] Later on the *sízăy* will be the starting point of the reapers. Here palay will first be stored up, etc. I shall mention this hut again when I describe the harvest. Here I shall only remind you of a few observances that have to be attended to when occupying a *sízăy*.

243 782 Whenever you move to a new *sízăy*-hut, the first time you go to occupy it, you must offer *inapúxăn* (betel for chewing) and *aludákid* to the *Kapónăn*-spirits. The *aludákid* consists of a narrow strip (about half an inch) of coconut meat, cut out around the edge of a nut that has been divided into halves, and retaining its full thickness.

[32] This term *magtáw*, which usually means "to pass the night in the *sízăy*", also means "to die (under certain circumstances)": if it happens that, leaving your house in the village where you are actually living and going to your field in order to look it over, you hear the chatter of monkeys on your way, that is a sure sign that one of your housemates will die (*magtáw*). Does it mean that his spirit left home to wander about in his field and take his rest in the *sízăy* (*magtáw*)? Perhaps.

343



The granary follows the style of architecture of the house.

The vegetables may be: tomatoes, egg- 262
plants, squash, peppers, corn, beans, camote, gabi, or [244
yams. Fruits may be: bananas, coconuts, pineapples, 245]
jack fruit, oranges, lemons, guavas, melons, *luchan*,
mangoes, or papaya. The beverages may be: coffee, [272]
cocoa, or water. Honey is included in the diet. From [263]
sugar cane are produced candied fruits and vegetables,
molasses, *basi*, and vinegar. A strong tobacco is raised 276
and smoked—sometimes in a small pipe; but generally
one leaf is rolled into a small cigar. Both men and
women smoke. Boys and girls start smoking at an
early age.

In growing these things, the people do not use ir- 311
rigation; but follow the *kaiñgin* method of farming. 241
A suitable piece of wild land is selected. The vegetation [312]
is cut down, allowed to dry, and then burnt. Seeds
are planted in the ashen earth by making a hole with
a sharp stick and dropping a seed in it The plot is [317]
is enclosed with a bamboo fence. The men clear and [462]
fence the land, while the women do much of the rest
of the work. In two years the soil has become leached
and packed by the heavy tropical rains and so sterile
that a new *kaiñgin* is made elsewhere.

The rice is an upland variety which does not re- 243
quire much water. The seeds are planted during the
beginning of the rainy season in April and May. When
ripe, the heads are cut off by hand, using a miniature
aliwa. These heads are gathered into bundles, tied, and [25]
then stored in a specially built square granary whose 343]
architectural design follows that of the house. Tobacco 249
and vegetables are usually planted during January af- 244
ter the harvest, in the *kaiñgins* where rice was grown.

When the woman wishes some rice to cook, she 252
threshes several bundles on a mat or skin with a club; 412

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao OA19
Apayao OA5
Isneg
Bontok OA12

 A 341 343.

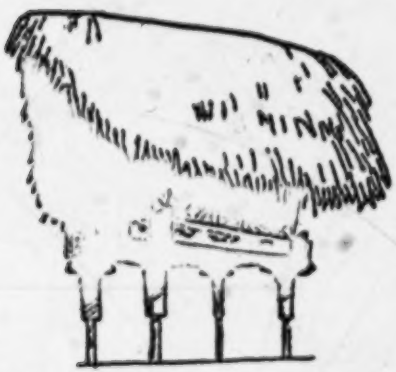


Fig. 10. — An Isneg granary (after Vanoverbergh).

I 341 343 171 335 also different: the storehouse rests on four girders mortised across one another on the same level with their ends protruding beyond the joint, which joints stand directly on the foundation posts. It is not surprising to find such simple supports nowadays under an increasing number of northern granaries whose walls are made of solid mortised planks.

B 341 342 [735] Under the general designation of "huts" we include field shelters and temporary campsites, the community dormitories of the Bontocs (*ato* for boys, *olog* for girls), and, somewhat unchivalrously perhaps, the houses of the poor. These structures are generally of somewhat makeshift character, but almost always have a ridgepole with a two-face roof (although rarely a simple sloping one-face "shed" roof). The walls of such huts are never wooden; they are most typically grass thatch, reeds or *sawali*, but sometimes bark. Three types B [824] [362] of floor are utilized, depending upon the permanence of the building — a reed mat on the ground itself, an elevated bed-like platform independent of the rest of

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao OA19
Apayao OA5
Igorot OA20
Nabaloi
Bontok OA12
Philippines OA1

lects (e.g., Ilocano *balay*, Cagayan Negrito *bali'*, Ibanag *bale*) and pretty generally throughout the Philippines (e.g., Mandayan *baey*, Tagalog *bahay*) — to say nothing of far Polynesia (e.g., Hawaiian *hale*, Samoan *fali*). The Bontocs, however, call their houses *afong*.

Bawi is another pan-Montane word which certainly appears to be cognate with *bali*, yet in almost all dialects both words are present and the distinction between them consistent — *bali* is "house" and *bawi* is "hut". More specifically, a *bawi* is a temporary or casual shelter like a campsite; in no dialect is it applied to buildings permanently occupied as dwellings. An element of permanence is incidentally lent some of the *bawi* in the Bontoc area because of the fact that such look-out or omen-seeking campsites on the ridges outside the town limits were prominent features of warfare in the old head-taking days, and trips to such sites have nowadays been fossilized into religious ceremonies which make the *bawi* somewhat shrinelike. Travelers who find themselves in between settlements at nightfall or in the face of threatening thunder-heads may build a grass *bawi*, and so might workers who have to stay all day in the hot sun in the fields. In Apayao the same term is applied to the simple roof erected over a blacksmith's forge. But generally, huts which have even a small permanent role to play in the community life are not called *bawi;* in Kalinga and Apayao, for example, sheds or shelters in the fields from which children scare birds away from the crops are called *sigay*, and in Benguet *abulan*. The Nabaloi do not use the word *bawi* for a campsite hut as such, but have the term as a verbal stem which underscores its basic meaning — to

325
348

The man in this blacksmith shop is operating the two cylinder bellows.

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

764 If buried under the house, a number of flat pebbles from the river are arranged all around the grave in such a way as to form the figure of a rectangle; the pebbles are stuck in the ground half-way and are placed erect, but lengthwise, so that the part that protrudes is about one half of the breadth of the pebble, not one half of its greatest length.

764 If the body is buried in a common graveyard, a small shed is erected over the tomb. This shed consists of four low posts, which support 349 a sheet of bamboo roofing, more or less slanting to one side. Sometimes, although rarely, the shed is much more elaborate, and, besides four or six posts, there are present two or four tiebeams that connect the posts, and a regular gable roof covered with grass or bamboo; the walls and gables are open to all winds, however, and there is a floor. Once erected, these contrivances are usually left untouched until they fall in and their materials decay. In all probability, this counterpart of a hut is intended to replace the house that in former times always shielded a tomb from the inclemencies of the weather.

766 In Bayag, upon the grave of *Butit*, under a shed of the most elaborate type just described, the survivors had placed immediately over the place of the body, and seemingly covering it from head to foot, 184 a contrivance of sticks and laths, which was an almost exact replica of the coffin-shaped device used in Catholic churches at services at which the body is absent. All around this wooden frame, several jars could be found, scattered at random, some of which were standing erect, at the time of my visit, others lying down, a few entire, others partially deteriorated. This is most certainly quite exceptional in Apayaw, as I never saw anything similar in any other graveyard.

3. After Burial till End of Mourning

765 When the funeral is over, the participants retire to a place a little distant from the house of the deceased, and from there the male relatives pelt the house with stones (*bumaláw*). This is done in order to drive away the spirits (*Bowá, Wirwér*, etc.) who might be lying in wait at the grave to rob it of its prey. This rite is not dispensed with even though the person be interred in a common graveyard and far away from the house, although in this case it seems to have lost all meaning; but the Isneg stick to their traditions. I confidently expect, however, that very soon they will find another reason for their action, and the throwing of stones will be explained as intended to drive away from the house either all spirits in general,

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
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585 allowed to mount the ladder, either by herself or on the back of the *mañlakkát*.

Once inside she has to go immediately toward the place where a *balandán* blanket, the property of the boy's parents, has been spread on the floor, and to sit down upon it. The *balandán* consists of three rectangular pieces of cloth, sewn together at the sides, not at the edges; the two sutures are provided with large ornamental stitches of purple thread. The bride, however, is not to stay there very long, as she has barely squatted down on the *balandán* when her mother pulls it away from under her, and takes possession of the same. Here also the *mañlakkát* dons her customary attire, — jacket, headband and the rest, — as her rôle is finished by this time.

The parents of the boy usually prepare a banquet for all present; chickens or pigs and dogs are slaughtered, according to the social standing of the owners of the house, but, as previously noted, no shaman performs the *maxañitø*. Should the *bálat* be killed on this occasion, which is not absolutely necessary, as the boy's parents may prefer to keep it alive, neither bride nor groom, nor any of the girl's relatives, is allowed to partake of it. If any of them should infringe this taboo and eat the meat of the *bálat* pig, his or her children, whether born already or to be born in the future, would die a certain death. The same prohibition obtains with reference to the cakes. It is certainly a great sacrifice for an Isneg not to partake of a meal of pork and rice, and only the fear of some dire punishment such as that of death for his children could effectively check his appetite in that direction. But in nearly all cases the boy's parents slaughter some other animal, of which all present are allowed to partake. It goes without saying that a copious flow of *básІ* keeps the whole company in merriment, otherwise you could not very well call it a marriage feast.

The principal ceremony, however, consists in the distribution of gifts, of which there are two classes:

1. The *ákit* (from which the whole marriage ceremony takes its name, *mañakit:* to perform a marriage ceremony): these are gifts of beads, clothes, etc., offered by the boy's relatives and outsiders to the women of the girl's party in exchange for a certain amount of cakes, or some part of the *bálat*, in case the latter is slaughtered.

2. The *tugnúl:* gifts of spears, headaxes, *xúsi* jars, etc., also offered by the boy's relatives and outsiders, but this time to the men of the girl's party, again in exchange for cakes or portions of the *bálat*.

342 arch, and the end peaks of the ridge are extended out-
335 wardly to a remarkable distance. The roof line runs from these peaks in long, graceful inward curves down to the corners of the building. Two by four inch purlins spaced at about six feet are placed on the trusses; and over these are bent the two by two inch roof rafters, spaced at about a foot, on which is laid a mat of *runo* (a tall reed-like grass) stalks. On this support is fastened, shingle-fashion, a thick layer of *runo* tops, which have long leaves. This thatch will probably last for fifteen years before it needs renewal. Durable rattan is used for all fastenings. The two by twelve inch floor joists are set about a foot apart on heavy sills some twelve feet above the ground. The flooring is a mat of long lengths of pencil-sized round rattan. The floor sills are secured to the insides of
● [352] the posts; while the wall sills are on the outside. The two-foot space between is finished in a low, raised platform running around the four sides of the room. This is used for sitting, and for storage of various articles, leaving the floor clear. The walls are of hewn inch boards placed perpendicularly and set in grooves cut in the top and bottom sills. There are three very small windows on each side of the house and one small door on one side toward an end. The wooden cover-
[417] ings of these openings, close flush with the walls. En-
[355] trance to the door from the ground is gained by a
[23] ladder which is pulled in at night. There are also several dogs which start howling at the slightest unusual noise. Thus, the occupants are quite secure from their enemies at night.

[352] There is little furniture in the house. On the
354 floor near one corner, opposite the door, is placed a

low box about three feet square, filled with earth. In its center are set on end three long stones in a triangular position, which hold the clay cooking pot over the fire beneath. Fire is obtained by striking flint with steel and kindling tinder with the spark; or by rubbing two bamboo sticks together. There are also a round-bottomed iron frying pan and various paddles and ladles. Above the stove is a drying rack, and against the end wall are secured shelves which hold the old Chinese plates and other articles and materials. This end of the room is used for the kitchen, sometimes as the dining room, and as a general work shop. Woven sleeping mats are used, and there are chests for the securing of precious articles. Light from the fire furnishes illumination at night.

There should also be several lovely old ancestral Chinese jars, *gasi*, probably of the Ming dynasty period. In these is kept the *basi*, a pleasant wine made from the juice of the sugar cane. These ancient Chinese jars are much prized by the people. They have a typical shape, and range in size from one to three feet in height. Some of them have dragons and other figures embossed on them. Others have pictures of Chinese scenes and conventional patterns: this being especially true of the white jars with blue designs. They are glazed; some in lovely shapes of brown, yellow and blue. The people have quite a lore about them. There are a number of different varieties and different qualities in each variety. The *dordori* stands first; next is the *garadogod*. Some of the others are the *dinalasan*, *banaag*, *kindi-ingan*, *binilibil*, *boddi* and *sarang*. Much of the wealth of the Apayaos is held in these jars, together with the beads.

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
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and, if they consider them to be as valuable as that, it is their own business after all. The same may be said with reference to the beads: a single one, if very valuable in the eyes of the natives, may command the price of a carabao or water buffalo, from thirty to fifty dollars, while other ones may be had almost for the asking.

All these jars are earthenware of Chinese make, imported from China long before the arrival of the Spaniards; consequently antiquity is an important item in the estimation of their value. Jars that have been imported recently usually command a much lower price. A great many of the beads also antedate the coming of the Spaniards and were also originally imported from China. Actually, however, beads of all kinds have been put on the market and their origin is very often shrouded in mystery. Isneg plates are all made of coarse earthenware and have mostly been introduced from China; but, although most of them date from comparatively recent times, they are still of the same kind, shape, color and composition as those they have replaced, as may be proved by fragments occasionally unearthed in places formerly inhabited by Isneg. These people certainly hold fast to their old ways and customs; modern crockery is not to their taste. As the Isneg do not weave their own clothes, the latter have of necessity to be bought from outsiders.

During the *amómān* it is also decided whether the boy has to stay with his parents-in-law or not, and for how long in case he has to do so, which is the customary way. The number of years varies very much, as some stay three years, others from five to ten, and even in a few cases the husband never goes back to the house of his own parents.

No really important business can be transacted, of course, among the Isneg, without remembering the cravings of the stomach. In the ordinary course of events one or more pigs are slaughtered according to the social standing of the girl's parents. If they are too poor to indulge in such prodigality, a chicken will do. In both cases a dog may complete the menu, although this is not absolutely required. No special name is given to the killing and consuming of the chicken; but if one or more pigs enter the lists, the whole ceremony is called *pildáp*. Nevertheless in a few isolated cases, when the people are much too poor, the banquet is completely left out, and the deliberations are conducted on empty stomachs.

All during the *amómān* the men conduct everything that is connected with the *pildáp*. The *dorarákit* or shamaness does not inter-

fere in the least.

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764 When the first outburst of lamentations, in the case of our dead
292 Isneg, has come to an end, the bystanders at once proceed to the preparation of the *innát* or corpse. The latter is first stripped of its old clothes, and carefully washed and cleaned; after that it is wiped dry and finally dressed up in the best clothes available. Some natives do not even shrink from clothing the corpse in silk, if their means allow such luxury; at any rate, it would be utterly shameful to the Isneg not to dress a dead body decently. This latter performance is called *magpaar-armát* (transitive: *paarmattán;* from the stem *armát*, "garments"). As has been stated before, each garment is partially torn (*máxăyxăy*) at one side.

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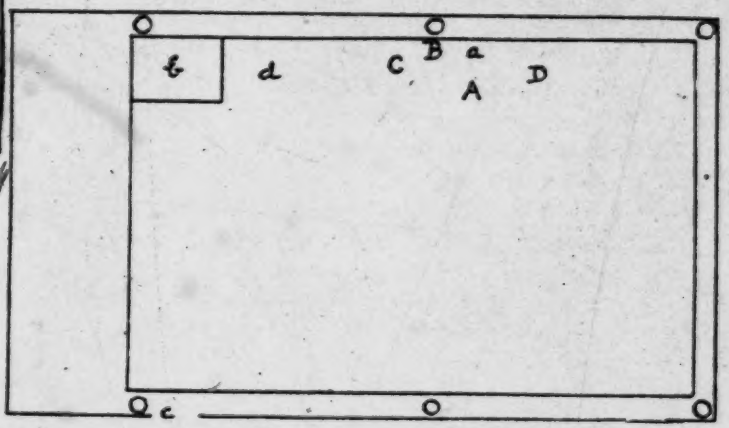

FIG. 3. FLOOR OF AN ISNEG HOUSE

A, Place of bier; a, place of the head of the *innát*; B, place of the *innát* in sitting posture; C, place of the *aróbon;* D, place of mourning relatives; b, hearth; c, door; d, place of woman in childbed.

764 In some places they insert a few *libnó* herbs in the clothes of the
775 *innát* for the following reason: on its way to the realm of the dead,
772 the *kaduduwá* is supposed to pass through a camote or sweet-potato field, in which there is a hut inhabited by an old woman, who is intent on taking away from all passers-by their provisions and all their belongings; but if the latter have *libnó*-herbs about their person, the old woman is powerless and they pass along unscathed.

764 In the meanwhile some others have been preparing the *tádag* or bier. The *tádag* consists of a certain number of entire bamboos, tied

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335 wardly to a remarkable distance. The roof line runs from these peaks in long, graceful inward curves down to the corners of the building. Two by four inch purlins spaced at about six feet are placed on the trusses; and over these are bent the two by two inch roof rafters, spaced at about a foot, on which is laid a mat of *runo* (a tall reed-like grass) stalks. On this support is fastened, shingle-fashion, a thick layer of *runo* tops, which have long leaves. This thatch will probably last for fifteen years before it needs renewal. Durable rattan is used for all fastenings. The two by twelve inch floor joists are set about a foot apart on heavy sills some twelve feet above the ground. The flooring is a mat of long lengths of pencil-sized round rattan. The floor sills are secured to the insides of
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42: Vanoverbergh F-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
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question and bring the water home, when without such trouble, the same, and even a much better, result can be obtained by using the water where it is found 575

The Isneg wash their hands before meals, or, to speak correctly, dip one of their hands in water with a semblance of washing it: they occasionally tell their offspring to do the same. 264 515 862

In order to satisfy the wants of nature, they always retire far away from the presence of other human beings lest they offend the latters' sense of smell: an Isneg resents nothing more than the disregard of this elementary courtesy, and children receive a severe scolding and sometimes a sound thrashing, if they fail to imitate their elders in this respect. Special closets for the purpose were entirely unknown here until Government officials introduced them by force: there is no lack of space in Apayaw. 514 863 177

Isneg women sweep the house, not only daily, but whenever there is a reason for doing so, and they clean the yard very often. Small girls are regularly told to help their mother or their elder sisters, and sometimes to do the sweeping in their stead, so that they also may learn how to perform the duties of a good housewife. 356 863

Let us now pass to the noble sport of *bisnág*. *Bisnág* is very popular all over the northern part of the Mountain Province, while Ibaloy and Kankanay seem not even to know it. Among the Isneg, not only boys and young men, but also men of mature age, frequently indulge in it; nay, at stated times, adults take part in it as in a kind of religious rite or ceremony; but more of this later. Isneg youngsters usually practice *bisnág* in imitation of their elders, merely as a kind of play, whenever it takes their fancy to do so. Although this sport is not formally taught, older people often urge boys to take part in it, and they rarely fail to break out into vociferous applause, whenever one of the young braves has performed his part befittingly, in this way encouraging the whole group to do better and better. 524 857 865 865 201 861

Bisnág certainly inures the partakers to hardship and develops their bodily strength, although, to use a minimum of words, one might say that it merely consists in slapping one another's thigh. But such a statement is all too simple; in reality the sport is much more complicated. There must be at least two men in order to play *bisnág* (Figures 1 and 2), and strictly speaking, two men are sufficient: the one who slaps, whom I shall call the *agent* for short, and the one who is slapped, the patient. 524 865

The Common Law enjoins that man must not: steal, tell false stories of others, court the wife of another, nor make trouble at a feast. It further enjoins that a man must respect the rights of individuals, give food to visitors, give aid to neighbors, and that parents shall teach children the old customs and legends, as well as correct them in order that they may grow up properly.

The Apayaos have a very complete system of social etiquette which might be characteristic of a high culture. It displays a nice sense of fitness and an innate kindliness of nature. Hispitable customs make the visitor's stay a happy one. There is even no embarrassing sense of indebtedness for gifts of service or materials to be expressed: for the people have no word meaning "thank you" in their dialect. When one goes on a journey, there is no word meaning "good-bye": no sad word of farewell. One just walks away as if he were going down to the river to take a bath. When he returns, even after a long absence there is no word of greeting. He is treated just as if he had only come back from taking his bath. As a matter of fact he may have; for it is the custom to take a bath in the last river crossed before reaching home.

The people keep their houses and surrounding grounds clean and neat. Clothing is kept washed, and daily baths in the river are taken. The bark of the *taplet* tree is used for cleansing purpose.

The Apayaos are remarkedly modest about their persons. A woman must not allow her legs to spread when squatting to a sitting position nor allow her tapis to go above her knees. Even when there are no

yaos after the principal river in their country. Some 101
say the word Apayao was originated in their fierce [726]
battle cry *"Ma-ap-ay-ao."* During this call the hand [198]
is clapped rapidly over the mouth so that the cry sounds
much like the American Indian war-whoop. This cry [574]
is also used at a feast: when a new visitor comes,
when the basi is brought in, and when a pig is killed.

I will endeavor to describe, from personal obser- 121
vation of its still numerous cultural remains, some-
thing of the life of the Apayaos as it no doubt existed
little changed during the long centuries during which
their folktales were formed.

The life of these people has much to do with the 361
streams of the country along which most of them live.
They do not live on the river flats, but on the mountain
sides for safety. Many of their communities are [103]
named after the streams near which they are located.
A considerable part of the food is obtained from the
streams; and they are used for washing, bathing and
swimming, as well as for scenery. Much of the trans- 505
portation is on the streams, and the men are expert 502
boatma nand raftsmen. During the heavy rainy sea- [489]
son transportation on swollen rivers is perilous; but, [221]
it is carried on somewhat. The result is that many
a banca has over-turned in the roaring rapids; much
valuable merchandidse still lies in the deep pools at the
feet of those rapids; and many of family mourns the
loss of a loved one. Therefore stories of the streams [538]
often occur in the legends of the people.

The people on each stream were isolated from 184
each other for many centuries so that there has come 174
to be quite a difference in their customs and dialects. 361
197
162

342
361

Grove of coconut, banana, orange, and betel-nut trees surround the houses so that they are not seen at a distance.

226 Sometimes the fish are poisoned with tobacco
[82] for the juice derived from the berries of the *tuba* bush. Also several types of fish traps are used.

224 Deer and wild pigs are hunted with dogs. Wild pigs are also trapped in their runways. The meat thus obtained is divided with fellow hunters and among neighbors. The hunting technique is quite communistic.

SOCIETY

621 The government of the Apayaos is simple. In
622 each family the man rules supreme and orders his wo-
[595] man what to do. This is the unit.

[361] A group of from 15 to 30 families build their houses near each other, *babalay*, being joined together for mutual aid and protection under one head man,
[57] *maingel*, who holds his position because he is the na-
[554] tural leader, is wealthy, and is the stongest and fiercest
622 warrior. The *maingel* wears a red turban on his head
624 and his arms are tattooed to the shoulders. He is absolute ruler; but has several advisory assistants, *pangmarwan*, who likewise have won their position through ability. The next best man to the *maingel*, is his number one assistant and so on. The common man may advise a *pangmarwan*. Upon the death of the *maingel* the number one *pangmarwan* takes his place.
627 The *maingel* and *pangmarwans* sit as a court to judge
692 any one who has broken the common law. Disputes between individuals are settled by intermediary peace
681 makers. It is notable that the fines are not paid to the government, but to the injured party, who receives the suitable indemnity. This may be in the form of jars, beads, animals, and other valuables.

BARBUN AND THE MAINGEL

Many years ago there lived a *maingel* who had a beautiful daughter. This *maingal's* name was Gobing. He was brave and strong and had many people under him. Their houses were built on top of a hill. Stone walls were built around this group of houses for fortification. The walls were high and strong with only one gate. [361]

One day a stranger went to visit them. They welcomed the stranger and treated him kindly. He told the people that his name was Barbun. He wore a coat made of steel which covered his body. If any one tried to kill him with a *gaod*, Barbun would not get hurt. When the stranger saw the *maingel's* daughter, he fell in love with her. Barbun went to the *maingel* and told him that he loved his daughter. The *maingel* said that he might marry his daughter if he agreed to live with them in his *barangay*. But the stranger did not like to be under the power of the *maingel*. So Barbun told the *maingel* that he would go home and return after a few days, to marry the *maingel's* daughter. Barbun was planning to kill the *maingel* and kidnap his daughter if he refused to grant his request.

The *maingel* did not grant his request. He ordered his people to make spears and get ready for a fight. Barbun went home and returned with warriors and his weapons. The *maingel* challenged Barbun to a duel. The *maingel* said that if Barbun won, he could marry the *maingel's* daughter. But Barbun refused the challenge. Three of the *maingel's* men

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao OA19
Apayao OA5
Igorot OA20
Nabaloi
Bontok OA12
Philippines OA1

lects (e.g., Ilocano *balay*, Cagayan Negrito *bali'*, Ibanag *bale*) and pretty generally throughout the Philippines (e.g., Mandayan *baey*, Tagalog *bahay*) — to say nothing of far Polynesia (e.g., Hawaiian *hale*, Samoan *fali*). The Bontocs, however, call their houses *afong*.

Bawi is another pan-Montane word which certainly appears to be cognate with *bali*, yet in almost all dialects both words are present and the distinction between them consistent — *bali* is "house" and *bawi* is "hut". More specifically, a *bawi* is a temporary or casual shelter like a campsite; in no dialect is it applied to buildings permanently occupied as dwellings. An element of permanence is incidentally lent some of the *bawi* in the Bontoc area because of the fact that such look-out or omen-seeking campsites on the ridges outside the town limits were prominent features of warfare in the old head-taking days, and trips to such sites have nowadays been fossilized into religious ceremonies which make the *bawi* somewhat shrinelike. Travelers who find themselves in between settlements at nightfall or in the face of threatening thunder-heads may build a grass *bawi*, and so might workers who have to stay all day in the hot sun in the fields. In Apayao the same term is applied to the simple roof erected over a blacksmith's forge. But generally, huts which have even a small permanent role to play in the community life are not called *bawi;* in Kalinga and Apayao, for example, sheds or shelters in the fields from which children scare birds away from the crops are called *sigay*, and in Benguet *abulan*. The Nabaloi do not use the word *bawi* for a campsite hut as such, but have the term as a verbal stem which underscores its basic meaning — to

[For specific information on fire making among the Apayao OA5 see Indonesia OB1; 2:Wilken, p. 708 category 372.]

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846 776 know how to keep *Talomásim* at a distance, in the case of this nameless spirit they are absolutely powerless: the only way for a young Isneg mother to avoid him is to stay in the house at night.

846 372 Fire (*apúy*) plays a very important role whenever a new Isneg citizen has been born on our planet. Leaving aside the question of the place of the mother near the hearth of the house which has just been mentioned, I should like to draw attention to the following:

1. Although, even under ordinary circumstances, the fire of the hearth is rarely extinguished completely, it is of paramount importance that it should not be let go out for a single moment during the whole period that immediately follows the birth of a child, which period lasts until the mother has recovered sufficient strength to move around freely, in fact, I believe, as long as the mother has to sleep near the hearth at night.

2. At least on the first day, that is before the child is one day old, it is absolutely forbidden for anybody to take fire or firebrands (*alitán*) from the hearth: this is strictly taboo (*kannáw*).

3. No alien fire may be brought inside the house on that day.

4. Three other taboos have also probably to do with the respect shown to fire on such an occasion: again at least during the first day, it is strictly forbidden to use green bamboos (*namáta ńa bólo*) to feed the fire. The same prohibition is extended to the passing of green leaves over the fire in order to soften them: this is very often done with young banana leaves, young palm leaves, etc. that will be used for packing and other purposes; the fire renders them very supple and easily pliable, in such a way preventing them from splitting at every turn. A third taboo concerns anything green (*namáta*), not dry: nothing of the kind is allowed to be brought into the house. Should any of these three taboos be infringed, the Isneg firmly believe that the babe will become thin and emaciated, it will be *malandtán*.

753 856

844 A woman in childbed, wherever she be situated inside the house, is assisted by all women who belong to the same household, and even little girls are allowed to witness the birth of a child. Experienced old women of the neighborhood are called in to take the lion's share in bringing the event to a happy issue, in some places always, in others whenever the inmates of the house prove incapable of the task or when the mother has much difficulty in bringing forth her baby. Midwives are called *mańa-lón* in Isneg.

low box about three feet square, filled with earth. In its center are set on end three long stones in a triangular position, which hold the clay cooking pot over the fire beneath. Fire is obtained by striking flint with steel and kindling tinder with the spark; or by rubbing two bamboo sticks together. There are also a round-bottomed iron frying pan and various paddles and ladles. Above the stove is a drying rack, and against the end wall are secured shelves which hold the old Chinese plates and other articles and materials. This end of the room is used for the kitchen, sometimes as the dining room, and as a general work shop. Woven sleeping mats are used, and there are chests for the securing of precious articles. Light from the fire furnishes illumination at night.

There should also be several lovely old ancestral Chinese jars, *gasi*, probably of the Ming dynasty period. In these is kept the *basi*, a pleasant wine made from the juice of the sugar cane. These ancient Chinese jars are much prized by the people. They have a typical shape, and range in size from one to three feet in height. Some of them have dragons and other figures embossed on them. Others have pictures of Chinese scenes and conventional patterns: this being especially true of the white jars with blue designs. They are glazed; some in lovely shapes of brown, yellow and blue. The people have quite a lore about them. There are a number of different varieties and different qualities in each variety. The *dordori* stands first; next is the *garadogod*. Some of the others are the *dinalasan*, *banaag*, *kindi-ingan*, *binilibil*, *boddi* and *sarang*. Much of the wealth of the Apayaos is held in these jars, together with the beads.

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lighten that of the young shaman who has to confide these things to memory. Here stops the exclusive rôle of the *dorarákit* or shaman as far as religious instruction is concerned.

Dancing and singing, whether religious or otherwise, are learned by pure imitation. Songs are improvised most of the time; the only exceptions are a few scattered terms and a limited number of sentences, more especially a kind of refrain or burden, that recurs at the end of every verse or every stanza in most Isneg songs. These traditional terms and sentences are mostly archaic, and their meaning is a mystery to at least the generality of the Isneg; perhaps some of them have never had any meaning at all.

All Isneg beliefs, whether they have to do with magic or with religion, whether they refer to the world of spirits or to the state of a person after death, are simply picked up, or, as the Isneg put it, "they hear them (*maxi-náda da*)." This means that there is no formal instruction about the matter. Aged persons, particularly old women, and still more especially shamans, freely talk about these things at the slightest provocation, and youngsters are always eager to listen to them. This, however, does not exclude the possibility and even the probability of the members of the older generation talking about magical or religious beliefs purposely and with the direct intention of telling the children about them. And that such instruction, whether intended or not, is sometimes really very efficacious is proved by the fact that I have had among my informants girls of barely ten years old who know everything about certain spirits and could vividly describe them to me. This is the more easily understood when one remembers that all these extraordinary details agree very well with the usual trend of the Isneg mind toward the supernatural, so that the children experience little difficulty in keeping them impressed upon their memory.

Myths and legends, stories and tales, which by the way are sometimes far from being religious, are mostly related by the parents and grandparents in the evening, when the whole family is stretched out on the floor and ready to sleep. The Isneg are not in the habit of making much use of artificial light, and they very often go to sleep almost at sunset, so that there is usually ample time for the old people to comply with the wishes of the youngsters, who among them as well as among us, are always eager to hear a story, and the more fantastic the story, the better. Even young boys and girls are sometimes invited to play the rôle of story-teller, provided they are known

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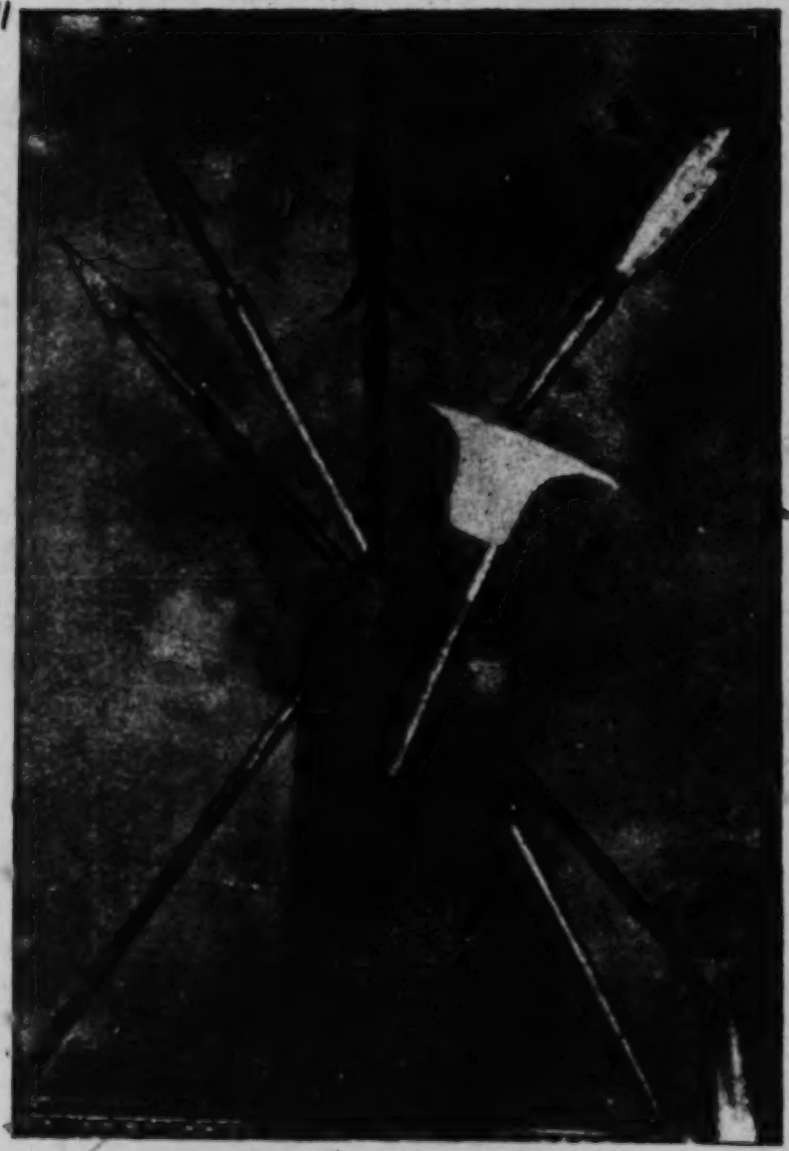

Apayao Weapons.

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811 *Kútaw*'s boat, which is always fastened at the *dodóñān* (place on
772 the bank of a river where a boat is fastened, landing place) on this
side of the pond when not in use, has only one *pidpíd* or side plank,
776 which means that one side of the boat is open and unprotected, and nevertheless no water ever enters her and she never goes down. Thus the *kaduduwá* is ferried over the water in a boat that consists of only about one half of an ordinary one, a boat cut in two from stem to stern. When asked how anybody could possibly cross the *lablabbáñ* in such a contrivance, the Isneg merely state that they do not know. And in this they are most certainly right. But who would dare say that the actions of the spirits have to correspond exactly with our own? Their ways are not our ways, and that settles the matter. Besides, the *lablabbáñ* is not an ordinary *labbáñ*, neither are *Kútaw* and the *kaduduwá* ordinary men, so why should the boat be an ordinary one?

772 The only other detail I have heard about the *lablabbáñ* is that it is full of cogon grass (*labbáñ*) and of worms.

776 *Kútaw* himself was once described to me as wearing a coat from which a certain portion of cloth had been torn out entirely, and his
292 headax or *aliwá* as being deprived of one of its essential parts, namely
411 the *sáwit* or blunt projection at the back (cf. CAC–P, 1:233, fig. 68).

Once at the other side, the *kaduduwá* live a happy life in the *Aglalannawán* (called *Tagtaggáyán* at Bayag) or realm of the dead:
775 it is good (*napiyá*) to be there. Their life is comparable to a dream: they live in the same way as we do when we are dreaming. For the rest, they do not change in their ways: they plant and reap as before, have the same likes and dislikes, live on the same kind of food, with none of their old preferences gone, and so on. The house they live in, however, is not made of timber or bamboo; it is a real gold or silver one. There they stay and never come back, except at times
775 and temporarily,—for instance, when they come to get one of their
787 relatives, in which case the latter is *makaduduwá*, becomes sick and dies (such *kaduduwá* are called *gíbu-*), or when they enter the body of a shaman in order to communicate with the living, or even appear to the latter (perhaps only to the shaman), at the time of a *sáy-ám* sacrifice, etc.

775 It seems to result from all this that even the Isneg have a kind of double fate for man after death: one of happiness for those who prove acceptable to *Kútaw*, and one of privation for those who have to remain behind or are left unguided at the entrance to the *Aglalan-*

834 women around, while the men are in bathing and swimming together, they keep thir private parts covered with one hand while they are out of the water.

186 476 342 Community spirit in a *barangay* is strong. They have common interests and often work together in exchange of labor, *pinta*. When one builds a house all the neighbors come and help, making a party of it.

417 628 648 676 672 721 Each *barangay* is surrounded by a heavy bamboo picket stockade. The bamboos are filled with small stones so they can not be easily cut away. A *barangay* has all the other *barangays* as enemies; but a peace-pact, *budong*, is often made between two of them. Peace-pact holders are appointed and held personally responsible that it is not broken. Each *barangay* is held accountable for the acts of any of its members. Then they are allies, helping each other in warfare and being mutually responsible for each other's property and personal safety. There is danger of forays at anytime from other barangays. So war is always imminent. There maybe old feuds to be settled and [554] deaths to be avenged. This is augmented by the fact that each warrior must take at least one head to establish himself, both in society and in the heart of the girl whom he desires.

HEAD HUNTING

721 411 726 When the demand either for revenge or for heads becomes strong, the *maingel* gives the order for a head hunting expedition to the enemy *barangay* selected. He will probably be the leader of the expedition. The warriors who are to go, prepare their weapons: shields, spears, and a special *aliwa*, which has the point on the cutting edge drawn out to make it more effective.

It is called a *gaod*. The people down stream use bows and arrows, knowledge of which they have learned from the Negritos. When all are ready, they gather and hold a feast called a *magboto* to which their *anito. Manglangbang,* is invited. Manglangbang is the fierce *anito* who guides the warriors. He directs them whom to kill. Upon his order a warrior must even kill a companion. At the *magboto* the warriors swear to stand by each other, and a dog is killed, which a warrior carries on their journey, *cavao,* to the place of the enemy.

At the close of the *magboto* the warrior band sets out. It is followed for a distance by the women, who shout. The warriors also shout and continue on their journey guided by the *anito, Panugtang.* As they enter the country of the enemy, the warriors move silently and keep under cover, for the attack must be a complete surprise. Upon arriving near the place of the enemy, the warriors hide in the forest, cooking their food with fire concealed, and in that place pass the night.

While it is still dark, the party moves up and silently surrounds the *barangay* of the enemy. They keep well-hidden until the occupants start to come out. Those going to their fields or on other errands are ambushed and their heads taken. The object of the expedition is to take as many heads as possible. All heads have the same value; those of men, women, children or babies, whether taken in a fair fight or by stealth. Each one has the required magical vital energy. There may be quite a fight, with numbers of warriors killed or wounded on both sides. Occasion-

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whenever possible the dead body of an adult is forcibly confined to the grave after one or two nights (night of burial always included). Occasionally in some out-of-the-way places, the Isneg may stick to their old custom or at least to the modified one, but this becomes rarer and rarer every day. Children are usually interred after one or two nights according to age and size (Abbil, Musimut, Bolo, etc.), so that in many cases a child who dies in the morning is buried in the evening of the same day.

And now we come to the digging of the grave. The grave consists of a hole in the ground, large enough to contain the coffined body, but usually not as deep as is actually required by law (1½ meters). This is always begun by a woman (*manusim*) who may be a shamaness or not. This operation, however, is rather ceremonial than practical, as immediately afterwards men do the real work. If jars have to be buried together with the coffined body, a special round hole is dug near the ordinary grave, in such a way as to have the buried jars situated at the right of the dead man's body, near the place of his head if the body is lying down. When digging a hole in the ground, the Isneg use the *sáwit* or blunt point at the back of a headax, or any other instrument, to loosen the earth, and an old basket or a coconut shell (in the case of digging a grave, usually the former), to extract the loose earth and throw it out. For the rest, no definite orientation of grave or body is required, and anybody is allowed to dig the grave, as well as to carry the body and to cover it with earth; there are no persons specifically designated for these purposes. In no case are children allowed to stay near a tomb in which a body has been buried recently (*lábûg*).

Among the Kankanay, young men vie with each other to carry the body of a rich person to its last resting place, as they believe that, if the matter which exudes from the decomposed body (*deń* in Kankanay, pronounced like English "dung") trickles upon their own, they also will be blessed by this world's goods. No such belief exists among the Isneg.

Formerly the grave was always dug under the house, and if the gravediggers happened to open a *lúbo-*, a grave already occupied, the lately deceased person was simply interred over the remains of the one in possession. This particular selection of the site for a grave gave rise, as was told me by the natives themselves, to the custom of the Isneg, which obtains to this day, of definitively stopping their work at a new house, and of going to choose some other place for the erec-

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of the hand crosses the palm from one side to the other continuously and without interruption, is absolutely unable to raise a large amount of rice.[4]

Nobody, however, should feel dismayed, as the Isneg possess a cure even for the direst poverty. It consists in having recourse to the use of a very powerful amulet, which has been designed most especially for the needy by the ever merciful spirits, namely the *taxa-rút*, a small herb that grows in the forest. The only question is to know it and to find it.

As will be made plain in the course of this paper, the Isneg firmly believe in a strict division of labor. Each sex has its own work to do, and generally no member of the opposite sex would dare encroach upon this age-long custom. Nevertheless there are a few male individuals who form an exception to this rule: these are the *tāyyén* and the *takowáń*. The *tāyyén* (pronounced *tāyyán* in Bolo) do not know how to handle a hatchet, while, on the other hand, they use a woman's *ikó*-knife as easily as if it were a tool specifically their own; even in their gait, they take over everything that is characteristic of woman. The *takowáń* dress like women and perform all kinds of work usually done by the latter: they plant, weed and pound rice as well as the most experienced member of the fair sex. But, I repeat it, these are exceptions.

No true Isneg man goes to work without his headaxe or *aliwá* usually stuck in his G-string from beneath, at one side, with the helve uppermost.[5] This is his constant companion and also the sole tool he needs when at work in the field. It will not be amiss to give here a detailed description of the *aliwá* of the Isneg.

The headaxe or *aliwá* consists of a kind of hatchet with a very broad blade and a comparatively thin long helve (*alupítan*).

The helve is made of hard wood furnished by several trees that grow all through the Isneg country, for instance the *taggág* (a kind of molave), the *bańlát*, the *kanúmay* (a kind of ebony), etc. The end of the helve, opposite to the head in which the blade is fixed, is called *aguwáy*. The blade is attached to the helve by means of a tang or spike (*otáń*) that fits into the head of the helve, which is surrounded by a comparatively long iron ring (*palábo* or *paraddál*).

[4] The *rappád* also easily resorts to murder: he is a dangerous person.

[5] Cf. Publ. Cath. Anthrop. Conf., v. 1, no. 5, Dress and Adornment in the Mountain Province of Luzon, Philippine Islands, p. 217, fig. 36.

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Besides, two small pieces (*alita-tá-* or *lita-tá-*), usually of bamboo, on either side of the tang, keep the latter from moving to and fro between the two points of the head of the helve (cf. figs. 1 and 2).

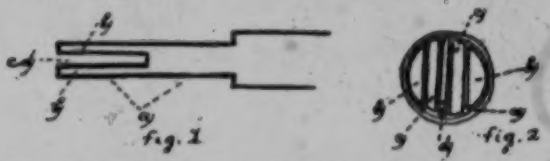

Fig. 1. Head of Helve (longitudinal section)

a, Place of *palábo* or iron ring; *b*, projecting points of the head; *c d*, place of the two *alita-tá-* and the tang or *otán*.

Fig. 2. Head of Helve (cross section)

a, *Palábo* or iron ring; *b*, projecting points of the head; *c*, *alita-tá-* or short pieces of bamboo; *d*, tang or *otán*.

The upper part of the blade is prolonged at the back (*páñat*) into an obtuse point or *sáwit*, and at the edge (*ñárab*) into a diminutive sharp one (*simtó-*). Both the upper (*paráto-*) and lower edges are generally straight, except in the *badáñ*-type of *aliwá*, which has no lower edge.[6] The *badáñ* (called *badón* when very large) has a deeply concave back, while the back of the *binarawad* is almost straight.[7] The lower part of the sharp edge of the *badáñ*, namely that part of the edge that more or less bulges out, is called *pátul*. The part of the blade at the edge that has been tempered, is called *soobó*, and an *aliwá* that shows no line of demarcation between the tempered part and the rest of the blade, is called *pinadlós*.

It goes without saying that not all Isneg hatchets are of the same quality. Some are excellent, for instance the *pinagsdy*, which has a very shining blade, called "white" by the natives. Others are of a very poor quality, for instance the *pannál*, whose edge is easily nicked whenever it strikes comparatively hard timber. However, the Isneg is really provident when there is question of his all-important head-axe, and so he usually takes a spare one with him, a *takám*, whenever he has to make intense use of it, in any kind of work that is liable to keep him away from home for a considerable part of the day.

[6] Cf. op. cit., p. 233, fig. 69.

[7] Cf. op. cit., p. 233, fig. 68.

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What has been said of the *aliwá* or hatchet as a man's tool, may also be said of the *ikó* as a woman's tool: no Isneg woman goes to work without her *ikó*, which is nothing else but a diminutive headaxe, usually of the *binarawád*-type, and which she carries stuck in her headband. While she makes use of several other implements, as the occasion demands, the *ikó* is the only one that is almost constantly needed.

The handle of the *ikó* is ordinarily made of wood, like the helve of the *aliwá*,[8] but there are a few women who make use of the *kiraddán*, which is all iron. The latter type of *ikó* has a curved handle, and its ring or *palábo* is mostly spherical, instead of being cylindrical like that of the ordinary *ikó* and of the *aliwá* or headaxe.

Some of these *ikó* are exceedingly small, the length of the blade (not its breadth) being about one half of that of an ordinary penknife: these are called *paílot*. A small *ikó* that is very old and has seen much service, is called *pakúrat*: its handle is always made of wood, and consequently straight.

Other implements used by Isneg women will be treated in their proper place.

When an Isneg woman works in the field, she is rarely seen without her *sarikaw*, which is a very broad hat, sometimes one yard or more in diameter, almost flat, and more or less resembling a native winnow. The *sarikaw* is made of plaited palm leaves trimmed with strips of bamboo or of rattan or of both.

In order to avoid tedious repetitions I think it not amiss to give here a short description of the *inapúxan* or betel for chewing, which the Isneg frequently offer to the spirits and which I shall have to mention again and again in the course of this paper. The ordinary *inapúxan* as used by the Isneg, consists of a section of betel nut (*bowá*) and a sprinkling of lime (*ápug*) enveloped in a piece of betel leaf (*xawád*), while the one offered to the spirits, although essentially the same, has a few special characteristics.

When preparing *inapúxan* for the spirits, instead of using ripe betel nuts, which are the only ones fit for chewing, the Isneg choose a bunch of immature nuts (*lúsit*), and these they cut into tiny pieces (*riñgám*), which are much smaller than those used for betel chewed by man. The lime is the same as that used in ordinary *inapúxan*:

[8] Cf. op. cit.

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A part of the fruit and leaf of the lemon;

A few seeds of *laññá* or sesame: these seeds have a peculiar aptitude for "teaching" the rice how to grow vigorously;

A seed of *oldiyátan*, in order to guard the spirit of the rice, lest it leave the rice and the ears become empty. The *oldiyátan* is a forest tree with a thorny stem and round seeds that are used for toys;

A piece of zedoary or rhizome of *kannig* (Curcuma zedoaria [Berg.] Rosc.), which grows wild;

A piece of galangale or rhizome of *disól* (Kaempferia galanga, L.), cut into small pieces. This plant is often cultivated, as old women use it for perfume;

Some pudding made from *maḍiliya*-rice, mentioned before.

All these are amulets (*tánib*) that insure the nice growth of the palay.

The seeds of this *la-bá* are now kept apart, and they will be planted in the field before any other ones.

Then the work of shelling goes on and, whenever there is a sufficient amount of *aggí-*, it is transferred to a bamboo tube, called *agaggikán* like the old mat itself. The term *agaggikán* consists of the stem *aggí-* and the locative combination *ag . . . án*: when referring to the mat, it means "the place where the woman *maxaggí-* or shells rice"; when applied to the bamboo tube, it means "the place of the *aggí-*". In some localities, instead of using a bamboo tube, the Isneg wrap the seeds in the leaves of the *asipúlo* or *sipúlo*: a forest tree with very large round leaves; its bark is sometimes used for chewing with the betel nut.

When the time of planting (*tognó*) draws near, the Isneg puts the finishing touch to the cleaning of his *kómān*. Some of the plants that had been cut during the *añumá* or clearing, have sprung up again (*rumsí-*), after the field was burnt. And so the man takes his hatchet and the woman her *paló-* (hoe), which will be described presently, and proceed to the field in order to clean everything thoroughly before the planting is begun: this final preparation is called *magpatari-sí-* (*tari-sí-* means: young shoot of plants in general).

For the planting or *tognó* (a term used for rice and Indian corn, not for beans, etc.), which is the exclusive work of the women, the latter need a special implement, namely a dibble.

Here I shall give the description of the aforementioned *paló-* (hoe) and of the two kinds of dibble used for planting rice, the *saguwá-* and the *zádaṅ*.

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The *paló-* or hoe consists of a wooden handle (*olówăn* or *tokólăn*) and an iron blade (fig. 4). The handle is simply a wooden stick

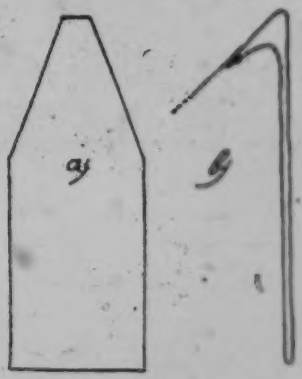

FIG. 4. *Paló-* OR HOE

a, Blade (about ½ natural size); *b*, handle (about ⅛ natural size).

curved at one end into a sharp angle. Its straight part is usually about half a yard long, while the hook or curved part measures some five inches or less, forming an angle of some twenty-five degrees more or less: it is cut in its entirety from the branch of a tree, without any artificial curving. The wood used for the purpose is that of the *tañtañó*, a shrub that grows abundantly on river banks and bears white flowers and small cuplike fruits, of the *kasizdy*, which furnishes a very hard timber, or of the *băyábat* or guava.

The blade, which is straight, consists of a thin piece of iron, rectangular in shape, except for the upper end which tapers into a more or less narrow point or tang. The latter is laid over the hook of the handle, at the outside, and fastened to it with a narrow iron ring, supplied with a pin or wedge if necessary.

A hoe with a blade that is remarkably small is called *lassíń* or *papalassíń*, but its shape and texture is the same as that of the ordinary *paló-*.

The *saguwá-* is a kind of dibble that consists of a wooden handle (*tokólăn* or *olówăn*) and an iron blade. It is straight throughout, and usually about one yard long, sometimes less. The blade is generally about half a yard long, and the handle a little shorter; should the blade measure only one foot, the handle will be much longer in pro-

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412 portion. The blade consists in a thin piece of iron, about two inches broad over its whole length, sharp at one end, and provided at the opposite end with a hollow socket that encloses the end of the handle. The handle is made of any kind of wood. The *saguwá-* is used for planting (*magtognó, tognowán*) rice and Indian corn.

The *zádań* is another kind of dibble which consists merely of a straight stick of hard wood, about one yard long and pointed at one end. It is used, like the *saguwá-*, for planting rice and Indian corn.

243 415 When the Isneg woman goes planting, she also takes along a receptacle for seeds, called *tupáń*, which is just an ordinary *dúyog* or coconut shell. She ties it somewhere at her waist in such a way as to be easily reached with the left hand. The *tupáń* is used for holding seeds of rice or Indian corn.

The *tarimmatóń* or sign for the *agtotognó* (time of planting) is the appearance of the *biyóń* or pods of the *tablán* or coral tree, which has been mentioned formerly under the same circumstances. As soon as the coral tree is covered with fruits the Isneg woman understands that it is time for her to confide the *aggi-* (seeds) of rice to the soil.

Planting is done like this: the woman holds the dibble (*saguwá-* or *zádań*) in her right hand and bores a hole (*magtuná-*) in the ground; at the same time she gets a few seeds (usually three) from the *tupáń*-cup and drops them into the hole, with her left hand; then she covers the hole and fills it up with her right foot. The whole work is done standing, and if any kind of stooping is necessary, it is very slight, so that an experienced planter can finish a large plot in a comparatively short time. The holes are usually bored in such a way as to form more or less parallel rows (*tarintén*), which are rarely straight: the only aim of the woman is to render subsequent work in the field easy for herself and safe for the plants. The distance between the plants is mostly about one foot (*tańadapán*): if the planter is still a novice, she measures the distance with one of her feet, while experienced planters scorn to do so.

243 782 As soon as the *agtotognó* or time of planting has come, the Isneg merely waits for a favorable opportunity to begin the work. In some places, at Bayag for instance, the man or the woman goes to the field on the day that precedes the *alópaṭ* (which will be described presently) in order to perform the *agpaáyab*, which has been mentioned before in connection with the *si-dúg* (burning). Once there, a few grains of rice are thrown into the field, and one of the following prayers is recited:

The vegetables may be: tomatoes, egg- 262
plants, squash, peppers, corn, beans, camote, gabi, or [244
yams. Fruits may be: bananas, coconuts, pineapples, 245]
jack fruit, oranges, lemons, guavas, melons, *luoban*,
mangoes, or papaya. The beverages may be: coffee, [272]
cocoa, or water. Honey is included in the diet. From [263]
sugar cane are produced candied fruits and vegetables,
molasses, *basi*, and vinegar. A strong tobacco is raised 276
and smoked—sometimes in a small pipe; but generally
one leaf is rolled into a small cigar. Both men and
women smoke. Boys and girls start smoking at an
early age.

In growing these things, the people do not use ir- 311
rigation; but follow the *kaiñgin* method of farming. 241
A suitable piece of wild land is selected. The vegetation [312]
is cut down, allowed to dry, and then burnt. Seeds
are planted in the ashen earth by making a hole with
a sharp stick and dropping a seed in it The plot is [317]
is enclosed with a bamboo fence. The men clear and [462]
fence the land, while the women do much of the rest
of the work. In two years the soil has become leached
and packed by the heavy tropical rains and so sterile
that a new *kaiñgin* is made elsewhere.

The rice is an upland variety which does not re- 243
quire much water. The seeds are planted during the
beginning of the rainy season in April and May. When
ripe, the heads are cut off by hand, using a miniature
aliwa. These heads are gathered into bundles, tied, and [25]
then stored in a specially built square granary whose 343]
architectural design follows that of the house. Tobacco 249
and vegetables are usually planted during January af- 244
ter the harvest, in the *kaiñgins* where rice was grown.

When the woman wishes some rice to cook, she 252
threshes several bundles on a mat or skin with a club; 412

252 412 [845] then hulls it by pounding it with a wooden pestle in a mortar fashioned of a two-foot section of a hardwood log, set on end and hollowed out. The woman then winnows it by cleverly tossing it in an oval-shaped tray woven of rattan. There will often be a set of these mortars with the women companionably pounding together, using a sort of chant.

593 854 [842] The relatives are affectionate, and family ties are strong all through life. The family life is a happy one. Babies are much desired and receive a great deal of loving care. Their wants are promptly supplied, and no little one cries its heart out for lack 524 857 of a mother's loving arms. The small girls do not have dolls to play with but use the babies instead. Also, instead of little play houses, they early begin to play house by helping their mothers in the big houses. Many of the small chores about the house are done by the children. But they also have plenty of time for games. [868] swimming, and other amusements. As they grow older, the girls, of course, follow the work of the mother: housework, washing, taking care of the pigs and chickens, carrying water in jars on their heads from the spring, farming, and other duties. The boys cheerfully work with their fathers in gathering wood, building houses, granaries, chicken coops, bamboo fences, etc., and in fishing and hunting. They early learn the lore of the woods; so that a boy of seven here can take much better care of himself in the open than the average Eagle Boy Scout in the United States. [861] The children are taught a proper decorum; but corporal punishment is rare. A little scolding usually keeps them in order.

The cats and dogs are kept fed and are treated more as pets by the Apayaos than by most Orientals. The women refuse to eat the flesh of the dog at feasts. All the livestock are treated kindly. The men work industriously while at it; but take plenty of time for leisure and companionship. They could all become relatively wealthy in this land of plenty but are usually content with enough to satisfy their simple wants; and thus they might be called well-to-do.

The general utility tool is the *aliwa*: a thin-bladed, somewhat rhombic-shaped axe with the back point drawn out. Another type is sort of cleaver shaped and is called a *badang*. The head is affixed to a well-shaped hardwood handle. It is nicely balanced and a very handy tool. The man carries this axe, *aliwa*, with him everywhere. It is used for all cutting purposes. The blacksmiths do excellent work. Hard stone anvils and hammers are used. The bellows are two hollow wooden cylinders set on end. They are fitted with feather-ringed pistons pumped alternately by the blacksmith's helper, giving a steady forced draft on the fire. Smiths have been manufacturing *aliwas*, spear heads, hoes, and other implements here, from time immemorial.

The primitive method of fishing is to dive down in a deep pool in the river where the fish are lying. Down there, they are not frightened by another body; so a good fisherman can grab one in each hand. However, a short, light, barbed arrow shot from a bamboo bow is generally used. During the dry season a pool in the stream may be drained and the fish picked up. Sometimes the fish are poisoned with tobacco

They have a feast: rice
basi, and the greater part of a pig or dog are served. 584
Then business begins. The parents and relatives of 583
the youth, arrange the amount of the dowry, *todog*. [574
If it is of less value, the youth must stay in the house 242]
of the girl. When the contract is agreed upon, it is strictly adhered to; and the youth and girl are said to be married.

The real ceremony, *aqueb*, then follows. The pa- 585
rents of the girl bring pigs and baskets of rice-cakes to the house of the youth. The girl comes in company with several old women. They all stop about one hundred yards from the house of the youth. There they are met by the parents or mother of the youth, bearing valuable gifts for the parents of the girl. The youth's mother then requests the girl from her parents. Upon approval, the whole company moves to the house, where the mother presents her gifts to the parents of the girl. The rice cakes are sold to the re- [435]
latives of the youth, the nominal price being P1.00 per basket. Then the merry-making starts and con- [784]
tinues through the night. The youth and girl must not eat the sweets, as one of them would die. In the morning final payments of the dowry are made and distributed. Then the young couple are considered to be properly married, but still controlled by their parents.

When the young woman feels that she is about to 844
give birth, either the husband or the mother-in-law will twist a piece of cloth, light one end, and place it, the *pungan*, at the door. With it is the coconut shred- [442]
der, *igad*. These guard the woman while delivering so that no *anito* can come into the house to annoy the

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Iwaxán: a spirit who formerly was a man, assiduous in courting the girls and very clever in causing the latter to allow him to perform coitus with them. If the boy who goes to court the girls happens to have a small bottle of coconut oil on his person, which is quite customary, *Iwaxán* sometimes enters the bottle, so that the girl may smell the fragrance he emits and fall in love with the boy.

5. The wearing of beads. The most powerful in this line are the *buláwan*, round beads, varying much in size, of the color of silver, and possessing a kind of silky lustre. They appear in strings that are worn as necklaces or as ornaments around the headband. Although they prove very attractive to the girl when worn by the boy who comes to court her, these beads are not the exclusive property of the male sex: both men and women make use of them for ornamental purposes.

6. The giving of presents, as rings, trinkets, clothes, and so on. Isneg young men of marriageable age very often carry their articles for chewing betel nut in a pouch (*kélay*), a rather large and generally multicolored handkerchief, hanging from the neck and dangling on the chest; two ends are knotted immediately over the contents with a large double knot, the other two are joined at the top and reach the neck of the wearer. All along both sides, from the receptacle up to about half-way between the latter and the neck, a series of rings (*sañkilát*) covers the cloth. The girl takes betel nut, etc., out of the pouch, and both, boy and girl, occasionally interchange rings, the boy detaching one of his own from his *kélay* to give it to the girl, and the latter adding one of her rings to those of the boy's *kélay*. Such an interchange of rings, however, is not always necessarily a sign of consent on the part of the girl to the advances of the boy: this in modification of a statement made by me in a previous paper (CAC–P, 1: 226).

Incidentally it should be noted here that lovers' gifts are never returned, even though no further steps be taken or though some obstacle come in the way of the realization of the young people's dreams; such gifts always remain the property of the donee.

7. The use of love charms (*mañímud*) to force the girl to think of him. This item is so exceedingly important that I feel obliged to devote a few paragraphs to the same.

Love charms are used exclusively and very often, if not universally, by young men, never by girls. They usually consist of some herbs

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and, if they consider them to be as valuable as that, it is their own business after all. The same may be said with reference to the beads: a single one, if very valuable in the eyes of the natives, may command the price of a carabao or water buffalo, from thirty to fifty dollars, while other ones may be had almost for the asking.

All these jars are earthenware of Chinese make, imported from China long before the arrival of the Spaniards; consequently antiquity is an important item in the estimation of their value. Jars that have been imported recently usually command a much lower price. A great many of the beads also antedate the coming of the Spaniards and were also originally imported from China. Actually, however, beads of all kinds have been put on the market and their origin is very often shrouded in mystery. Isneg plates are all made of course earthenware and have mostly been introduced from China; but, although most of them date from comparatively recent times, they are still of the same kind, shape, color and composition as those they have replaced, as may be proved by fragments occasionally unearthed in places formerly inhabited by Isneg. These people certainly hold fast to their old ways and customs; modern crockery is not to their taste. As the Isneg do not weave their own clothes, the latter have of necessity to be bought from outsiders.

During the *amómān* it is also decided whether the boy has to stay with his parents-in-law or not, and for how long in case he has to do so, which is the customary way. The number of years varies very much, as some stay three years, others from five to ten, and even in a few cases the husband never goes back to the house of his own parents.

No really important business can be transacted, of course, among the Isneg, without remembering the cravings of the stomach. In the ordinary course of events one or more pigs are slaughtered according to the social standing of the girl's parents. If they are too poor to indulge in such prodigality, a chicken will do. In both cases a dog may complete the menu, although this is not absolutely required. No special name is given to the killing and consuming of the chicken; but if one or more pigs enter the lists, the whole ceremony is called *pildáp*. Nevertheless in a few isolated cases, when the people are much too poor, the banquet is completely left out, and the deliberations are conducted on empty stomachs.

All during the *amómān* the men conduct everything that is connected with the *pildáp*. The *dorarákit* or shamaness does not interfere in the least.

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whenever possible the dead body of an adult is forcibly confined to the grave after one or two nights (night of burial always included). Occasionally in some out-of-the-way places, the Isneg may stick to their old custom or at least to the modified one, but this becomes rarer and rarer every day. Children are usually interred after one or two nights according to age and size (Abbil, Musimut, Bolo, etc.), so that in many cases a child who dies in the morning is buried in the evening of the same day.

And now we come to the digging of the grave. The grave consists of a hole in the ground, large enough to contain the coffined body, but usually not as deep as is actually required by law (1½ meters). This is always begun by a woman (*mañusim*) who may be a shamaness or not. This operation, however, is rather ceremonial than practical, as immediately afterwards men do the real work. If jars have to be buried together with the coffined body, a special round hole is dug near the ordinary grave, in such a way as to have the buried jars situated at the right of the dead man's body, near the place of his head if the body is lying down. When digging a hole in the ground, the Isneg use the *sáwit* or blunt point at the back of a headax, or any other instrument, to loosen the earth, and an old basket or a coconut shell (in the case of digging a grave, usually the former), to extract the loose earth and throw it out. For the rest, no definite orientation of grave or body is required, and anybody is allowed to dig the grave, as well as to carry the body and to cover it with earth: there are no persons specifically designated for these purposes. In no case are children allowed to stay near a tomb in which a body has been buried recently (*lábūg*).

Among the Kankanay, young men vie with each other to carry the body of a rich person to its last resting place, as they believe that, if the matter which exudes from the decomposed body (*deñ* in Kankanay, pronounced like English "dung") trickles upon their own, they also will be blessed by this world's goods. No such belief exists among the Isneg.

Formerly the grave was always dug under the house, and if the gravediggers happened to open a *lúbo-*, a grave already occupied, the lately deceased person was simply interred over the remains of the one in possession. This particular selection of the site for a grave gave rise, as was told me by the natives themselves, to the custom of the Isneg, which obtains to this day, of definitively stopping their work at a new house, and of going to choose some other place for the erec-

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portion. The blade consists in a thin piece of iron, about two inches broad over its whole length, sharp at one end, and provided at the opposite end with a hollow socket that encloses the end of the handle. The handle is made of any kind of wood. The *saguwá-* is used for planting (*magtognó, tognowán*) rice and Indian corn.

The *xádaṅ* is another kind of dibble which consists merely of a straight stick of hard wood, about one yard long and pointed at one end. It is used, like the *saguwá-*, for planting rice and Indian corn.

When the Isneg woman goes planting, she also takes along a receptacle for seeds, called *tupáṅ*, which is just an ordinary *dúyog* or coconut shell. She ties it somewhere at her waist in such a way as to be easily reached with the left hand. The *tupáṅ* is used for holding seeds of rice or Indian corn.

The *taxímmatón* or sign for the *agtotognó* (time of planting) is the appearance of the *biyón* or pods of the *tablán* or coral tree, which has been mentioned formerly under the same circumstances. As soon as the coral tree is covered with fruits the Isneg woman understands that it is time for her to confide the *aggí-* (seeds) of rice to the soil.

Planting is done like this: the woman holds the dibble (*saguwá-* or *xádaṅ*) in her right hand and bores a hole (*magtuná-*) in the ground; at the same time she gets a few seeds (usually three) from the *tupáṅ*-cup and drops them into the hole, with her left hand; then she covers the hole and fills it up with her right foot. The whole work is done standing, and if any kind of stooping is necessary, it is very slight; so that an experienced planter can finish a large plot in a comparatively short time. The holes are usually bored in such a way as to form more or less parallel rows (*tòrintén*), which are rarely straight: the only aim of the woman is to render subsequent work in the field easy for herself and safe for the plants. The distance between the plants is mostly about one foot (*taṅadapán*): if the planter is still a novice, she measures the distance with one of her feet, while experienced planters scorn to do so.

As soon as the *agtotognó* or time of planting has come, the Isneg merely waits for a favorable opportunity to begin the work. In some places, at Bayag for instance, the man or the woman goes to the field on the day that precedes the *alópat* (which will be described presently) in order to perform the *agpaáyab*, which has been mentioned before in connection with the *si-dúg* (burning). Once there, a few grains of rice are thrown into the field, and one of the following prayers is recited:

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on the ground in rows more or less at right angles to the line of the reapers.

Besides her *ikó*-knife, the reaper carries a small basket (*arín*) attached somewhere at her waist by means of a strip of rattan, and used for storing *xúput*, that is, detached branches (of ears), ears that are cut too closely to the neck making it impossible to tie them with the rest, and immature ears that could not be kept for any length of time. The *arín* is a basket, square at the rim and round at the bottom, from twelve to fifteen inches deep, with a diameter, at the rim, of from eight to ten inches.

The reapers generally protect the calves of their legs by winding rags around them: these rags actually go under the pompous name of *sipátut* (from the Spanish *zapatos*), "shoes".

Now let us consider the preparations that have to be made before harvesting is begun.

First of all, materials have to be gathered (*manalibtá-*) for making bands (*battá-*: the same name is applied to the bundle itself), of which each reaper always has a certain quantity about her person. This gathering of materials and the making of the bands, which consist of thin strips of bamboo or bark, about half a yard long, are men's duties, although women occasionally lend a helping hand in putting the last touch to the thinning of the strips.

The kinds of bamboo preferred by the Isneg for this particular purpose, are:

The *kawáyan* (Bambusa blumeana, Schultes. f.), the ordinary spiny bamboo.

The *bólo* (Schizostachyum mucronatum, Mack.), the ordinary unarmed bamboo.

The *pasíñan*, differing from the *kawáyan* in its walls that are lined with a membrane.

The *báyug*, a kind of unarmed bamboo with very thick walls and a comparatively narrow cavity.

The *ballowít*, a kind of very slender unarmed bamboo.

Besides the bamboo, the Isneg also use the *sirút* or bark of the *sinalíxān*, a forest tree; and some people even consider this as the best material.

Should anybody sneeze (*magbanán*) when starting to gather these materials, they must not go on, but wait until the next day, lest one of them die and be unable to partake of the new rice.

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243 782 415 Then the *sixāy*-hut has to be looked over, and if anything is wanting, it must be brought in. In each *sixāy* there should be a *dapág* or hearth, with fire (*apáy*), but no taxáń (three stones for supporting cooking utensils), as no cooking is done there.

A mortar (*altóń*) and one or more pestles (*alló*) must also be present, but the former may find its place at the outside.

Before the harvest begins, the following objects have to be brought to the *sixāy*:

The *subná-*: a bunch of betel nuts and one of betel leaves (no lime). The *subná-* is put down on the floor of the hut, near the fire, and every day, as long as the harvest lasts, some part of it is used for the *inapúxān* (betel for chewing) of the spirits.

A *patuxáw*: a large basket (ordinary type: square bottom, round rim) for storing the *xúput* or immature rice and the rest, that has been collected in the *arín*-baskets of the reapers, mentioned above. It is placed near the fire, and people are absolutely forbidden to walk over it, on pain of causing the spirit (*kaduduwá*) [35] of their rice to leave and to go over to someone else's rice. At each meal eaten in this hut, at harvesting time, the Isneg place *inapúxān* and a few ears of palay in the *patuxáw*. This basket is not removed from the *sixāy* till after the harvest, when the *inapúxān* it contains is thrown away, and the palay is roasted over the fire, pounded and eaten.

Last but not least, the *aligmamán*. Strictly speaking, the *aligmamán* is a small basket of the ordinary type (square bottom, round rim), and is of daily use for storing betel, lime and so on. In the *sixāy*-hut, however, it is used for storing amulets, and the name *aligmamán* is given to any kind of small basket, whether the *aligmamán* proper or some other one, for instance the *sinalimbáń*, which is a kind of small fancy basket of different shapes, made from sundry materials, and consequently rather ornate. At the beginning of the harvest, and later on, at any time, as long as palay is being cut in that particular field, amulets are placed in the *aligmamán*, so that very soon there is a whole assortment of them. They may be chosen from the following list:

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Xippaxippáw: A kind of herb placed in the *aligmamán* on the first day, before any reaping has been done.

Karráń: A leafless plant, mentioned before. A whole basketful of these is placed in the hut on the morning of the first day of the

[35] The same term is used for the spirit of man.

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fruits (*bísi-*), male flowers (*bu-gá-*), and young shoots (*rañáw*) are used for vegetables.

The *tabuñáw* (Lagenaria leucantha [Lam.] Rusby), bottle gourd, especially the Hercules'-club. Its fruits (*bísi-*) and young shoots (*rañáw*) are used for vegetables. Several varieties of bottle gourd are cultivated by the Isneg:

The *kandól*, dipper gourd.

The *bakóba-*, calabash. Universally used for storing rice.

The *lupídy*: A kind of huge calabash.

The *tabáyad*: A kind of small white calabash. Sometimes used for storing rice.

The *busińán*: A kind of very small calabash. Universally used for storing lime.

The *bakuwáw*. Its young shoots are glabrous.

The *kabatíti* (Luffa cylindrica, Roem.). Its fruits (*bísi-*) are used for vegetables. The variety with ribbed fruits is called *balídan*.

The *pariyá* (Momordica charantia, L.). Its fruits and young shoots are used for vegetables.

The *tańkúy* (Benincasa hispida [Thunb.] Cogn.). Its fruits are used for vegetables.

The *kasímun* (Cucumis sativus, L.), cucumber.

The *túpa-* (Citrullus vulgaris [L.] Schrad.), watermelon.

The *kamáit* or *amákis* (from the Spanish *tomates*), (Lycopersicum esculentum, Mill.), tomato. The variety with small globose fruits.

The *tarón* (Solanum melongena, L.), eggplant.

The *amsí* (Solanum nigrum, L.), nightshade. Its young leaves are used for vegetables.

The *síli*, a general name for the following plants:

The *to-rán* (Capsicum frutescens, L.), chile or spur pepper. Its young leaves (*pat-ó-*) are used for vegetables, and its small fruits for condiments.

The *amilíń*, a variety of the preceding, with somewhat larger fruits.

The *zappó-* (Capsicum annuum, L.), green pepper. Its young leaves (*pat-ó-*) and fruits (*bísi-*) are used for vegetables.

The *kambóń*, perhaps Solanum crassipetalum, Wall. Its large fruits are used for vegetables.

The *salúyut* or *salúyaw* (Corchorus olitorius, L.), jute or Jews' mallow. Its leaves are used for vegetables.

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(*magkaskás*) from the *agdĕrăyān*-pole and then piled up (*magsaldít*) somewhere on the floor of the house, next to the wall, where they are left to cure. To keep the bulk (*saldít*) of tobacco leaves in place, a stick is fixed somewhere in the floor, and the bulk of tobacco finds its place between this stick on one side and the wall of the house on the other.

While the tobacco is curing, the men prepare (*mañolapí*) boxes (*kolapí*) for the final storage. These *kolapí*, which are as high as they are long and very narrow, are made from the bark of one or more of the following trees:

The *adaán*, a forest tree with large leaves.
The *ánut*, a forest tree whose timber is not much esteemed.
The *labdó*, mentioned before, when treating sugar cane.

Before storing (*ipintá-*) the hands of tobacco in the *kolapí*, the Isneg spread some *bánăy*-leaves on the bottom, to serve as a pad (*annáp*) and to cause the leaves to become red. The *bánăy* is a very tall zingiberaceous plant with white flowers and grows in thickets of bamboo grass and in waste places.

To cause the tobacco to appear very valuable to prospective buyers, some *taróyog* are mixed with the leaves stored in the *kolapí* (box). The *taróyog* is a low herb that grows in forested areas.

V. The Isneg Orchard

The Isneg have no idea of a real orchard as we understand it. Nevertheless there is no village, almost no house, where they have not at least a few coco palms growing on the grounds, which surround the house yard or the group of houses that constitute a village. To people who walk along a mountain path or paddle down a river on a canoe or a raft, these coco palms are very often visible from a great distance and are the surest sign of the actual or former existence of one or more habitations in their immediate neighborhood.

All fruit trees planted by the Isneg are to be found on the grounds just mentioned, but there is none more precious and more important to the inhabitants of Apayaw than the universally cultivated coco palm or *iyúg*.

As to the question of its introduction into Apayaw, let us listen to what *Lampá* from Dangla (O dialect, Main branch) has to tell us about it:

Naggăyatán năyá iyúg
Origin of the coconut

low box about three feet square, filled with earth. In its center are set on end three long stones in a triangular position, which hold the clay cooking pot over the fire beneath. Fire is obtained by striking flint with steel and kindling tinder with the spark; or by rubbing two bamboo sticks together. There are also a round-bottomed iron frying pan and various paddles and ladles. Above the stove is a drying rack, and against the end wall are secured shelves which hold the old Chinese plates and other articles and materials. This end of the room is used for the kitchen, sometimes as the dining room, and as a general work shop. Woven sleeping mats are used, and there are chests for the securing of precious articles. Light from the fire furnishes illumination at night.

There should also be several lovely old ancestral Chinese jars, *gasi*, probably of the Ming dynasty period. In these is kept the *basi*, a pleasant wine made from the juice of the sugar cane. These ancient Chinese jars are much prized by the people. They have a typical shape, and range in size from one to three feet in height. Some of them have dragons and other figures embossed on them. Others have pictures of Chinese scenes and conventional patterns: this being especially true of the white jars with blue designs. They are glazed; some in lovely shapes of brown, yellow and blue. The people have quite a lore about them. There are a number of different varieties and different qualities in each variety. The *dordori* stands first; next is the *garadogod*. Some of the others are the *dinalasan, banaag, kindi-ingan, binilibil, boddi* and *sarang*. Much of the wealth of the Apayaos is held in these jars, together with the beads.

000 in these jars, together with the beads. The jars[1] are
523 valued up to P200 and bead up to P150 each. They
[435] are usually inherited in the family as marriage dow-
[431] ries; but may be received as indemnity for injuries.
[425] Sometimes labels, in the ancient script, are chiseled
[583] on these jars. According to authorities, when the
[681] people came here, they had a high culture and read
212 and wrote fluently in the script; but this culture grad-
178 ually lessened from disuse until now there are only
523 a few treasured ancient manuscripts remaining.

415 One type of basket is used. The lip is circuar-
285 formed on rattan. The bottom is drawn out to four corners on which is secured a rattan base. Both wicker and twilled basket weaves are used, and the best ones are ornamented with colored lines and conventional designs. These baskets are woven in different sizes to fit various needs; so that a good housewife has a whole set of them which will nest together There are also some especially shaped baskets for particular uses.

415 At meal time the cooked rice is ladled out on new
264 banana leaves placed on the floor, and the other food may be placed in polished, half-coconut shells. These are also used as water cups, finger bowls, and general containers. The family squat around and help themselves to the food. Their fingers are washed and, being more convenient, are used in place of forks.

262 The rice has a pinkish hue, is sticky, has a good flavor, and is the basic food of the people. With this may be eaten portions of the flesh of fish, shrimp, snails, crabs, crocodiles, lizards, frogs, ants, chickens,
000 birds, or deer. The vegetables may be: tomatoes, egg-

[1] [ancient Chinese -- ANALYST 8]

252 412 [415] then hulls it by pounding it with a wooden pestle in a mortar fashioned of a two-foot section of a hardwood log, set on end and hollowed out. The woman then winnows it by cleverly tossing it in an oval-shaped tray woven of rattan. There will often be a set of these mortars with the women companionably pounding together, using a sort of chant.

593 854 [842] The relatives are affectionate, and family ties are strong all through life. The family life is a happy one. Babies are much desired and receive a great deal of loving care. Their wants are promptly supplied, and no little one cries its heart out for lack 524 857 of a mother's loving arms. The small girls do not have dolls to play with but use the babies instead. Also, instead of little play houses, they early begin to play house by helping their mothers in the big houses. Many of the small chores about the house are done by the children. But they also have plenty of time for games. [868] swimming, and other amusements. As they grow older, the girls, of course, follow the work of the mother: housework, washing, taking care of the pigs and chickens, carrying water in jars on their heads from the spring, farming, and other duties. The boys cheerfully work with their fathers in gathering wood, building houses, granaries, chicken coops, bamboo fences, etc., and in fishing and hunting. They early learn the lore of the woods; so that a boy of seven here can take much better care of himself in the open than the average Eagle Boy Scout in the United States. [861] The children are taught a proper decorum; but corporal punishment is rare. A little scolding usually keeps them in order.

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Ancestral jars, full bast, set out at a feast.

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243 417 Let us come now to the regular fence, the *abút*, and see how it is made.

To build (*maxabút*) an ordinary fence you need a large amount of canes of bamboo grass (*bassâw*) for the uprights, which form the bulk of the fence, and a few more for the transverse pieces (*pakân*), a certain amount of sturdy sticks for props or supporters (*túkid*), a good quantity of vines or other materials for tying purposes, a large wooden hammer (*bakêta*) for driving in the supporters, and, last but not least, a hatchet or *âliwá*.

Those are the usual materials and implements used in making an *abút*. Sometimes wooden sticks are used instead of canes, with strips of bamboo (occasionally) for the transverse pieces. Sometimes bamboo tops with their branches intact are simply stuck in the ground for a fence, called *sarañsáñ*. Sometimes a fence is built by means of entire bamboo stems or bamboo stems cut lengthwise into two or more parts, and kept in place horizontally one above the other between an occasional combination of two upright wooden sticks, to which they are tied in such a way as to leave only a narrow space between each of the component parts (as is customary with fences built around the house yard and described in another paper [21]). But all this is rather extraordinary and may be dismissed without further explanations.

With reference to the supporters (*túkid*), any kind of wood may be used, provided it be hard and durable. The stems of the *baggút*, however, which is only a small tree, are very appropriate to the purpose.

Any kind of tough vines, strips of rattan, etc., may be used for tying. Among others, strips cut from the white bark (*labdó*) of the *bo-nóñ*-tree are very much esteemed.

The *bakêta* consists in a heavy block of wood, into which has been inserted a comparatively long straight handle. It is a very handy implement for driving in the *túkid* or supporters.

This is the way to proceed in order to make a good *abút* (fence). After having gathered some bundles of canes of bamboo grass, whether or not sufficient for the whole fence, and a certain amount of vines or strips for tying, bring them to the place where the fence has to be built. Once there, stick the canes in the ground, upright and close together. If necessary, sharpen them at the lower end; if the ground is very hard, it is preferable first to dig a little groove, which afterwards is filled up by pressing the earth with the feet on both sides of the fence. Go on like that until there is a row at least as long as one

[21] Cf. Publ. Cath. Anthrop. Conf., v. 3, no. 1, p. 62.

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of the tallest canes. Then tie one or two canes horizontally on either side, a little higher than the center of the uprights, or even nearer to the top; these canes form the *pakán*. When this is done, go back home and keep the next day as a holiday (*ńilin*). This first day's work is called *mańgapó*.

All during the next day, the holiday, it is absolutely forbidden to approach the place where the fence is. Should anybody dare infringe this taboo, he is said to *mananút* (destroy the value of ?) the fence, and he will suffer the wrath of the owner, if nothing worse befalls him. This same term *mananút* is also used for people who approach a rice field where the first weeding (*bállât*) has been done, as will be seen in due time.

On the third day, continue the work and go on until it is completed, without fear of any bad effects on account of somebody coming to talk to you or to lend a helping hand.

When the whole fence has been built according to this plan, or at least when a considerable section has been completed, plant the *túkid* or wooden supporters, which have been gathered either before or in the meanwhile. The first thing to be done is to sharpen them at one end (*magsíxād, sixádān*), after which they are driven forcibly into the ground (*magtalná-*). A few subsequent strokes with the *bakéta* will keep them strongly in position. These *túkid* are placed near the fence of canes, at regular intervals, mostly only on one side, sometimes on both, and they are tied strongly to the parts of the fence nearest to them, usually at the intersections of uprights and transverse canes or *pakán*.

If, in the course of time, some part of the fence is destroyed by wild boars, the only thing to be done is simply to repair it (*magrassó*).

The Isneg also make great use of the *túxa*, short sharp sections of a cane of bamboo grass, stuck in the ground in a slanting position; these weapons of defense are very dangerous to anybody, whether man or animal, who trespasses on the ground wherein they are to be found. If they are stuck in the soil immediately behind the fence, inside the field, they are called *palăyáw*, and woe to the wild boar that jumps through a fence and lands on them. The *palăyáw* are used with the best effect in places where the Isneg knows, through former experience, that the wild boar is wont to make himself a passage into the field or garden.

The space all around the fence, at the outside, is called *alasiyáń*; it is generally cleaned (*maxalasiyáń*) to the breadth of about one

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Tobacco leaves are always brought home by the women in huge baskets (*rańdya*), and piled up in some convenient place on the floor of the house, where very soon they will be submitted to further manipulations. When men carry tobacco leaves from one place to another, they make use of a *balitáń*, lest they spoil them. The *balitáń* is a device more or less in the shape of a hammock and consists of five sticks and a number of strips of bamboo: two St. Andrew's crosses (four sticks) are tied at the center to either end of a stick (the fifth one), and the strips of bamboo, running in the direction of the central stick, are tied at either end to the upper half of both crosses, covering the latter from one tip to the other. The *balitáń* may be carried on the shoulders or set down on the ground (only the tips of the two lower halves of both crosses touching the ground) without danger of crushing any of the leaves.

While the women are busy bringing in the leaves, the men prepare strips of rattan, which they cut to a point at one end and provide with a knot at the other, and gather a few poles of light bamboo or bolo (*manaxiagdĕrăyăn*: to gather bamboo poles for this purpose). Then both men and women cut off (*maxánit*) lengthwise a section of the lower part of the petiole of each tobacco leaf, by means of an *aliwá* (hatchet) or an *ikó*-knife. Hands of tobacco are prepared by spitting (*magkásip* or *magtabbá-*) the leaves, at the reduced end of the petiole, upon a pointed strip of rattan, pushing them all the time toward the knot at the other end of the latter.

Tobacco leaves are hung up to dry either in the house, under the roof, or else outside if the weather permits.

The hands of tobacco are hung (*magdĕrăy*) by the center on bamboo poles (*agdĕrăyăn*), that rest at one end on one of the shorter tiebeams (the *sakkár*) of the house, and at the other on a pole that crosses the house and rests at either end on one of the longer tiebeams of the house. The hands are always kept at a reasonable distance from one another, so as to allow them to dry easily. They must be left like that (*dinĕrăy*) until they are completely dry (*maxáńo*), because tobacco leaves that are not entirely dry (*asál*), get spoiled if they are piled up into bulks. The poles with the hands (*dinĕrăy*) attached to them are easily transferred from one place to another if necessary.

After the leaves have been thoroughly dried, and they happen to be too brittle to be piled up immediately, it is advisable to hang them outside for a while in the evening (*ilpáat*) so that they become soft.

The hands that are ready to be placed in bulks, are first taken off

342 arch, and the end peaks of the ridge are extended out-
335 wardly to a remarkable distance. The roof line runs from these peaks in long, graceful inward curves down to the corners of the building. Two by four inch purlins spaced at about six feet are placed on the trusses; and over these are bent the two by two inch roof rafters, spaced at about a foot, on which is laid a mat of *runo* (a tall reed-like grass) stalks. On this support is fastened, shingle-fashion, a thick layer of *runo* tops, which have long leaves. This thatch will probably last for fifteen years before it needs renewal. Durable rattan is used for all fastenings. The two by twelve inch floor joists are set about a foot apart on heavy sills some twelve feet above the ground. The flooring is a mat of long lengths of pencil-sized round rattan. The floor sills are secured to the insides of
[352] the posts; while the wall sills are on the outside. The two-foot space between is finished in a low, raised platform running around the four sides of the room. This is used for sitting, and for storage of various articles, leaving the floor clear. The walls are of hewn inch boards placed perpendicularly and set in grooves cut in the top and bottom sills. There are three very small windows on each side of the house and one small door on one side toward an end. The wooden cover-
[417] ings of these openings, close flush with the walls. En-
[355] trance to the door from the ground is gained by a
[231] ladder which is pulled in at night. There are also several dogs which start howling at the slightest unusual noise. Thus, the occupants are quite secure from their enemies at night.

[352] There is little furniture in the house. On the
354 floor near one corner, opposite the door, is placed a

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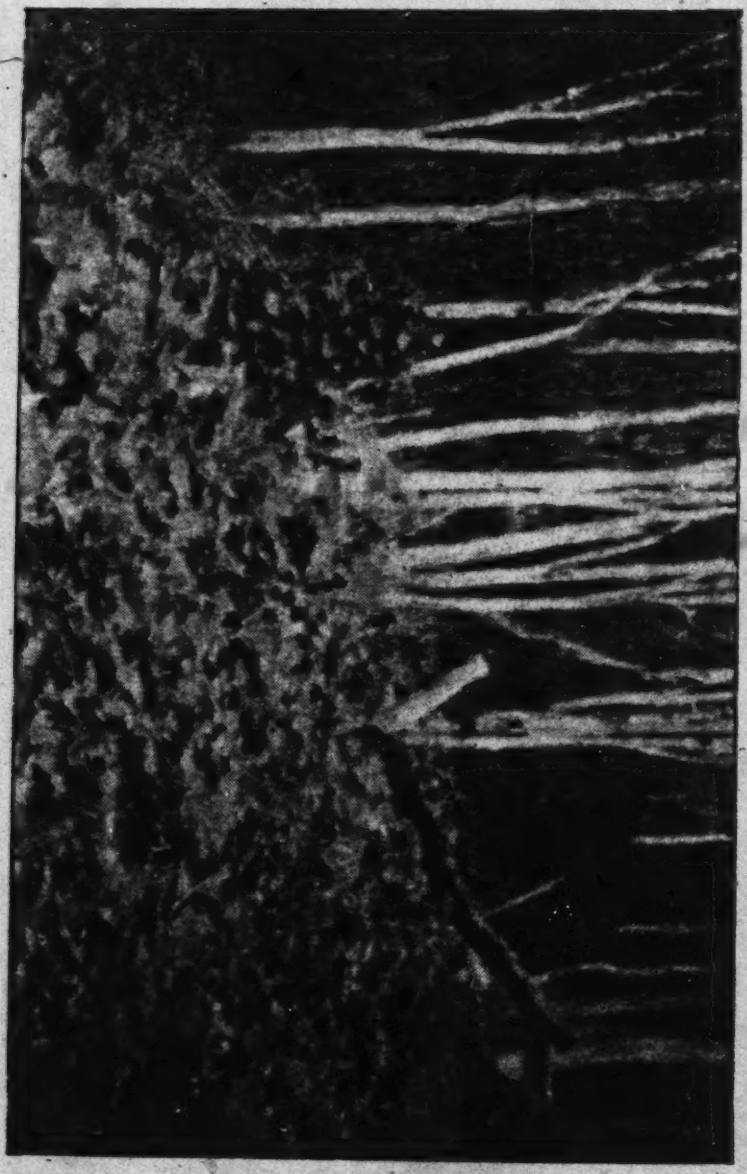

Sweet potatoes grow luxuriantly in the loose ashen earth. The fence is to keep the wild pigs out of this kaiñgin.

The vegetables may be: tomatoes, egg- 262
plants, squash, peppers, corn, beans, camote, gabi, or [244
yams. Fruits may be: bananas, coconuts, pineapples, 245]
jack fruit, oranges, lemons, guavas, melons, *lucban*,
mangoes, or papaya. The beverages may be: coffee, [272]
cocoa, or water. Honey is included in the diet. From [263]
sugar cane are produced candied fruits and vegetables, 276
molasses, *basi*, and vinegar. A strong tobacco is raised
and smoked—sometimes in a small pipe; but generally
one leaf is rolled into a small cigar. Both men and
women smoke. Boys and girls start smoking at an
early age.

In growing these things, the people do not use ir- 311
rigation; but follow the *kaiñgin* method of farming. 241
A suitable piece of wild land is selected. The vegetation [312]
is cut down, allowed to dry, and then burnt. Seeds
are planted in the ashen earth by making a hole with
a sharp stick and dropping a seed in it The plot is [317]
is enclosed with a bamboo fence. The men clear and [462]
fence the land, while the women do much of the rest
of the work. In two years the soil has become leached
and packed by the heavy tropical rains and so sterile
that a new *kaiñgin* is made elsewhere.

The rice is an upland variety which does not re- 243
quire much water. The seeds are planted during the
beginning of the rainy season in April and May. When
ripe, the heads are cut off by hand, using a miniature
aliwa. These heads are gathered into bundles, tied, and [25]
then stored in a specially built square granary whose 343]
architectural design follows that of the house. Tobacco 249
and vegetables are usually planted during January af- 244
ter the harvest, in the *kaiñgins* where rice was grown.

When the woman wishes some rice to cook, she 252
threshes several bundles on a mat or skin with a club; 412

834 women around, while the men are in bathing and swimming together, they keep thir private parts covered with one hand while they are out of the water.

186 476 342 Community spirit in a *barangay* is strong. They have common interests and often work together in exchange of labor, *pinta*. When one builds a house all the neighbors come and help, making a party of it.

417 Each *barangay* is surrounded by a heavy bamboo picket stockade. The bamboos are filled with small 628 stones so they can not be easily cut away. A *baran-* 648 *gay* has all the other *barangays* as enemies; but a 676 peace-pact, *budong*, is often made between two of them. 672 Peace-pact holders are appointed and held personally 721 responsible that it is not broken. Each *barangay* is held accountable for the acts of any of its members. Then they are allies, helping each other in warfare and being mutually responsible for each other's property and personal safety. There is danger of forays at anytime from other barangays. So war is always imminent. There maybe old feuds to be settled and 554 deaths to be avenged. This is augmented by the fact that each warrior must take at least one head to establish himself, both in society and in the heart of the girl whom he desires.

HEAD HUNTING

721 411 726 When the demand either for revenge or for heads becomes strong, the *maingel* gives the order for a head hunting expedition to the enemy *barangay* selected. He will probably be the leader of the expedition. The warriors who are to go, prepare their weapons: shields, spears, and a special *aliwa*, which has the point on the cutting edge drawn out to make it more effective.

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
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342 335 192 824 which protrudes beyond the ends of the house to protect the smoke holes in the gables.

The Isneg house not being square in plan, its opposite ends are quite different from one another. At 341 342 335 [824] one end, just outside but a bit higher than the transverse beam into which the upper ends of the wall-boards are rabbeted, is another transverse beam whose upper edge is grooved to receive a second tier of wall boards which close the upper section of the gable save for a few feet at the top which are left open as a smoke hole or only loosely covered with horizontal bamboo. The other end of the house terminates in a kind of transverse platform or annex with a lean-to roof up against the gable itself; at the outer two corners of this little annex, in line with the full width of the building, are two more *sinit*-posts under the wall itself, a circumstance which has led some observers to report with slightly dramatic exaggeration that the floor, walls and roof of the Isneg house are supported on three separate sets of posts. The floor of [513] [562] this annex is slightly higher than even the little side platforms of the house proper; Cole reported fifty years ago that it was a special sleeping area for men,[104] and H. Otley Beyer recalls that women were not even allowed to set foot there.[105] In the long sides of the 342 house three or four windows are produced simply by omitting some of the wall-boards; since the door opens into one of these sides, however, it might be more appropriate to refer to it as the "front" rather than "side". [417] Entrance is gained by means of a permanent short flight of steps or ladder.

[113] [104] Cole, Fay-Cooper, "Distribution of the Non-Christian Tribes of Northwest Luzon," *American Anthropologist*, new series, Vol. XI, No. 3 (July-September 1909), p. 347.

[105] Personal statement during interview in Manila on Feb. 19, 1962.

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
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tunate if it stopped at that, as the whole affair usually became a *casus belli*.

This whole state of affairs tends very much to make one believe that solitary vice is considered as lawful and not at all forbidden to young men. One day while listening to a conversation among Isneg boys, I heard them talk about flashlights, which at the time had a very great vogue and were very much sought after. The youngsters in question wanted such a light in order to find their way when going to have sexual intercourse with girls in the evening: this was literally what they said. But would they really dare do it so often as they seemed to imply? In many cases would it not be rather to indulge themselves in company with the girls, without always taking the risk of making them pregnant?

[177 833]

On a similar occasion I saw a young man stretch himself out upon a heap of sand and mimick the conjugal act in the presence of several other young men who merely smiled at his behavior.

[834]

Would it be possible for young men to live chastely on such a principle namely, that the only crime in that line is making a girl pregnant? And this seems to be the Isneg view about the matter. With girls, I repeat it, the code is much stricter: they are allowed nothing. They should conserve their body pure and undefiled, even from the mere contact of young men. It is true that the only punishment, in case of pregnancy, would be a severe scolding, but their conduct is censured whenever something untoward happens, and besides the ultimate result, that of being rejected as a prospective bride by any decent young man, must certainly serve as a powerful deterrent.

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"Honesty is an imperative virtue for every Isneg. 'Stealing should be loathed by all right-minded people. Never touch the property of others, do not take what does not belong to you. Why should you covet your neighbor's goods? Did you work in order to obtain them? Would you like others to rob you of the fruit of your labor? Another man's property should always be safe in your hands. Never allow anybody to suspect you of being dishonest; a thief is branded with an indelible mark that will make people distrust him at his mere approach. Never destroy the property of your neighbor; you have no right to do so: revenge would quickly follow your rash deed. If you find something that does not belong to you, give it back to the owner, it is still his, unless of course you know positively that it has been abandoned. Should the owner find his lost goods hidden in your

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577 possession, he will rightfully suppose you to be a thief. Anything
421 that can be found in the forest is the property of the first man who
685 can lay hands upon it: so if you locate bees on a tree and see that the latter has been marked, leave them, they are not yours to take any more, the person who marked the tree will sooner or later come to claim
577 his property. Pay your debts faithfully, never forget about them.
426 The heirs of a deceased person inherit his debts as well as his property, and the creditor will appear some day to ask payment from their
686 hands. In case of a raid upon the house of a culprit,—for instance, when a girl has been made pregnant, or when a married woman has returned to her parents whether against the will of her husband or because the latter rightfully divorced her for adultery, etc., and her parents refuse to give back to the offended husband what he gave them at the time of his marriage, or when somebody has been killed among people who are on friendly terms with one another,—then of course, if you are a relative of the offended party, you are free to rob the house of all its valuables: this is not stealing, it is simple justice.

577 "You should not be so strict, however, with reference to the Ibanag:
609 almost anything is allowed when you deal with them. Plain stealing
421 of course should be avoided, but for the rest it would be hard to qualify anything by the name of injustice, when the Ibanag are in ques-
426 tion. Here, nevertheless, you should make a distinction: you may
437 have good friends among them or they may be your guests, and then of course strictly respect them and keep away from their property.
686 But, deceit in transactions, escaping the payment of a debt, and so
685 on, which would be downright dishonesty if done among ourselves, are just a sign of cleverness on your part, when the Ibanag are concerned. A good Isneg is strictly just with all his friends, with all the people of every village at peace with his own; enemies have no rights in the eyes of an Isneg, and the rights of the Ibanag are far from having the same sacredness as those of your own people".

685 Two years ago a Tubungan (near Abbil) man had been robbed of
628 a few of his valuables, while he was away on a trading expedition into Ilocos. After much investigating and lying in wait near the
[694] house of the suspected thief, the owner had become convinced of the
177 latter's guilt, and immediately brought in a complaint, as the accused denied any participation in the theft. I met the plaintiff and his father, on their way to Kabugaw, in the municipal building of Namaltugan. Talking about the matter, I asked them what would

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593 when he called out: " Here he is, now take a look at him ". At this juncture I do not know whether the wonder and astonishment that could be read all over the woman's face was any greater than the joy that radiated from old *Balúkat*'s eyes at having been able to give so much satisfaction to his wife. The first period of bewilderment and surprise being over, Mrs. *Balúkat* put down her basket, and both husband and wife started distributing fruits and vegetables to the whole company, putting aside the best part for the object of the old girl's wonderment. I am sorry not to be able after this lapse of time to write down the exact conversation that went on between the two; but I remember most distinctly that the whole trend of the dialogue showed clearly and patently how grateful the old woman was toward her husband for having granted her an entertainment which in her eyes was more than splendid, and how pleased the old man was for having been able to bring about the meeting in question.

852 After the birth of the first child, the young married couple *magpísi-*, which means that they prepare a certain amount of native sweets or cakes, called *písi-* on this occasion, and bring them to the parents of the husband. They themselves, however, are not allowed to eat any of them. The purpose of the *písi-* ceremony is to cause the child to grow up quickly and to protect it against sickness.

776 Besides *Sisína*, who is invoked at the time of the *amómăn*, in case
593 the latter happens while a *sǎy-ám* sacrifice is in progress, there is another female spirit, called *Si-rápan*, who is supposed to have some influence on the relations between husband and wife. *Si-rápan* cleans their mind, as the Isneg put it, which means that she helps them to understand one another well and to be free from jealousy, quarrelsomeness and so on, provided their habits are to her liking. Married people who are displeasing to *Si-rápan* " are not taken care of by her and come to grief ".

2. *Property and Inheritance*

421 Husband and wife retain each their own property, whether movable or immovable (fields and so on), separately, and whatever they obtain, either by inheritance from their respective parents or other relatives, or through their own personal exertions, remains their own exclusively. The husband has no more right to his wife's belongings than the latter has to her husband's. Just to give an example: no man can sell his wife's *ikó* knife, nor any woman her husband's headax.

to pay heavy indemnities to the relatives of the injured husband. When the husband is so inclined, he may take one or more wives, provided that he is wealthy enough to support them. However, the wife controls in marriage, her own inherited property.

When the husband dies, the woman retains only her clothing and returns to her relatives. All the property is divided equally among the children. If they are young, the man's relatives take and raise them, keeping the property in trust. Upon marriage each child receives his share.

RELIGION

The Apayao name for a god is *"anito."* Now, it is hard for anyone to explain how all the "acts of God" are the activity of one single personality; as some "acts" are benevolent and others are malevolent. The Apayaos believe that different "acts" are the doings of differents *anitos*, some benevolent and others malevolent. Natural phenomena are explained as being the work of some *anito*. Each occurrence or activity of a person is governed by some certain *anito*. Therefore they may number up into the thousands. Thus one is constantly aware of his relations with the *anitos*, and the Apayao is very religious. For instance if he is setting a trap for wild pig in the forest, he will ask one *anito* to forgive him for trying to trap the pig; another *anito* to let the pig be guided into the trap; and another *anito* that the trap will spring and catch the pig.

Many *anitos* live in natural objects; but the most prominent ones dwlel in *Guynetban* in the sky. Each

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Whereas a banquet is almost always a part of the ceremony and *bási* usually flows freely, it is not to be wondered at that a few altercations and occasional hot words are interspersed in the conversation at regular intervals. Both parties of course look for their own interests: the one tries to get the largest possible amount of valuables, while the other is bent on reducing them to a minimum. Although the whole affair usually ends in a mutual agreement, nevertheless it may happen that at this juncture the meeting is broken up and that no further steps are taken toward the final marriage. Here, however, one has again to reckon with the two young people themselves, who may have set their minds very firmly on the attainment of their hearts' desire, and so an agreement may have to be reached, even though one of the parties is loath to conform. If nevertheless the *amómaṅ* miscarries, the reason is usually to be found in the all too high price exacted by the parents of the girl, or on the all too low value at which the girl is esteemed by those of the boy. But here also the engaged couple may act on their own initiative, as has been explained when stating the case in which the girl's parents refused the *simbá-* beads during the *sumpád* ceremony.

It should be noted here that the relatives of the groom who take part in the *amómaṅ* would hardly dare to start on this important expedition without having provided themselves with the customary amulets, lest some harm befall them. These amulets are called *talimúñay*, and consist of certain herbs that remain the secret of the shaman.

Although by this time the Isneg know very well the use and value of currency, nevertheless in matrimonial contracts they stick to the old way of paying in kind, and so the *tádug* consists of what the Isneg prize above anything else, namely jars and beads. To these are sometimes added plates, clothes, etc., according to the agreement reached by both parties at the *amómaṅ*. It would be very hard to say what is the regular price paid for an Isneg girl, as everything depends on the means at the disposal of the interested party, but one *xúsi* jar at least and a few beads should be considered as the very smallest amount that could be exacted by the girl's parents. It is not the place here to enumerate the numerous kinds of *xúsi* jars and beads, each with its own native name, that are known to the Isneg. Suffice it to say that not a few of these jars will be valued at fifty dollars, although from our viewpoint they may be worth less than one tenth of that amount; but our evaluation is not that of the Isneg,

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and, if they consider them to be as valuable as that, it is their own business after all. The same may be said with reference to the beads: a single one, if very valuable in the eyes of the natives, may command the price of a carabao or water buffalo, from thirty to fifty dollars, while other ones may be had almost for the asking.

All these jars are earthenware of Chinese make, imported from China long before the arrival of the Spaniards; consequently antiquity is an important item in the estimation of their value. Jars that have been imported recently usually command a much lower price. A great many of the beads also antedate the coming of the Spaniards and were also originally imported from China. Actually, however, beads of all kinds have been put on the market and their origin is very often shrouded in mystery. Isneg plates are all made of coarse earthenware and have mostly been introduced from China; but, although most of them date from comparatively recent times, they are still of the same kind, shape, color and composition as those they have replaced, as may be proved by fragments occasionally unearthed in places formerly inhabited by Isneg. These people certainly hold fast to their old ways and customs; modern crockery is not to their taste. As the Isneg do not weave their own clothes, the latter have of necessity to be bought from outsiders.

During the *amómān* it is also decided whether the boy has to stay with his parents-in-law or not, and for how long in case he has to do so, which is the customary way. The number of years varies very much, as some stay three years, others from five to ten, and even in a few cases the husband never goes back to the house of his own parents.

No really important business can be transacted, of course, among the Isneg, without remembering the cravings of the stomach. In the ordinary course of events one or more pigs are slaughtered according to the social standing of the girl's parents. If they are too poor to indulge in such prodigality, a chicken will do. In both cases a dog may complete the menu, although this is not absolutely required. No special name is given to the killing and consuming of the chicken; but if one or more pigs enter the lists, the whole ceremony is called *pildáp*. Nevertheless in a few isolated cases, when the people are much too poor, the banquet is completely left out, and the deliberations are conducted on empty stomachs.

All during the *amómān* the men conduct everything that is connected with the *pildáp*. The *dorarákit* or shamaness does not interfere in the least.

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one, the two first-mentioned children will receive each one fourth, and the other four each one eighth of the inheritance.

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In case of divorce we have to consider two eventualities:

1. All children are married. In this case, which is almost purely theoretic, as Isneg husbands and wives are not in the habit of obtaining a divorce so late in life, there is little to be said, as there is no more property to be divided.

2. Some children or all of them are still unmarried. Married children may be left out of consideration, as they will have received their share at the time of their marriage. Unmarried children inherit from the parent whom they followed, and not from the other one. Now little children always follow their mother, while grown-ups are free to throw in their lot with either of their parents.

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With reference to the division of property at the time of divorce, only belongings common to both husband and wife, as *tódug* and so on, come under consideration, as is clear from what has been previously stated. It should, however, be noted that, if *tódug* have already been received, which means that at least one of the daughters has married, a divorce is a comparatively rare occurrence among the Isneg. Anyhow only three eventualities are possible:

1. Common property is divided between the two by mutual agreement; and this is not at all common among the Isneg;

2. The husband is the culprit, and the woman gets everything, except of course the man's personal belongings;

3. The woman is in fault, and the husband becomes the exclusive owner of everything that was possessed in common by both of them up to the time of divorce.

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In case a married couple has no children, and one of the two dies, the survivor inherits all common property. Personal belongings, however, go to the nearest relatives of the deceased: if the parents are still alive, they get the preference; if they are dead already, the inheritance goes to brothers and sisters, uncles and aunts, nephews and nieces, cousins, etc., mostly in the order named.

After the death of the surviving party, provided no second marriage took place, his or her whole inheritance goes to his or her nearest relatives, in the same order as mentioned above. If the survivor remarries, he or she may either have children or remain childless: in both cases nothing has to be added to the preceding treatment of Isneg law.

000 in these jars, together with the beads. The[1] jars are
523 valued up to ₱200 and bead up to ₱150 each. They
[435] are usually inherited in the family as marriage dow-
[431] ries; but may be received as indemnity for injuries.
[425] Sometimes labels, in the ancient script, are chiseled
[583] on these jars. According to authorities, when the
[681] people came here, they had a high culture and read
212 and wrote fluently in the script; but this culture grad-
178 ually lessened from disuse until now there are only
523 a few treasured ancient manuscripts remaining.

415 One type of basket is used. The lip is circuar-
285 formed on rattan. The bottom is drawn out to four corners on which is secured a rattan base. Both wicker and twilled basket weaves are used, and the best ones are ornamented with colored lines and conventional designs. These baskets are woven in different sizes to fit various needs; so that a good housewife has a whole set of them which will nest together There are also some especially shaped baskets for particular uses.

415 At meal time the cooked rice is ladled out on new
264 banana leaves placed on the floor, and the other food may be placed in polished, half-coconut shells. These are also used as water cups, finger bowls, and general containers. The family squat around and help themselves to the food. Their fingers are washed and, being more convenient, are used in place of forks.

262 The rice has a pinkish hue, is sticky, has a good flavor, and is the basic food of the people. With this may be eaten portions of the flesh of fish, shrimp, snails, crabs, crocodiles, lizards, frogs, ants, chickens,
000 birds, or deer. The vegetables may be: tomatoes, egg-

[1] [ancient Chinese -- ANALYST] 8

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577 possession, he will rightfully suppose you to be a thief. Anything
421 that can be found in the forest is the property of the first man who
685 can lay hands upon it: so if you locate bees on a tree and see that the latter has been marked, leave them, they are not yours to take any more, the person who marked the tree will sooner or later come to claim
577 his property. Pay your debts faithfully, never forget about them.
426 The heirs of a deceased person inherit his debts as well as his property, and the creditor will appear some day to ask payment from their
686 hands. In case of a raid upon the house of a culprit,—for instance, when a girl has been made pregnant, or when a married woman has returned to her parents whether against the will of her husband or because the latter rightfully divorced her for adultery, etc., and her parents refuse to give back to the offended husband what he gave them at the time of his marriage, or when somebody has been killed among people who are on friendly terms with one another,—then of course, if you are a relative of the offended party, you are free to rob the house of all its valuables: this is not stealing, it is simple justice.

577 "You should not be so strict, however, with reference to the Ibanag:
609 almost anything is allowed when you deal with them. Plain stealing
421 of course should be avoided, but for the rest it would be hard to qualify anything by the name of injustice, when the Ibanag are in ques-
426 tion. Here, nevertheless, you should make a distinction: you may
437 have good friends among them or they may be your guests, and then of course strictly respect them and keep away from their property.
686 But, deceit in transactions, escaping the payment of a debt, and so
685 on, which would be downright dishonesty if done among ourselves, are just a sign of cleverness on your part, when the Ibanag are concerned. A good Isneg is strictly just with all his friends, with all the people of every village at peace with his own; enemies have no rights in the eyes of an Isneg, and the rights of the Ibanag are far from having the same sacredness as those of your own people".

685 Two years ago a Tubungan (near Abbil) man had been robbed of
628 a few of his valuables, while he was away on a trading expedition into Ilocos. After much investigating and lying in wait near the
[694] house of the suspected thief, the owner had become convinced of the latter's guilt, and immediately brought in a complaint, as the ac-
177 cused denied any participation in the theft. I met the plaintiff and his father, on their way to Kabugaw, in the municipal building of Namaltugan. Talking about the matter, I asked them what would

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Here now I should like to say a few words about the laws of inheritance among the Isneg. In general it should be said that children inherit directly from their father and mother, no distinction being made between sons and daughters, except of course that the former will mostly inherit from their father and the latter from their mother, at least as far as ordinary personal belongings go: headaxes would be of little value or rather useless to girls, and women's garments would be scorned by the boys. In practice, however, the whole procedure is a little more complicated.

Let us first consider a monogamous couple who were never divorced. Several of the alternatives may present themselves:

1. All the children have married before the death of either of the parents. In this case each of the children, whether a boy or a girl, has already received his or her share at the time of his or her marriage; and after the marriage of the last child, the parents who had nothing left, went to live with one of their offspring or stayed at home, where one or more of their children remained after their marriage, or whither one or more of them returned later on. Common property, that is property that has been acquired conjointly by father and mother during their married life, is comparatively rare among the Isneg, as most everything is obtained either by inheritance or through each one's own exertions, so that there is usually little question of property owned in common by husband and wife. The *tádug*, however, or price received for a daughter at her marriage, forms an exception to this rule. This *tádug*, and other similar common property, if there should be any, always goes to increase the inheritance of each child who still remains unmarried; and should the last child be a girl, the *tádug* received for her will go to the relatives of the mother, after the latter's demise. Consequently it must be a rather strange contingency among the Isneg for a part of the *tádug* finally to come back to the descendants of those who paid for it.

2. The mother dies before all the children are married. In this case the unmarried children inherit their mother's property, while both that of their father and that which was held in common by both parents, as *tádug* and so on, remain in the hands of the surviving parent for the time being. Should the latter remarry and have children from this second marriage, these, at his death, will be placed on the same line with the children of the first marriage, with reference to everything that remained in their father's hands at the time of the death of his first wife, except of course the *tádug* which the

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428 widower has been obliged to pay for his second wife, and other possessions that may have been disposed of before his death. Children who married in the meanwhile will have lost all rights of course, as they will have received their share at the time of their marriage.

3. The father dies before all children are married. In this case the mother's property remains intact in her own hands, but all the rest is divided among the unmarried children. Should there still be any small children in the family, their share will be larger than that of the others, because they are not yet able to support themselves. The person who takes care of the little ones after the death of both their parents, is called *pakĉbāy:* this kind of tutor may be an elder brother, an uncle, or any other of their kindred. Should all children be orphaned in childhood, one of their uncles will usually play the rôle of tutor or *pakĉbāy:* he also will look after the division of their inheritance. The mother generally stays or goes to live with one of her oldest children; in case all of them are still small, she either continues to provide for them, or tries her luck with another husband. In no case, however, is she left destitute. Although everything, except her own personal property, has been divided among the children, this does not mean that they will fail to support their mother or that the latter will be forbidden to live at their expense, the more so that both grown-up children and little tots have nothing to lose by keeping their mother with them, even though all other motives but selfish ones be left aside and only the question of material welfare be considered: indeed in the Isneg family the mother is the real provider. An old woman always has a place at the hearth of one of her married children or grandchildren; why then should a mother not prove acceptable if she is still comparatively young and able to earn her livelihood? And this will mostly be the case if some of the children are still unmarried. Actually the eldest son pays the land taxes after the death of his father.

428 595 In case the father lives or lived in bigamy and never obtained a divorce, there is little to be changed in the above description. Only two points are of special importance. First, no children can inherit personal property from any of the women except from their own mother. Second, if the father dies, his own personal property and all belongings held in common by himself and his wives, is divided into as many equal parts as there are or were mothers of unmarried children in the house. And so, supposing a bigamist leaves at his death two unmarried children from one wife and four from the other

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When the husband dies, the woman retains only her clothing and returns to her relatives. All the property is divided equally among the children. If they are young, the man's relatives take and raise them, keeping the property in trust. Upon marriage each child receives his share.

RELIGION

The Apayao name for a god is "*anito.*" Now, it is hard for anyone to explain how all the "acts of God" are the activity of one single personality; as some "acts" are benevolent and others are malevolent. The Apayaos believe that different "acts" are the doings of differents *anitos,* some benevolent and others malevolent. Natural phenomena are explained as being the work of some *anito.* Each occurrence or activity of a person is governed by some certain *anito.* Therefore they may number up into the thousands. Thus one is constantly aware of his relations with the *anitos,* and the Apayao is very religious. For instance if he is setting a trap for wild pig in the forest, he will ask one *anito* to forgive him for trying to trap the pig; another *anito* to let the pig be guided into the trap; and another *anito* that the trap will spring and catch the pig.

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854 As soon as the mother is allowed to attend to her ordinary duties, 431 her first concern is to take her child and visit her relatives, her own 796 as well as those of her husband. These are then obliged by custom to give the little one a small bracelet, which consists in a string of beads and is called *battá-*. In each house that is entered for that purpose, one such *battá-* is placed over the wrist of the babe. Besides, the relatives who live in the same settlement with the parents of the child, have to perform the *maxaníto* ceremony (communication with the spirits), at which a chicken is offered by the shaman, before the arrival of mother and child. This *maxaníto*, however, is dispensed with in the case of people who live in different agglomerations.

853 The mother (*magtaxíbi*) gives her child (*taxíbi*) the breast (*magpasóso*; in Iloko, *sóso* means "breast"; in Isneg "breast" is *xátat*) at every turn, and the little one has always its mother's milk at its disposition. No sooner does the baby cry than this is done, since, for an Isneg, the only plausible explanation is that it is hungry As a rule, a child suckles its mother's breasts as long as it has not cut its first tooth, but even then you cannot call it really weaned: a little youngster running around freely may sometimes be seen partaking [262] of the same food as his newborn brother or sister. On the other hand the little babe is given cooked rice to eat very early, usually after five days; however, as a matter of course, this solid food has been chewed by the complacent parent before it is put into the infant's mouth.

854 The baby when at rest is lying down either stretched out on a mat or a piece of cloth on the floor, or more frequently in a *dóyān*, which is a rectangular piece of cloth doubled up lengthwise so as to form a kind of pouch, each end of which is suspended from some part of the house, like a hammock, by means of two strings or strips of rattan, so that it can be used as a swing.

854 If Isneg parents have to leave a little child alone in the house, 776 they usually confide it to the care of *Daraxodáń*, a kind spirit, who is always at hand in such a predicament: he looks after the babe, without its elders knowing anything about it, and the little one never cries as long as he remains with it. Another spirit, *Laglagṭmiń*, who has the shape of a bird, is supposed to bring up any babies who are not well cared for by their parents; but although such children do not [753 die while *Laglagṭmiń* looks after them, they always remain thin and 856] emaciated, which, of course, the Isneg do not consider as an ideal condition for an infant.

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want to do a favor to an Ibanag, you are allowed to do so of course; but in this you are entirely free. What right might he possibly have to it? Is he not an outsider?"

Judges all over the Mountain Province could cite hundreds of examples of how little the natives can be relied upon to tell the truth, whenever there is question of one of their own. Once a Kankanay (and the case would be as typical here in Apayaw as it was there), a good friend of mine, asked me to lend him a peso: he would go to the neighboring town for me and carry whatever I wanted, paying his debt in that way. As I had heard his testimony only a few days before in the court of first instance, where he had told the brazenest lies without flinching, in order to save one of his townsmen, I told him that I little relied on his promises, because I had heard how nicely he had told the truth some days before. At once he retorted: "Oh, yes, but that was in court; I should never lie to *you* though".

It has often been said that a native of this province would let you die rather than help you when you are in difficulties, unless he is compelled to do so; and I know of many instances that would go to support the truth of that statement, but as far as I know, he acts that way only toward other people, not toward his own. Many years ago a Christian Visayan was dying in a town almost exclusively inhabited by Kankanay; he could easily have been saved by being brought to a neighboring hospital, but no people were found who were willing to carry the poor man. If no compulsion had been used in order to force them to bring him to the doctor, they would have let him die without mercy. Nevertheless one should not lose sight of the fact that in this case the means necessary for the recovery of the sick man were quite extraordinary and had perhaps never been heard of, or at least were not believed to be efficient by any ordinary Kankanay, so that it may be doubted if they always would render such a service even to one of their own people. As far as I know the Isneg, such an occurrence would be attended by the same circumstances among them too.

"A man should be grateful for a service done to him. After all this is only a case of loyalty to friends. If somebody has helped you out when you were in difficulties, do not forget it, but do him a good turn at the first opportunity. Never omit repaying anybody who may have done good to you. Whenever the people bring you gifts according to custom, be sure to notice the amount given by each person, and remember it, so that you may give him something equal

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577 on a similar occasion. Gifts as such do not exist, a gift is something
431 akin to a loan: what is given to-day should be returned some future day. Nevertheless there is a difference which you will understand presently. If a person is ungrateful to you and, instead of showing his appreciation of your help, repays you with ingratitude and does what is harmful to you, this may be a sufficient reason for revenging yourself, but do not remind him of your past kindness toward him: this would not only be very disagreeable to him, but it might give him a pretext for thinking himself in the right when he is quarreling with you. If you remind somebody of his debt of gratitude toward you, you make him ashamed and so exasperate him; he knows it all right or should know it anyhow; it is not for you to tell him about it. Do not say that in such a case you are simply doing what any creditor does, when he asks for the payment of a debt; no, this is quite different: to the return of what you lent, you have full right; but to gratitude, none. You helped him freely; let him remember his duty about it without the need of being told. Among us a loan is supposed to be asked back; nobody borrows anything without the tacit agreement that he will be requested to return it at some future time; this cannot be compared with the question of helping somebody in need
577 and reminding him of the fact afterwards. Gratitude is never obli-
609 gatory toward the Ibanag, especially toward those in authority. Is it not rather the reverse that is true? Is it not rather for them to be thankful to us for allowing them to rule us undisturbed? Is it not rather the Ibanag who have to be grateful to us for accepting their ministrations?"

602 A native Isneg has recently been appointed teacher in an agglomer-
577 ation belonging to the municipal district of Kabugaw. He rarely has anything out of his monthly salary left for himself, as the bulk of it goes to his relatives, helping them in their studies, paying their taxes, etc. The reason is that he wants to repay them now for the sacrifices they imposed upon themselves when he needed money while at school. And such cases are far from rare.

609 On the other hand, while I was living among the Kankanay, at a
577 place where no sanitary inspectors were residing and where the Gov-
[276] ernment furnished me with medicines for free distribution among the natives, more than once after I had bandaged a poor fellow's arm or else had poured medicine on some wound or sore, the patient would simply ask me for a few leaves of tobacco. Gratitude? Well, this had to be on my side, because the poor fellow showed his belief

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in the power of my drugs instead of following exclusively his own superstitions. At least I inferred from his conduct that this was his state of mind; and I believe I was not far from the truth. Similar cases are frequent also among the Isneg: doctors and sanitary inspectors know all too well about them.

"Be generous toward your friends. A miser is abhorred among us. If you bring down a wild boar or deer in the forest, share your good luck with your relatives and friends. These things were not worked for by you; fate brought them into your hands. If you have tobacco, share it with your friends; be a generous companion to every Isneg. When you offer a sacrifice be not stingy with the *bási*, and give everybody who happens to come along his share of rice and viands. Would you be happy if somebody prevented you from participating in a feast? Would you like to be excluded at the distribution of food and drink? Never cause your companions to say that you *umaxáwa* (or *iaxáwa*, "to put away dainties when a visitor is seen approaching the house, lest one should have to let him have a share in them") or *gumisád* (to close the doors at the appearance of a stranger while eating some delicious food for the same reason): these are very opprobrious terms. With reference to the Ibanag, remember that those in authority have come here to help us, and more especially the white man: he has unbounded riches, and he has come here for the evident purpose of spending it upon us. Even though some of us are considered rich among ourselves, they are poor when compared with him. Let him pay double the price for whatever he needs. Is he not rich beyond anything you can imagine? Do not exclude him from your feasts, if he wants to participate in them, but expect him to be generous toward you in all transactions and business affairs."

Kadáw, who is considered the richest man in Apayaw, has come to my house more than once in order to sell articles which he could not get rid of elsewhere, and he usually charged us twice the regular price. When we told him that he is a rich man, which by the way he likes to hear very much, and that he at least should remember how we feed many of his people without remuneration, when we told him that he should help us in order to be merciful to the poor Isneg instead of taking advantage of our good will, he invariably retorted by saying that we have money galore, and what should we do with it except distribute it to the Isneg. Is this not the reason why we live among them? And *Kadáw* is not the only Isneg who entertains such an opinion.

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her consent would be utter recklessness or, rather, out of the question: you would never escape unscathed from the place of your crime. For the rest be careful; even if the girl consents, always remember what pregnancy brings in its wake; so the surest way is to keep oneself free from such entanglements.

"Girls should never be very familiar with young men. Boys will tempt you with fine words and beautiful promises, they will bring you clothes and trinkets as gifts, but beware. Never give yourself over to any boy at night, never allow him to touch you indecently when he comes to talk to you in the evening. Do not even allow him to finger your breasts: all this is dangerous play. Just think what it would mean to have a child before marriage; would that not be an eternal shame? And just imagine the scolding you would get from your parents, the turmoil in which the whole settlement would be thrown, and the difficulty you would encounter from now on in looking for a husband. You are allowed to marry young, so let everything take its usual course. Boys will aways be boys; besides they are men, and so they are allowed a certain freedom; but you are a girl, you are a woman, and in your case nothing is allowed. An Isneg girl should never be a flirt. The boys will try to play with you; it is not for you to allow them to do so. Always show your resentment, when they have touched you the wrong way or been otherwise too familiar with you"

To touch a girl's breasts is *magkabbál* in Isneg, and it is said only of men. The existence of a special term like that serves to show that this must be something like a favorite sport among the Isneg. The following anecdote will help to prove the truth of that statement. On a certain occasion an Isneg boy was explaining to me a native term whose meaning was "purpose, intention", and as he could hardly do so without illustrating it by an example, he told me what follows: "Suppose you touch a girl's breasts and she is angry at you, then you say: 'I did not do it intentionally' ", and here he used the term in question.

Chastity is certainly very strictly imposed upon unmarried people, or rather upon people who are not yet engaged, but from the Isneg point of view and with reference to young men, it should rather be defined: not to do anything that might render a girl pregnant. Not that the Isneg know any contraceptive measures, but that the pregnancy of a girl is considered as the thing to be avoided, not fornication as such. Both are very nearly related to one another of

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628 is rarely abandoned, whether in small matters among youngsters, or
183 in graver matters among adults; but in the latter case nowadays it
178 mostly takes the form of a lawsuit entered at court. One exception, however is to be noticed: the practice of sacking the houses of special offenders is still faithfully adhered to all over Apayaw. Revenge is exceedingly sweet to an Isneg and it is not easily superseded by the law of charity: indeed the Isneg sucks it in with his mother's milk and his whole life is still intimately pervaded by the fragrance of old and glorious traditions. And so also the Isneg in general, whether small children or grown-up persons, rarely abandon a quarrel in which the right is on their side, for fear of having the epithet of coward thrown at their head. Peace continues to be an unknown entity as long as an Isneg thinks it his duty to leave it in the background.

578 Nevertheless when two Isneg have become estranged from one an-
183 other, one or both of them will occasionally try to adjust the matter amicably, but in such a way as to preclude all possible risk of being shamed or of being considered as acting through fear or cowardice. *Anagalukkáp* (a kind of herb or grass), kept in the palm of one of your hands when you are likely to meet your opponent, is an infallible means to allay his wrath and to change his hate into amity. Once reconciled to your enemy, the best way to settle the matter definitively and to render the ensuing friendship durable is to make him some present: a jar, a headax, or anything you suppose will prove acceptable to him. Such a gift is called *palatád*.

[431]

577 The practice of gratitude, generosity and hospitality is generally
576 fairly concordant with Isneg theory, but, as has been stated repeat-
574 edly, the Isneg code does not seem to impose any of these social
183 virtues in a very marked degree. It is very hard, for instance, to translate the expression "thank you" in Isneg, as they possess no term that might be considered as more or less its equivalent.

183 Here I shall cite a case in which at first sight practice flagrantly
574 contradicts Isneg theory in every respect. The incident happened
577 in March 1927, when a captain of the Constabulary, several soldiers and a few civilians, including myself, were on their way to Abra. We had finished ascending the Dagara river and were dropping into Abra, when night overtook us at the settlement of Anayan. Foreseeing that our provisions would not last until the end of the journey, the captain requested the Anayan men, who entirely depend on Apayaw for their daily sustenance, to sell us a small quantity of

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584
Iwaxán: a spirit who formerly was a man, assiduous in courting 832
the girls and very clever in causing the latter to allow him to per- 776
form coitus with them. If the boy who goes to court the girls happens to have a small bottle of coconut oil on his person, which is quite customary, *Iwaxán* sometimes enters the bottle, so that the girl may smell the fragrance he emits and fall in love with the boy.

5. The wearing of beads. The most powerful in this line are the 584
buláwan, round beads, varying much in size, of the color of silver, 832
and possessing a kind of silky lustre. They appear in strings that are 301
worn as necklaces or as ornaments around the headband. Although they prove very attractive to the girl when worn by the boy who comes to court her, these beads are not the exclusive property of the male sex: both men and women make use of them for ornamental purposes.

6. The giving of presents, as rings, trinkets, clothes, and so on. 584
Isneg young men of marriageable age very often carry their articles 832
for chewing betel nut in a pouch (*kĕláy*), a rather large and gener- 431
ally multicolored handkerchief, hanging from the neck and dangling on the chest; two ends are knotted immediately over the contents 293
with a large double knot, the other two are joined at the top and reach the neck of the wearer. All along both sides, from the recep- 276
tacle up to about half-way between the latter and the neck, a series of rings (*sańkilát*) covers the cloth. The girl takes betel nut, etc., 415
out of the pouch, and both, boy and girl, occasionally interchange rings, the boy detaching one of his own from his *kĕláy* to give it to 531
the girl, and the latter adding one of her rings to those of the boy's *kĕláy*. Such an interchange of rings, however, is not always necessarily a sign of consent on the part of the girl to the advances of the boy: this in modification of a statement made by me in a previous paper (CAC–P, 1:226).

Incidentally it should be noted here that lovers' gifts are never 584
returned, even though no further steps be taken or though some 431
obstacle come in the way of the realization of the young people's dreams; such gifts always remain the property of the donee.

7. The use of love charms (*mańimud*) to force the girl to think of 584
him. This item is so exceedingly important that I feel obliged to 832
devote a few paragraphs to the same.

Love charms are used exclusively and very often, if not universally, 832
by young men, never by girls. They usually consist of some herbs

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585 allowed to mount the ladder, either by herself or on the back of the *mañlakkát*.

Once inside she has to go immediately toward the place where a *balandán* blanket, the property of the boy's parents, has been spread on the floor, and to sit down upon it. The *balandán* consists of three rectangular pieces of cloth, sewn together at the sides, not at the edges; the two sutures are provided with large ornamental stitches of purple thread. The bride, however, is not to stay there very long, as she has barely squatted down on the *balandán* when her mother pulls it away from under her, and takes possession of the same. Here also the *mañlakkát* dons her customary attire, — jacket, headband and the rest, — as her rôle is finished by this time.

The parents of the boy usually prepare a banquet for all present; chickens or pigs and dogs are slaughtered, according to the social standing of the owners of the house, but, as previously noted, no shaman performs the *maxanito*. Should the *bálat* be killed on this occasion, which is not absolutely necessary, as the boy's parents may prefer to keep it alive, neither bride nor groom, nor any of the girl's relatives, is allowed to partake of it. If any of them should infringe this taboo and eat the meat of the *bálat* pig, his or her children, whether born already or to be born in the future, would die a certain death. The same prohibition obtains with reference to the cakes. It is certainly a great sacrifice for an Isneg not to partake of a meal of pork and rice, and only the fear of some dire punishment such as that of death for his children could effectively check his appetite in that direction. But in nearly all cases the boy's parents slaughter some other animal, of which all present are allowed to partake. It goes without saying that a copious flow of *básí* keeps the whole company in merriment, otherwise you could not very well call it a marriage feast.

The principal ceremony, however, consists in the distribution of gifts, of which there are two classes:

1. The *ákit* (from which the whole marriage ceremony takes its name, *mañakit:* to perform a marriage ceremony): these are gifts of beads, clothes, etc., offered by the boy's relatives and outsiders to the women of the girl's party in exchange for a certain amount of cakes, or some part of the *bálat*, in case the latter is slaughtered.

2. The *tugnúl:* gifts of spears, headaxes, *xúsi* jars, etc., also offered by the boy's relatives and outsiders, but this time to the men of the girl's party, again in exchange for cakes or portions of the *bálat*.

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Those of the guests who proffer neither *ákit* nor *tugnúl* are not allowed to partake either of the sweets or of the *bálat* (which is said to be sold); but they can eat any other food that is prepared for this occasion.

And then comes the presentation of the *tádug* or price agreed upon at the *amómăn*. The *tádug*, which is paid by the boy's parents and becomes the exclusive property of the girl's parents, may be given entirely at this juncture, but it very often happens that only a partial payment is made at this time, and that the rest is paid later, either all at once or in instalments. The latter course very often gives rise to vehement quarrels, as the groom's parents are bent on protracting the payment as long as possible, while those of the bride are anxious to settle the matter without delay.

And all the time bride and groom remain almost completely excluded from all participation in these ceremonics. They do not receive even the smallest present on this occasion, and as far as *ákit*, *tugnúl* and *tádug* are concerned, they are mere lookers-on.

All this goes to show that a girl in the family is a precious asset to the Isneg. Besides the *tádug*, the exclusive property of her parents, there are all the objects that go to her relatives at the time of the *ákit;* and all this in exchange for a pig, the *bálat*, and a certain amount of cakes. All that the relatives of the boy get out of it is partaking of a feast a couple of times, at the *amómăn* and at the *ákit*, and eating a few cakes, which after all are not so very highly esteemed. But they will have their revenge in time, of course, as they also have marriageable girls among their relatives. And so, everything considered, nobody is the loser, and certainly not the young couple: although they have received no gifts, their share of the inheritance is handed to them at this time by their respective parents, and then they have one another. Happiness, I dare believe, is very real on both sides, except perhaps in a few instances where one of them or both married merely to comply with the wishes of their elders. But

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head. In February 1929, a man from Aputan had come home from a distant town to find his wife dead and buried. One day, when I was visiting the place, a few days afterwards, I saw him come back from his work some time before noon, and walk toward the cemetery, which was situated at a little distance from the settlement. While on his way, he wept and lamented in a loud voice. After he had reached the tomb of his wife, I could still distinctly hear him lamenting and crying intermittently for about half an hour. The neighbors told me that this had been repeated every day since he came back home and that the same scene would probably be enacted in the same way for several days to come.

And so we reach the close of this most important period, namely the *obóbāt* ceremony which ends mourning once for all. Indeed after the *obóbāt* all taboos cease, *lapát* (tabooed) coconuts have been freed (*inúkas*), all signs of mourning are gone, and if some of the relatives are not yet prepared to forget the deceased, they merely resort to *magló* in order to continue to show their undying love.

During the *obóbāt*, pigs are usually offered in sacrifice, while the *maxanito* is performed by the shamaness, who at the time is supposed to be obsessed by the spirit or *kadudawd* of the deceased. The deceased, through her mouth, generally voices all his grievances against the living, whether they be present or absent, and insists on all his dues being rendered him. Nevertheless, if no pigs are killed and a dog is the only animal to be offered in sacrifice, no *maxanito* takes place.

About the middle of the ceremony, after the killing of the dog, either before or after eating, the mourners proceed to change their apparel, they *magba-bát*. If the deceased was a married person, it is the duty of one of the male relatives, either of the husband or of the wife (no matter which of the two departed this life), to give new clothes and a string of beads to the surviving widow or widower. As soon as the said male relative (*mama-bát*) has handed the new clothes to the survivor, the latter leaves the group and goes into some corner of the house in order to change his or her apparel, which action is always accompanied by a fresh outburst of grief and loud lamentations on his or her part. After the brand-new garments have been donned, he or she again joins the company, and is adorned by the *mama-bát* in person with the string of beads he has brought for the purpose.

000 in these jars, together with the beads. The jars are
523 valued up to ₱200 and bead up to ₱150 each. They
[436] are usually inherited in the family as marriage dow-
[431] ries; but may be received as indemnity for injuries.
[425] Sometimes labels, in the ancient script, are chiseled
[583] on these jars. According to authorities, when the
[680] people came here, they had a high culture and read
212 and wrote fluently in the script; but this culture grad-
178 ually lessened from disuse until now there are only
523 a few treasured ancient manuscripts remaining.

415 One type of basket is used. The lip is circuar-
285 formed on rattan. The bottom is drawn out to four corners on which is secured a rattan base. Both wicker and twilled basket weaves are used, and the best ones are ornamented with colored lines and conventional designs. These baskets are woven in different sizes to fit various needs; so that a good housewife has a whole set of them which will nest together There are also some especially shaped baskets for particular uses.

415 At meal time the cooked rice is ladled out on new
264 banana leaves placed on the floor, and the other food may be placed in polished, half-coconut shells. These are also used as water cups, finger bowls, and general containers. The family squat around and help themselves to the food. Their fingers are washed and, being more convenient, are used in place of forks.

262 The rice has a pinkish hue, is sticky, has a good flavor, and is the basic food of the people. With this may be eaten portions of the flesh of fish, shrimp, snails, crabs, crocodiles, lizards, frogs, ants, chickens, 000 birds, or deer. The vegetables may be: tomatoes, egg-

1 [ancient Chinese -- ANALYST] 8

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The laziness of the Isneg man has become almost proverbial in Apayaw; he resents it of course, but what can be done about it? The Isneg are living in one of the richest provinces of the Philippines agriculturally, and nevertheless these last years, famine has desolated the land at every turn.

Once while at Alumani, I went to visit a few friends: three of them, the father and his two sturdy sons, the older one a widower, the younger one a bachelor, were living together in a house surrounded by the most fertile fields imaginable; and still they complained and said that they were starving to death, because there were no women to till the soil.

The year 1928 was a lean one almost all over the province, but Karagawan men preferred to squat down in their houses and feed on the flowers of the coconut tree rather than come to Kabugaw and earn a ganta (three liters) of rice a day by doing work that could easily be done by boys of twelve years of age: this work was too hard for them.

About the same time I had to go to Bayag, which is some forty miles distant from Kabugaw, a two days' walk. I sent my carriers one day ahead and gave them rations of rice for two days, in order to preclude any excuse for their not reaching their destination at least at the same time as myself. The next day I met the fellows about noon, sitting in a little hut some ten miles from home and cooking their last meal but one. Having rice they did not care for anything else. They had passed a day and a half walking ten miles, cooking rice, chewing betel nut, and . . . resting.

I could adduce a score of examples like this, all from personal experience. But after all why should we blame the Isneg for it? They were reared in years of plenty, when the smallest amount of work brought the largest possible returns; at the beginning of the lean years they consumed all the rice that had been hoarded up for years; and now the hard times have come: when a tree has been growing in a slanting direction for several years, can you make it lean to the other side in its old age? The Bontok Igorot is industrious and always ready to handle a job that may bring him some money; but he is living among rocks and cliffs, where even weeds and grasses refuse to thrive. The Isneg on the contrary are living in an exceedingly fertile country: up to recent times their district was closed to the outside world for lack of roads, and this prevented them from conducting active trade on any large scale and from selling the surplus

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461 of their products to the members of other tribes living in less favored
251 surroundings. Why should they have worked for things with which
433 they could do nothing? Add to this that their needs have always
487 been so very small that they would not have known what to do with
152 the money that would have been given them in exchange for their crops.

It may perhaps be hoped that the members of the younger generation will be less deserving of the reputation of laziness rightly affixed to the Isneg name, as they have never seen the fat years of their fathers, and so will more or less become inured to hard work. But when the years of plenty are again at the door, will they resist the temptation of resting from their exertions? Civilization is bringing them new needs, and roads are being opened to allow them to get rid advantageously of their superfluous crops: so there may be change.

461 On one of my first visits to Nagbabalayan, I was sitting one evening
152 with a large group of Isneg, old and young, on the porch of the teacher's house. It was dark, and the Isneg were asking questions about sun and moon, about light and darkness, etc. So it happened in the course of the conversation that I referred to the protracted darkness of the regions around the poles, where the sun would not rise for months at a time. On hearing this, a young Isneg man, quite exultant at the prospect, exclaimed with enthusiasm: "What a fine thing! Not to have to work for months! I wish we were living in a place like that". That's the Isneg; how he would curse old Adam, if he could but read the first chapters of Genesis.

152 The Isneg are also very easily dejected in time of sickness, and at the approach of any kind of hardship. The Karagawan case just mentioned would perhaps better have been placed here: it was really a case of utter dejection on account of the terrible famine that desolated their settlement, a thing they had never yet experienced in their whole life.

A few months ago I went down the Apayaw, and at a certain moment one of my rowers inadvertently cut himself with a headax that was lying on the bottom of the canoe: the wound was not at all serious, but the man lost a good amount of blood. For more than an hour he remained sitting in the boat without moving his oar, his face the picture of utter woe and desolation: you might have thought he was in a dying condition. He arose from his stupor and was his old self again only a long time after the blood had stopped flowing. Avoidance of hardship, not endurance, is a part of the Isneg system; hence their poor resistance to the blows of an adverse fortune.

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of the soil that are cultivated among the Isneg. This little treatise on Isneg agriculture might have been written by a native, as I try to put mysdlf as much as possible in the place of the Isneg.

I. Isneg Farming in General

It is freely stated all over Apayaw that, in former times, rice was always abundant in each and every village. Not to have old rice (*kópag*) in store, meaning "rice that had been reaped one or more years previously",[1] was the exception rather than the rule; and there were always in existence a goodly number of granaries where rice was kept that had been harvested up to four years back.

A famine (*dasmág* or *ulát*), under the circumstances, might be called an unknown entity, were it not that *dasmág* and *ulát* are genuine Isneg terms, and so that the thing they refer to must have made its appearance at least occasionally. Actually, however, every few years one hears about a famine devastating the land and bringing in its wake a tremendous amount of distress and misery. The children, of course, are usually the most to be pitied, as they are liable to be permanently affected by the lack of sufficient nourishment.

It might be objected that Apayaw is a rich agricultural country, that it is covered with vegetation throughout the year, that rice is not the only crop that can be raised with advantage, that there is an abundance of tropical forests containing plenty of trees and plants of which one or more parts are edible, and consequently that starvation must be impossible. To this I must answer that the cause is not to be found in the soil or in the climatic conditions of the country, but in the character of its inhabitants. The Isneg is easily dejected, he cannot stand adversity; if his ordinary means of sustenance fail, he is at a loss what to do, he just sits down and moons. Even when remunerative work is offered to him, an Isneg who has not the usual amount of rice at his disposal has rarely the courage to perform it: he is simply down.

Fortunately the average Isneg woman shows herself much more courageous, and, where her husband proves a dismal failure, she it

[1] Rice that has been kept for one or two years, because its owners, being in mourning for a dead child, abstained from eating it, is called *diúnág*. In native words occurring in the present paper the accent (') is placed over the accented vowel. Accented *n* (*ń*) denotes the ng sound in English "bring". For full phonetic key, see M. Vanoverbergh. The Isneg. Publ. Cath. Anthrop. Conf., 1932, v. 3, no. 1, pp. 3-4.

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is who finds a means to keep the wolf from the door. On occasions like these, it is clearly apparent how training and experience have rendered the Isneg girl fit for meeting almost any kind of emergency, while the customary indolence of the male makes him an easy prey to downheartedness, so much so that he becomes utterly unable to save himself and his family from the pangs of hunger.

If we come to consider the situation from the point of view of the Isneg, it is not to be wondered at that nowadays famines are of rather frequent occurrence in Apayaw. Indeed, foreign authorities have invaded the land: not understanding the position of the Isneg with reference to the tutelary spirits of the country, they have all but extirpated headhunting. What can be expected after this? Being denied their usual offerings, the spirits stop protecting the crops. It is true that the Isneg does not cease to propitiate them by all possible means, but the great sacrifice has been rendered almost impossible, and so the fields have become a prey to evil imps, while the protectors of the rice, the purveyors of the Isneg, have become either powerless or indifferent.

Nevertheless, under ordinary circumstances, the average Isneg raises enough rice to last him and his family for a year. He may not be able to store it up for future consumption, but what he has usually keeps him alive from one harvest to the next, and besides almost always allows him to offer an occasional sacrifice to the spirits and to invite his relatives and neighbors to the ceremony. Such is the normal state of affairs with the great majority of the people.

Now in almost every agglomeration one will find at least one man who is styled "rich" (*ba-nâń*), a man who raises rice in abundance (*arugammây*) and consequently is able to offer one or more solemn sacrifices every year and to provide food to the inhabitants of several villages for days at a time. However, these so-called rich people do not fare any better than the average citizen, as their surplus is easily consumed at their *sây-âm* or solemn sacrifices.

On the other hand, there are always a few who may be called poor (*nakimrût*): their rice, if they raise any at all, never lasts them the whole year round, and, in the meanwhile, they have to content themselves with Indian corn, yams, taro and the rest; but only in times of famine, are they obliged to feed on coconut flowers and other outlandish foods. Others again seem never to be able to make both ends meet: these are the *sîbud*; their rice, which should be sufficient for ordinary persons, is usually gone almost before they are aware of it,

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and, in any case, it is much too easily consumed to allow them any degree of comfort.

Several reasons may be assigned for the exceptional poverty of these people. The spirit *Laṅdúsān* is very often the culprit. If it happens through his machinations that people are brought to the verge of starvation, the latter are said to be *malaṅdúsān*. Sometimes, too, a want of civic spirit that has been observed in a certain person, may induce other people to pray the spirits to have his plants consumed by animals, and consequently to cause him to become poor. In such a case, the enemies of this unworthy citizen are said to *maglábuy*.

Other people are simply *nakurmáṅ*, they are unlucky: they cannot raise anything on their fields, and the result is wretchedness and want of food.

It may also happen that some people are unable to complete any kind of work in their rice fields: they are *nadannág*. Whatever they try to accomplish, whether planting or weeding, whether clearing a field or fencing it, they can never bring it to a finish. This, of course, almost inevitably leads to poverty and ultimately ends in the lack of the necessary livelihood. Nevertheless there is an easy remedy to this sad situation: the only thing to be done is to prepare *inapúxān* (betel for chewing), and to offer it to the spirit in charge by laying it down somewhere within his reach, at the same time reciting the following prayer, which was given me by *Púlog* from Dangla (O dialect, Main branch):[2]

Iápugko iáw aníto ta dínā- pagdandannaxán (I offer betel [for chewing] to you, spirit, so that you do not make me lazy).[3]

A rather remote, but very real cause of destitution, is a person's habit of being late (*nekábut*) whenever some work has to be done. In such a case the only means for him to escape being numbered sooner or later among the needy is to shake off his inbred torpor and to imitate his more diligent companions.

In this connection I should be allowed to mention the lines of the hand, as the art of palmistry is far from being unknown among the Isneg, and a person who is *rappád*, which means that one of the lines

[2] The way to prepare *inapúxān* will soon be explained at length. For explanation of Isneg dialects and branches, see M. Vanoverbergh, Isneg Life Cycle, II, Marriage, Death, and Burial, Publ. Cath. Anthrop. Conf., 1938, v. 3, no. 3, pp. 261-64.

[3] Lest I be prevented from finishing my work. This is said only of work in the rice fields: clearing land, planting rice, etc.

with a row of feathers; a head band of small beads, *sajaban;* earrings, *lubay;* a necklace of larger beads, *ambusao;* red spangles hanging from back of the head, *bajuoyboy;* red spangles hanging on forehead, *pati;* small anklet beads, *pasag;* a bead wrist band, *sinali,* and a silver ring, *sankilat.* Her lips are made red with betel nut, *ma-ma,* and she makes a charming picture. The man also has a striking appearance, being dressed in his breechcloth or G-string, *abag;* red-embroidered black pull-on shirt, *baddo;* bag, *pulsa;* neckband with a handsome shell breast-piece, *bising;* and an ornamented head dress formed of red and blue cloth entwined in a turban, *linijot.* This is topped with odorous leaves.

The people have no knowledge of weaving or pottery making. They obtain their clothing, pots, salt, and other materials from Ilocano traders in exchange for their honey, beeswax, rope, baskets and mats.

FAMILY LIFE AND OCCUPATIONS

The people live in substantially constructed houses which have artistic lines. The usual size is about 20 x 34 feet. In building a house, the four long, sturdy corner posts and two central side posts are first set in the ground. They are shaped from some very hard and durable timber such as *molave* or *ipil.* On these posts the structure is framed with heavy, hand-hewn lumber. The timbers are so neatly hewn with miter, bead, feather, and tongue joints that they do not require further fastening. The roof is finished first. Three heavy, well-braced trusses rest on the posts. Their bearing, or upper sides are hewn into an outward bow which will shape the roof in an equilateral

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832 [435] [278] (*kaddát*), which are bought from the shaman and remain her own secret. A jacket or something of equal value is the usual price paid by a lover to the old woman who furnishes him with the much-coveted charm. These herbs are either ground into powder or otherwise pressed and crumpled until they are unrecognizable, and then mixed with coconut oil (*dḗnu*), lest an uninitiated person get to know them, and their virtues disappear: indeed, a love charm whose ingredients, the oil excepted, have been called by name, be it by the shaman herself or anybody else, is completely valueless. This is certainly a wise precaution, otherwise the shaman would not receive many presents of jackets and so on: Isneg youngsters would be able to find the herbs without anybody's help, as they are undoubtedly very common plants, although I am ignorant of their identity; they also probably differ from shaman to shaman. Anyhow if this supposed loss of virtue through the pronunciation of the name of the herbs in question is not a shaman's trick, it certainly serves the latter's interests perfectly well.

[293] Once the boy has obtained his love charm, which he places in some small receptacle, usually a small bottle, he generally carries it along at least when he goes to court the girl of his choice, and he usually keeps it all the time either in his *fúput* (belongings rolled up in an *amakattán* kerchief and carried on the back at the waist) or in his *kḗláy*, lest he lose it or somebody else lay hands on it. Whenever an Isneg lover goes to see his girl in the evening, he does not fail to pour some of this precious ointment on the palms of both hands and pass the latter over his hair, so that the girl may be forced to love him,—at least if he can do so unobserved, that is if there is no light to betray his actions. This, however, might be called only a measure of precaution or something to be done by all means, lest perchance a better and surer way be wanting. And indeed the love charm is considered as almost irresistible if it comes in mediate or immediate contact with the girl's body..

832 276 576 The inveterate custom of chewing betel nut, betel pepper and lime is not confined to the older people among the Isneg: youngsters very soon learn to imitate their elders in that respect. The asking and giving of the necessary ingredients is, if not the only, at least one of the most usual forms of salutation, and no polite Isneg will forego either to ask or to proffer these precious chewing materials, whenever he happens to meet somebody, and more especially when he is conversing with somebody who is more or less familiar with him, for instance, a relative, a partner in some kind of work, etc.

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Whereas a banquet is almost always a part of the ceremony and *bási* usually flows freely, it is not to be wondered at that a few altercations and occasional hot words are interspersed in the conversation at regular intervals. Both parties of course look for their own interests: the one tries to get the largest possible amount of valuables, while the other is bent on reducing them to a minimum. Although the whole affair usually ends in a mutual agreement, nevertheless it may happen that at this juncture the meeting is broken up and that no further steps are taken toward the final marriage. Here, however, one has again to reckon with the two young people themselves, who may have set their minds very firmly on the attainment of their hearts' desire, and so an agreement may have to be reached, even though one of the parties is loath to conform. If nevertheless the *amómăn* miscarries, the reason is usually to be found in the all too high price exacted by the parents of the girl, or on the all too low value at which the girl is esteemed by those of the boy. But here also the engaged couple may act on their own initiative, as has been explained when stating the case in which the girl's parents refused the *simbă-* beads during the *sumpád* ceremony.

It should be noted here that the relatives of the groom who take part in the *amómăn* would hardly dare to start on this important expedition without having provided themselves with the customary amulets, lest some harm befall them. These amulets are called *talimúñăy*, and consist of certain herbs that remain the secret of the shaman.

Although by this time the Isneg know very well the use and value of currency, nevertheless in matrimonial contracts they stick to the old way of paying in kind, and so the *tádug* consists of what the Isneg prize above anything else, namely jars and beads. To these are sometimes added plates, clothes, etc., according to the agreement reached by both parties at the *amómăn*. It would be very hard to say what is the regular price paid for an Isneg girl, as everything depends on the means at the disposal of the interested party, but one *xúsi* jar at least and a few beads should be considered as the very smallest amount that could be exacted by the girl's parents. It is not the place here to enumerate the numerous kinds of *xúsi* jars and beads, each with its own native name, that are known to the Isneg. Suffice it to say that not a few of these jars will be valued at fifty dollars, although from our viewpoint they may be worth less than one tenth of that amount; but our evaluation is not that of the Isneg,

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and, if they consider them to be as valuable as that, it is their own business after all. The same may be said with reference to the beads: a single one, if very valuable in the eyes of the natives, may command the price of a carabao or water buffalo, from thirty to fifty dollars, while other ones may be had almost for the asking.

All these jars are earthenware of Chinese make, imported from China long before the arrival of the Spaniards; consequently antiquity is an important item in the estimation of their value. Jars that have been imported recently usually command a much lower price. A great many of the beads also antedate the coming of the Spaniards and were also originally imported from China. Actually, however, beads of all kinds have been put on the market and their origin is very often shrouded in mystery. Isneg plates are all made of coarse earthenware and have mostly been introduced from China; but, although most of them date from comparatively recent times, they are still of the same kind, shape, color and composition as those they have replaced, as may be proved by fragments occasionally unearthed in places formerly inhabited by Isneg. These people certainly hold fast to their old ways and customs; modern crockery is not to their taste. As the Isneg do not weave their own clothes, the latter have of necessity to be bought from outsiders.

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No really important business can be transacted, of course, among the Isneg, without remembering the cravings of the stomach. In the ordinary course of events one or more pigs are slaughtered according to the social standing of the girl's parents. If they are too poor to indulge in such prodigality, a chicken will do. In both cases a dog may complete the menu, although this is not absolutely required. No special name is given to the killing and consuming of the chicken; but if one or more pigs enter the lists, the whole ceremony is called *pildáp*. Nevertheless in a few isolated cases, when the people are much too poor, the banquet is completely left out, and the deliberations are conducted on empty stomachs.

All during the *amómān* the men conduct everything that is connected with the *pildáp*. The *dorarákit* or shamaness does not interfere in the least.

000 in these jars, together with the beads. The jars are
523 valued up to ₱200 and bead up to ₱150 each. They
[435] are usually inherited in the family as marriage dow-
[431] ries; but may be received as indemnity for injuries.
[425] Sometimes labels, in the ancient script, are chiseled
[583] on these jars. According to authorities, when the
[681] people came here, they had a high culture and read
212 and wrote fluently in the script; but this culture grad-
178 ually lessened from disuse until now there are only
523 a few treasured ancient manuscripts remaining.

415 One type of basket is used. The lip is circuar-
285 formed on rattan. The bottom is drawn out to four corners on which is secured a rattan base. Both wicker and twilled basket weaves are used, and the best ones are ornamented with colored lines and conventional designs. These baskets are woven in different sizes to fit various needs; so that a good housewife has a whole set of them which will nest together There are also some especially shaped baskets for particular uses.

415 At meal time the cooked rice is ladled out on new
264 banana leaves placed on the floor, and the other food may be placed in polished, half-coconut shells. These are also used as water cups, finger bowls, and general containers. The family squat around and help themselves to the food. Their fingers are washed and, being more convenient, are used in place of forks.

262 The rice has a pinkish hue, is sticky, has a good flavor, and is the basic food of the people. With this may be eaten portions of the flesh of fish, shrimp, snails, crabs, crocodiles, lizards, frogs, ants, chickens,
000 birds, or deer. The vegetables may be: tomatoes, egg-

1 [ancient Chinese -- ANALYST 8]

They have a feast: rice
basi, and the greater part of a pig or dog are served. 584
Then business begins. The parents and relatives of 583
the youth, arrange the amount of the dowry, *todog*. [574
If it is of less value, the youth must stay in the house 262]
of the girl. When the contract is agreed upon, it is
strictly adhered to; and the youth and girl are said
to be married.

The real ceremony, *aqueb*, then follows. The pa- 585
rents of the girl bring pigs and baskets of rice-cakes
to the house of the youth. The girl comes in company
with several old women. They all stop about one hun-
dred yards from the house of the youth. There they
are met by the parents or mother of the youth, bear-
ing valuable gifts for the parents of the girl. The
youth's mother then requests the girl from her pa-
rents. Upon approval, the whole company moves to
the house, where the mother presents her gifts to the
parents of the girl. The rice cakes are sold to the re- [735]
latives of the youth, the nominal price being P1.00
per basket. Then the merry-making starts and con-
tinues through the night. The youth and girl must [784]
not eat the sweets, as one of them would die. In the
morning final payments of the dowry are made and
distributed. Then the young couple are considered to
be properly married, but still controlled by their pa-
rents.

When the young woman feels that she is about to 844
give birth, either the husband or the mother-in-law
will twist a piece of cloth, light one end, and place it,
the *pungan*, at the door. With it is the coconut shred- [42]
der, *igad*. These guard the woman while delivering so
that no *anito* can come into the house to annoy the

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in the power of my drugs instead of following exclusively his own superstitions. At least I inferred from his conduct that this was his state of mind; and I believe I was not far from the truth. Similar cases are frequent also among the Isneg: doctors and sanitary inspectors know all too well about them.

"Be generous toward your friends. A miser is abhorred among us. If you bring down a wild boar or deer in the forest, share your good luck with your relatives and friends. These things were not worked for by you; fate brought them into your hands. If you have tobacco, share it with your friends; be a generous companion to every Isneg. When you offer a sacrifice be not stingy with the *bási*, and give everybody who happens to come along his share of rice and viands. Would you be happy if somebody prevented you from participating in a feast? Would you like to be excluded at the distribution of food and drink? Never cause your companions to say that you *umaxáwa* (or *iaxáwa*, "to put away dainties when a visitor is seen approaching the house, lest one should have to let him have a share in them") or *gumisdd* (to close the doors at the appearance of a stranger while eating some delicious food, for the same reason): these are very opprobrious terms. With reference to the Ibanag, remember that those in authority have come here to help us, and more especially the white man: he has unbounded riches, and he has come here for the evident purpose of spending it upon us. Even though some of us are considered rich among ourselves, they are poor when compared with him. Let him pay double the price for whatever he needs. Is he not rich beyond anything you can imagine? Do not exclude him from your feasts, if he wants to participate in them, but expect him to be generous toward you in all transactions and business affairs."

Kaddw, who is considered the richest man in Apayaw, has come to my house more than once in order to sell articles which he could not get rid of elsewhere, and he usually charged us twice the regular price. When we told him that he is a rich man, which by the way he likes to hear very much, and that he at least should remember how we feed many of his people without remuneration, when we told him that he should help us in order to be merciful to the poor Isneg instead of taking advantage of our good will, he invariably retorted by saying that we have money galore, and what should we do with it except distribute it to the Isneg. Is this not the reason why we live among them? And *Kaddw* is not the only Isneg who entertains such an opinion.

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577 possession, he will rightfully suppose you to be a thief. Anything
421 that can be found in the forest is the property of the first man who
685 can lay hands upon it: so if you locate bees on a tree and see that the latter has been marked, leave them, they are not yours to take any more, the person who marked the tree will sooner or later come to claim
577 his property. Pay your debts faithfully, never forget about them.
426 The heirs of a deceased person inherit his debts as well as his property, and the creditor will appear some day to ask payment from their
686 hands. In case of a raid upon the house of a culprit,—for instance, when a girl has been made pregnant, or when a married woman has returned to her parents whether against the will of her husband or because the latter rightfully divorced her for adultery, etc., and her parents refuse to give back to the offended husband what he gave them at the time of his marriage, or when somebody has been killed among people who are on friendly terms with one another,—then of course, if you are a relative of the offended party, you are free to rob the house of all its valuables: this is not stealing, it is simple justice.

577 "You should not be so strict, however, with reference to the Ibanag:
609 almost anything is allowed when you deal with them. Plain stealing
421 of course should be avoided, but for the rest it would be hard to qualify anything by the name of injustice, when the Ibanag are in ques-
426 tion. Here, nevertheless, you should make a distinction: you may have good friends among them or they may be your guests, and then
• 437 of course strictly respect them and keep away from their property.
686 But, deceit in transactions, escaping the payment of a debt, and so
685 on, which would be downright dishonesty if done among ourselves, are just a sign of cleverness on your part, when the Ibanag are concerned. A good Isneg is strictly just with all his friends, with all the people of every village at peace with his own; enemies have no rights in the eyes of an Isneg, and the rights of the Ibanag are far from having the same sacredness as those of your own people".

685 Two years ago a Tubungan (near Abbil) man had been robbed of
628 a few of his valuables, while he was away on a trading expedition into Ilocos. After much investigating and lying in wait near the
[694] house of the suspected thief, the owner had become convinced of the latter's guilt, and immediately brought in a complaint, as the ac-
177 cused denied any participation in the theft. I met the plaintiff and his father, on their way to Kabugaw, in the municipal building of Namaltugan. Talking about the matter, I asked them what would

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and, if they consider them to be as valuable as that, it is their own business after all. The same may be said with reference to the beads: a single one, if very valuable in the eyes of the natives, may command the price of a carabao or water buffalo, from thirty to fifty dollars, while other ones may be had almost for the asking.

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bamboo grass stuck in the ground in a slanting way. The *anitáp* is a very common tree; its flowers are white.

It is customary to place *xappidán* next to the last *bonóbon* (seedling) that has been transplanted, so that the tobacco may reach a strong and healthy growth. The *xappidán* is a herb, some eight inches tall; it is found in forested areas.

Other amulets that may be used in the *bakâú* (tobacco field) are:

Leaves of the *daúlá* (Cordyline terminalis [L.] Kunth.), the ti or palm lily, on account of their red color. The ti or palm lily is much used all over the Mountain Province in connection with pagan sacrifices, and the leaves play a prominent part in the ornaments displayed by dancers.

Talimúñay (Clerodendron sp.), a tall herb with beautiful red flowers and round leaves, growing in forested areas. It causes the tobacco leaves to become red when they are mature.

Padâyaw: A herb, some eight inches tall, found in forests. It causes people to admire and praise (*dāyáwan*) the tobacco.

Dalúyāg: A low herb, growing almost anywhere. It prevents the tobacco from being attacked by harmful insects and worms.

If, nevertheless, the tobacco field has been invaded by worms, one must have recourse to the *amrás* to drive them away. The *amrás* is a small herb with blue flowers; it has a very offensive smell and grows almost in any place.

Tobacco is one of the few products exported by the Isneg on a large scale and it is comparatively little used for home consumption: indeed, chewing betel is much more common than smoking. It is frequently resorted to, however, for poisoning fish, and so even low grades of tobacco are sometimes encountered in the *bakân*, for instance the *daméro*, a variety with large leaves, not much esteemed for smoking purposes.

When the tobacco has almost attained its full growth, the Isneg prune the stalks (*magkapún*), nipping off the buds that grow in the axils, and the younger leaves, in order to improve the quality of the older leaves.

As soon as a certain amount of leaves are completely mature, they are culled (*magátu*) by the women, who pick them with their fingers.

The first leaves to be gathered are the lower ones, the *anây*, which are not much esteemed: they rarely affect a smoker with giddiness. The *palâyug*, growing higher up, are considered the best.

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low box about three feet square, filled with earth. In its center are set on end three long stones in a triangular position, which hold the clay cooking pot over the fire beneath. Fire is obtained by striking flint with steel and kindling tinder with the spark; or by rubbing two bamboo sticks together. There are also a round-bottomed iron frying pan and various paddles and ladles. Above the stove is a drying rack, and against the end wall are secured shelves which hold the old Chinese plates and other articles and materials. This end of the room is used for the kitchen, sometimes as the dining room, and as a general work shop. Woven sleeping mats are used, and there are chests for the securing of precious articles. Light from the fire furnishes illumination at night.

There should also be several lovely old ancestral Chinese jars, *gasi*, probably of the Ming dynasty period. In these is kept the *basi*, a pleasant wine made from the juice of the sugar cane. These ancient Chinese jars are much prized by the people. They have a typical shape, and range in size from one to three feet in height. Some of them have dragons and other figures embossed on them. Others have pictures of Chinese scenes and conventional patterns: this being especially true of the white jars with blue designs. They are glazed; some in lovely shapes of brown, yellow and blue. The people have quite a lore about them. There are a number of different varieties and different qualities in each variety. The *dordori* stands first; next is the *garadogod*. Some of the others are the *dinalasan*, *banaag*, *kindi-ingan*, *binilibil*, *boddi* and *sarang*. Much of the wealth of the Apayaos is held in these jars, together with the beads.

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In a certain place, not so long ago, they had a teacher whose moral conduct was, to say the least, rather objectionable. When policemen raided the houses of the Isneg in order to hunt up all children of school age, several Isneg parents bluntly told them that they would gladly send their sons, but with reference to their daughters, as long as that teacher remained in charge, never; and they were perfectly right. That man has since been dismissed from the service.

A few defects, which will be recorded in due time, occasionally mar the picture of Isneg family life; but on the whole, it must be said that the Isneg commonly live up to their comparatively high standards with regard to this most important unit of society. Nevertheless the whole life of the Isneg, from the cradle to the grave, is dominated by the fear of the spirits; superstition, magic and spirit worship are inextricably interwoven with their whole life. If a Caucasian or, to take an example from people born, living and dying in the same surroundings, a Negrito had to live under such a continual fear of the supernatural and to comply with such a large number of practices in order to propitiate higher beings or to elude their malevolent intentions, I think his life would be simply miserable. The Isneg, however, do not seem to mind, and although always on the lookout for disagreeable interventions from above, they live a life free of care and are never anxious about the future. They rarely concern themselves with what the next day might bring them, and live happy and content if to-day their immediate wants are provided for: to-morrow will take care of itself.

This seeming contradiction pervades their whole life. On the one hand, they have to take innumerable precautions for the future with regard to superior beings. On the other hand, they do not seem to care a jot for the days to come even with reference to such essential needs as food and raiment. The solution of this apparent puzzle seems to me to be found in the fact that the Isneg do conscientiously every day what they think they have to do and leave the rest to fate. With reference to the supernatural, if they take all possible means to propitiate the spirits, and disregard no taboos, and so on, they feel assured that nothing untoward will happen to them on the part of the spirits. With reference to daily sustenance and the rest, they feel no such assurance, as they know by practical experience that they cannot control the forces of nature, rain, storms, the growth of plants, etc. By strictly observing all injunctions of the shamans and all traditional rites and practices, they believe it possible to control the

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"An Isneg boy must be active and diligent; no girl likes a lazy boy, and a wife will run away from her husband if he is a sluggard. Do your part of the ordinary work, as required by Isneg custom, and besides try to earn some money now and then in order to be able to buy garments for yourself, and a piece of cloth or a trinket for the girl you love or the wife you married. In this, however, you are not obliged to choose the hardest way: for instance, if you have a good amount of rice in your granary, you may have either two girls or your wife pound it, so that you can go to sell it to the Ibanag; that is an easy means of earning money. Do heavy work only when there is no other way out, but the work you have to do, attend to it and do it well; except of course when you have to work for wages somewhere for the Ibanag or when you have to furnish free labor to the Government. In such cases you must not unduly tire yourself; it will be time enough for you to move when they are coming to watch you. They will rarely fail to do so anyhow. So why should you make unnecessary exertions when unobserved? For the rest do not give your own people a pretext for calling you an idler. After all your duties are not so manifold; the greatest part of the year you have almost nothing to do except loiter around and amuse yourself. But then, you are men, and why should there be women in the world if they did not take the lion's share whenever there is question of routine work? The woman is the recognized breadwinner; a woman may practically rule the home, impose her will and dominate everything with her tongue, but the husband is the real king, his wife is his servant, she it is who has to provide him with food. A woman will ever be inferior to a man in all respects: her duty is to work, his to exact service. It should never be said about an Isneg girl or wife that she is not active and industrious, no boy will marry a lazy girl, and a husband will divorce a slothful wife. The woman is made for work: when she comes home, after having passed the whole morning laboring in the field, she will have to cook her husband's food, feed the pigs, pound the rice, clean the house, and so on, even though her husband may have been doing nothing for the whole day: he is a man, that is his right. When still young, you of the female sex have your hours of leisure, you are allowed to play occasionally and to amuse yourself; but once you are married, you have to work, you will be a wife and a mother, and for this reason obliged to work for your husband and for your children, and to provide them with their livelihood"

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The laziness of the Isneg man has become almost proverbial in Apayaw; he resents it of course, but what can be done about it? The Isneg are living in one of the richest provinces of the Philippines agriculturally, and nevertheless these last years, famine has desolated the land at every turn.

Once while at Alumani, I went to visit a few friends: three of them, the father and his two sturdy sons, the older one a widower, the younger one a bachelor, were living together in a house surrounded by the most fertile fields imaginable; and still they complained and said that they were starving to death, because there were no women to till the soil.

The year 1928 was a lean one almost all over the province, but Karagawan men preferred to squat down in their houses and feed on the flowers of the coconut tree rather than come to Kabugaw and earn a ganta (three liters) of rice a day by doing work that could easily be done by boys of twelve years of age: this work was too hard for them.

About the same time I had to go to Bayag, which is some forty miles distant from Kabugaw, a two days' walk. I sent my carriers one day ahead and gave them rations of rice for two days, in order to preclude any excuse for their not reaching their destination at least at the same time as myself. The next day I met the fellows about noon, sitting in a little hut some ten miles from home and cooking their last meal but one. Having rice they did not care for anything else. They had passed a day and a half walking ten miles, cooking rice, chewing betel nut, and . . . resting.

I could adduce a score of examples like this, all from personal experience. But after all why should we blame the Isneg for it? They were reared in years of plenty, when the smallest amount of work brought the largest possible returns; at the beginning of the lean years they consumed all the rice that had been hoarded up for years; and now the hard times have come: when a tree has been growing in a slanting direction for several years, can you make it lean to the other side in its old age? The Bontok Igorot is industrious and always ready to handle a job that may bring him some money; but he is living among rocks and cliffs, where even weeds and grasses refuse to thrive. The Isneg on the contrary are living in an exceedingly fertile country: up to recent times their district was closed to the outside world for lack of roads, and this prevented them from conducting active trade on any large scale and from selling the surplus

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461 of their products to the members of other tribes living in less favored
251 surroundings. Why should they have worked for things with which
433 they could do nothing? Add to this that their needs have always
487 been so very small that they would not have known what to do with
152 the money that would have been given them in exchange for their crops.

It may perhaps be hoped that the members of the younger generation will be less deserving of the reputation of laziness rightly affixed to the Isneg name, as they have never seen the fat years of their fathers, and so will more or less become inured to hard work. But when the years of plenty are again at the door, will they resist the temptation of resting from their exertions? Civilization is bringing them new needs, and roads are being opened to allow them to get rid advantageously of their superfluous crops: so there may be change.

461 On one of my first visits to Nagbabalayan, I was sitting one evening
152 with a large group of Isneg, old and young, on the porch of the teacher's house. It was dark, and the Isneg were asking questions about sun and moon, about light and darkness, etc. So it happened in the course of the conversation that I referred to the protracted darkness of the regions around the poles, where the sun would not rise for months at a time. On hearing this, a young Isneg man, quite exultant at the prospect, exclaimed with enthusiasm: "What a fine thing! Not to have to work for months! I wish we were living in a place like that". That's the Isneg; how he would curse old Adam, if he could but read the first chapters of Genesis.

152 The Isneg are also very easily dejected in time of sickness, and at the approach of any kind of hardship. The Karagawan case just mentioned would perhaps better have been placed here: it was really a case of utter dejection on account of the terrible famine that desolated their settlement, a thing they had never yet expericneed in their whole life.

A few months ago I went down the Apayaw, and at a certain moment one of my rowers inadvertently cut himself with a headax that was lying on the bottom of the canoe: the wound was not at all serious, but the man lost a good amount of blood. For more than an hour he remained sitting in the boat without moving his oar, his face the picture of utter woe and desolation: you might have thought he was in a dying condition. He arose from his stupor and was his old self again only a long time after the blood had stopped flowing. Avoidance of hardship, not endurance, is a part of the Isneg system; hence their poor resistance to the blows of an adverse fortune.

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626 hardest labor will be gladly accepted in order to avoid shame, which
558 to an Isneg seems to be a kind of synthesis of all evils. That is also
578 the reason why ridicule is such a powerful weapon among the Isneg. For fear of ridicule a man will cover himself modestly when appearing in the presence of women, and miscreants will resort to ridicule in order to induce a young man to commit the worst crimes. No Isneg can stand ridicule.

626 Among the Isneg pride and ambition are only second to shame as incentives for being virtuous and conducting oneself honorably; nevertheless they are far from having the same power as shame, and parents will use them in a much smaller degree than the latter motive.
[461] The indolence of the Isneg has considerably lessened the power of ambition and pride as a motive for complying with the tenets of their moral code.

And so also praise and encouragement, although they rarely fail to help an Isneg youngster onward on the path of duty, are much less powerful than the all-feared ridicule. Isneg parents, however, are very well aware of the fact that a little occasional praise and a timely word of encouragement will rarely fail to be appreciated by the child, and that they will often do very much for the latter's betterment or the continuance of its right behavior.

Flattery is not so much in their line, and it is comparatively rarely resorted to in order to make a young man or woman behave decently. In the case of smaller children, however, it will often be used with the best of results.

The hope of a reward is not always as powerful as the fear of punishment, at least in the case of the little ones. But allow me to reserve the treatment of this subject for one of the following paragraphs.

3. Methods of Training

861 I shall not enter here into a large number of details with reference
867 to the methods used in the training of children, as very much has been said already in my lengthy treatment of the moral code. I shall
[881] go over the whole matter rather quickly, the more so as there is no question of initiation or puberty rites among the Isneg.

[602] Although elders, whosoever they be, may occasionally take a hand in the training of children, nevertheless this task devolves principally on the parents, and to a certain extent also on the grandparents. The tribe or community as such has little or nothing to do with the moral upbringing of the younger members of any given settlement.

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183 act against their own code: they had no duty of hospitality, generosity
574 or gratitude toward the Ibanag; they lied, because to tell the truth
152 would have redounded to their disadvantage, nay, to exceeding hard-
577 ship, which they were completely right, at least in their own eyes, to try to avoid by all possible means; they were excused from acknowledging their deception, even after it had become patent and after they had learned about the identity of their visitors, on account of the shame which such an acknowledgment would have entailed.

171 This proves that it is sometimes very hard to understand the native's
577 position, and that one has to be careful not to judge him rashly. His code is occasionally very different from ours; and so both his and
181 our point of view, although entirely opposite one to the other, may sometimes be perfectly consistent. In the whole statement of this case and in its explanation, I have not been trying to propound theories; I have merely stated the facts and told the truth as it is, not theoretically, but practically.

461 Isneg teaching with reference to diligence and love of work is
183 usually accepted in its completeness by the fair sex. One meets with few downright lazy women in all Apayaw. But the males? As long as they are children, all right, the parents are there to look after that; but once they have grown up, especially once they are married, I think that even the few duties imposed upon them by their own code, are not always and universally complied with. The tropical climate, prevalent malarial fevers, usual years of plenty, a most fertile soil, forests abounding with deer, wild boars, bees, etc., besides timber, rattan, edible fruits, and other vegetable products, the lack of means of transportation, and so on, are not exactly inducements toward activity and industriousness. Nevertheless the duties are, I repeat it, so few, that it would be dangerous to qualify too great a number of
[171] men as transgressors of their own rules. Isneg adult men are usually lazy, it is undeniable, but they appear so more especially when we compare their behavior with that of other inhabitants of the Mountain Province, who are either living in densely populated areas or leading a precarious existence among rocks and cliffs. And so, even in this, Isneg teaching might perhaps be said to be fairly successful.

[152] The apathetic character of the generality of the Isneg renders
183 compliance with several points of their moral code comparatively easy; and so fits of anger and of jealousy, and boasting are not very
577 common. Talking about other people's defects in their absence is almost as common among the Isneg as among other races: it breaks
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584 me by the girl herself, and she did not seem to take the whole affair as at all serious; she did not look as if she was inclined to allow the boy to take possession of her heart, let alone of her whole body.

Marriages between grown-up boys and girls that are arranged by the parents without consulting the interested parties, or at least without the said youngsters having taken the first steps in that direction, are much more frequent, and in many cases the young people readily agree, either because they are not so particular about the qualities of their future partner, provided there be one, or because they are otherwise loath to go against the wishes of their elders. But as in the case of infant marriages, objections on the part of either of the two may be sufficient to prevent either the first proposal or all further developments.

The usual way, however, among our Isneg, is that the young man looks for the girl of his choice, wins her consent, and then informs his parents about the matter. After that the elders of both boy and girl take upon themselves the responsibility of all further transactions and ceremonies.

581 Now what qualities are supposed to make the perfect girl in the
832 eyes of an Isneg boy, or at least what is the boy looking for in the
826 girl to whom he will give his heart? She should be handsome (*napiyd*)
• 44 of course, which means that her skin should be clean, smooth and light-colored; the darker the uglier, the whiter the prettier, is a common Isneg criterion. If possible she should be fat and plump; in the eyes of an Isneg, lean girls are not the acme of beauty. But all this is only of secondary importance; she should be *nalaggát*, "diligent, active", and that is more necessary than anything else: all other qualities are subordinate to this one, and the most handsome flirt will be discarded at once for a diligent girl, be she ever so ugly and as thin as a bean stalk.

And so also in the eyes of a girl, a boy be he ever so handsome (*natáram*),—a quality which however is never despised, provided it goes together with the most important one,—will never make a desirable husband if he is not *nalaggát*. He must not necessarily be a *mánal*, a brave, but he should love work: that is what counts.

581 It might be wondered why the question of diligence is by far more
171 important among the Isneg than among other tribes, to whom other
461 qualities look much more valuable. Indeed in Bontok, for instance, at least formerly, a boy would rarely win a girl, if he had not yet shown some sign of courage, either by taking the head of an enemy

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or by some other brave deed. Why is love of work an almost necessary requisite in Apayaw, where the natives are renowned for their laziness? Or is this almost proverbial love of idleness the reason why future partners look for the contrary virtue in their mates? Is the boy perhaps convinced that he will never be able to earn a decent livelihood, if he is not assisted by a woman who is active and industrious? Does he perhaps know all too well that his hatred of exertion and hard work will never lead to anything, if the girl of his choice does not make up for his deficiencies? And does the Isneg girl perhaps look for an active husband as for a jewel of great price, knowing that the scarcer an object is, the costlier it becomes? I do not think so. The Isneg certainly lack all means of comparison between themselves and members of other tribes, and besides they rarely believe that they are lovers of leisure and idleness, as they usually resent very much hearing outsiders say so. I think that the whole question fits in with the social reason for marriage as given above. Boys marry in order to be helped by a woman, and so they necessarily look for an active one first of all; and girls know that they will carry a heavy burden, so they prefer somebody upon whom they can rely in time of need, somebody who will lend them a helping hand and do his full share as far as custom allows. This I believe to be the explanation of the whole situation.

As soon as a boy has attained the age at which marriage may be contemplated in the not too distant future, he passes most of his evenings at the house of marriageable girls, and he usually has little difficulty in knowing more or less intimately any girls that might possibly be conquered by him. He sees them at home, chats with them, sometimes plays with them, and, except when the parents of a girl definitely object to his suitability as a future partner for their daughter, even passes the night sleeping at their houses.

A few girls are real flirts (*eúkor*); they are, as the Isneg puts it, fond of men, and if such a situation continues for a considerable time, without any prospect of marriage in the near future, they may become broken-hearted and even lose their minds. Nevertheless such cases are the exception, and active courtship (*mamabdy*, from the stem *babdy*, "woman") is generally the exclusive occupation of boys, while the girls, at least outwardly, usually seem to be very hard to please. But a boy has many ways of attracting the attention of the girls. Just to enumerate a few of them:

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of the girl's parents, or if he is a married man, both husband and wife remain where they are after the *lablabág* ceremony, namely in the house of the husband or in that of his parents. 585

C. FAMILY LIFE

It is not rare to find two or more Isneg families living in one and the same house, as these are usually very roomy. And so it may take a long time before any of the married sons attempt to live elsewhere. This is also a boon to the old people, of course, as in this way they always find a home for their old age with one of their married children. 591 592 342 888

From now on the young wife will have little time for pleasure, and, although it would be wrong to call her a slave, in our eyes at least she will be leading the life of a drudge. She will be the first to begin work and the last to finish it. Every day she will have to prepare the meals and to clean the dishes; most of her mornings, if not her entire days, will be passed in the field; and when coming back home in the afternoon, she will have to comply with her usual household duties: pound the rice or grind the corn, and feed the hogs. Most of the time she will have to nurse a baby while attending to her other work, not that the little ones come in such quick succession, as usually at least a year and a half elapses between the birth of two children, and very often one or more of them die in infancy, but because the time of nursing is not confined to the first year of her babe: even children two and three years old may be found occasionally partaking of their mother's milk and using it as a supplementary food. 572 461

The husband on the contrary will find his married life to be very little different from what he had been used to before. His life may perhaps even appear lighter to him now than it was before he contracted marriage, as he will be mostly his own master, and he will not pass so many sleepless nights as when, as a young man, he was assiduously courting the girls, a custom that plays havoc with the health of a good many Isneg boys. [164]

1. *Domestic Relationships*

The Isneg husband is the head of the family, and ultimate decisions are always taken by him; nevertheless the woman is no unimportant entity in the government of the house. An Isneg man rarely transacts any important business without the consent of the woman folk, and he is usually humble and obedient at the smallest hint of his wife. 592 562

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587 Among the Isneg, widowers rarely remain in that state for any
888 length of time, and they never fail to find somebody to share their
887 home for the rest of their days. The same may be said in general
171 with reference to young widows. An elderly widow, on the contrary, is not always so anxious to contract again the bonds of matrimony, but she will not be the less respected for that. Among the Bontok Igorot, a miserable hut, much poorer even than their ordinary dwellings, is built apart from the rest for a childless old widow, and there she lives practically abandoned by everybody. Such things do not happen in the Isneg country: the old women never fail to find somebody who is willing to give them shelter; they are as much respected as anybody else, and if they happen to be shamanesses, even more than the rest. Divorced persons are in the same condition as widows and widowers as far as the question of remarriage is concerned.

765 Widows and widowers, or polygamous husbands who mourn the
587 death of one of their wives, are forbidden to remarry as long as they wear their mourning weeds, and it is only after the ceremony connected with their change of garments that they are again free in this respect.

3. *Divorce*

586 Much has been said already about questions related to divorce,
684 and I shall not repeat it here. The statement has also been made and the evidence therefor given that, among the Isneg, the absence of children is not a reason for divorce, while the contrary is true with almost all other natives of the Mountain Province, among whom the lack of children is the chief reason for permanent separation with subsequent freedom to marry somebody else.

Among the Isneg the general rule is that people marry and live together maritally until the end of their days; nevertheless divorce is far from being infrequent. The following are the most important reasons for dissolution of the marriage relation:

By the husband:

586 1. Adultery of the woman. Among the Isneg an unfaithful wife is
684 not readily forgiven, and a young husband rarely fails to watch his
837 wife if he has some solid ground for suspecting her fidelity.

586 2. Habitual laziness. At the time of his marriage, an Isneg man
684 is far from expecting to have to do most of the work himself, as the division of labor is ruled by custom, and the share of the women is
461 very considerable, as has been stated in the preceding pages. Be-

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sides, the most cogent social reason for an Isneg to enter the state of matrimony is an economic one, as recorded at the beginning of this chapter: he wants his wife to feed him and to relieve him of most all solicitude and anxiety with reference to his daily sustenance and that of his children. Now if he happens to be frustrated in his expectations, there is no reason why he should not turn his eyes elsewhere and try to make a better choice, abandoning his old love and embarking on a new matrimonial venture.

3. Lack of hospitality. This is another reason why an Isneg man may abandon his wife. He will not suffer the shame of having his house shunned by strangers because his partner does not show the customary courtesy to a guest. This certainly lays a strong curb upon the habitual crabbedness of many Isneg women, who are not renowned for sweetness of temper. Their irritability is understandable, however, as the habitual drudgery, which is their common lot, is far from conducive to softening of temper.

By the wife:

1. Adultery of the man. An Isneg husband is allowed much more freedom in this respect than his wife, but things may come to such a pass that even the most patient woman is unable to stand it. Besides, a certain incompatibility may have been present from the beginning, and then of course a husband's mistakes, which under ordinary circumstances are regarded as petty faults, may become a sufficient reason for breaking the tie altogether.

2. Habitual laziness. An Isneg wife rarely expects too much with reference to her husband's activity. But if he regularly fails to comply with the few duties that fall to his share, and does not give his wife the necessary help without which she cannot reasonably comply with her own part of the work, then of course the easiest way for her is to try her luck elsewhere, or to wait for a better opportunity, in the meantime leaving her former husband to his own devices.

Needless to say, divorce happens much more often in the case of couples who have been forced into matrimony by their parents, than in that of young people who have arranged everything on their own initiative.

Again divorce rarely happens late in life, when husband and wife have been living together for many years, and have perhaps married not a few of their children. Indeed, a woman who has proved faith-

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the latter being usually the most plentiful, over a small space called *tálon*. This *tálon* is generally not much larger than one square yard, and so the first day's work is finished within a comparatively short time.

Besides the observances that are usual for all kinds of work, and which have been mentioned previously, here are a few practices that are peculiar to the *mañumá* (clearing), which it is good for the Isneg to heed. And so, before beginning to cut anything, he should perform the ceremony called *sapsapó*. This consists in strewing a certain amount of ashes, brought along for this purpose, first to the left, then to the right, and finally behind his back, in order to avoid, if not the approach, at least the bites of mosquitoes for the entire duration of the *mañumá*. Besides, if he is a careful man, he will have provided himself with one or more of the following: *alimbódo, anagláw, talésăy*. The *alimbódo* is a kind of herb that keeps you from any kind of harm, from anything that might hurt you, provided it be placed at the spot where you begin your work. The *anagláw* is a low herb with comparatively long leaves, that grows all over the district, and is put down at the same place as the preceding, for the benefit of the worker and his *kómăn*. The *talésăy* also is a small herb, and serves the same purpose as the *anagláw*, but it is found only in forested areas. At the same time the following prayer may be recited. The text was given me by *Yadán* from Nagbabalayan (O dialect, K branch).

Dinakami palpalagmán kiyá sípăt năyá inammăyán (Do not disobey us at the clearing of the rice field).

Now pronounce the word *óka* or *póka*, and begin attacking the bushes. This word should be pronounced every day before the first stroke of the hatchet, until the whole field is cleared. Its pronunciation will help you to go up the slope in a lively way and to finish the work quickly. Should somebody come along and pronounce the same word, while you are busy cutting the bushes, its pronunciation will have the same effect, making the work easy for you.

The next day, that is the day after the *tálon* has been cleared, the Isneg *xumowáń*, which means that he stays at home and does nothing: he makes it a holiday (*ńílin*). Woe to him if he infringes this taboo. What would befall him, nobody really knows, as it has never happened yet that this holiday was not kept: no Isneg willfully disobeys any of the customs of his people, and this special taboo is known by everybody.

The cats and dogs are kept fed and are treated 231
more as pets by the Apayaos than by most Orientals.
The women refuse to eat the flesh of the dog at feasts.
All the livestock are treated kindly. The men work [461]
industriously while at it; but take plenty of time for
leisure and companionship. They could all become
relatively wealthy in this land of plenty but are usual-
ly content with enough to satisfy their simple wants;
and thus they might be called well-to-do.

The general utility tool is the *aliwa*: a thin-bladed, 412
somewhat rhombic-shaped axe with the back point
drawn out. Another type is sort of cleaver shaped
and is called a *badang*. The head is affixed to a well-
shaped hardwood handle. It is nicely balanced and a
very handy tool. The man carries this axe, *aliwa*,
with him everywhere. It is used for all cutting pur-
poses. The blacksmiths do excellent work. Hard 325
stone anvils and hammers are used. The bellows are
two hollow wooden cylinders set on end. They are
fitted with feather-ringed pistons pumped alternately
by the blacksmith's helper, giving a steady forced
draft on the fire. Smiths have been manufacturing
aliwas, spear heads, hoes, and other implements here,
from time immemorial.

The primitive method of fishing is to dive down 226
in a deep pool in the river where the fish are lying.
Down there, they are not frightened by another body;
so a good fisherman can grab one in each hand. How-
ever, a short, light, barbed arrow shot from a bam-
boo bow is generally used. During the dry season a
pool in the stream may be drained and the fish picked
up. Sometimes the fish are poisoned with tobacco ooo

844 woman, making her delivery so hard that she will die. They are kept there until the woman is strong enough to go outdoors again.

846 As soon as she is able, the woman goes to the river to wash, accompanied by a male relative holding an *aliwa* on which is ginger. On the way he must always be in the rear, as the *aliwa* and ginger are guarding the woman from some *anito* which desires to cut off her head and cause her death. If the *anito* succeeds, she will die suddenly upon reaching home.

When they arrive home, the man places the ginger with the *pungan* and *igad* at the door. These are kept there until the woman is strong enough to go to work. During that time it is strictly prohibited that anyone outside of the family shall enter the house. It means death to do so. This strong taboo is observed until the woman says that she is ready to receive a visitor. The wife seldom leaves her home and work.

586 The marriage bond is permanent; but it may be
[461 broken by the man if he finds that his wife performs
684] very little farm labor. Even though they have children, he is entitled to divorce her upon giving her a
[587] small portion of the conjugal property. Both are
[581 then free to marry again. The woman must impli-
837] citly obey her husband and be absolutely true to him:
684 no little flirting with other men. If she is found guilty of any offence, her fine is heavy. If she commits adultery with another man, both should be killed: the man by the relatives of the wife, and the wife by the relatives of the husband. However, if there are extenuating circumstances and the death sentence is not imposed, both guilty parties are sentenced

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to the members of the younger generation. It is she indeed who is the most steady companion of the little ones and who naturally has the greatest influence over them; and in the case of girls, this companionship and influence continue for a comparatively long time.

C. VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

With reference to vocational training, the Isneg, probably unconsciously aware of the fact that mere theoretical teaching rarely amounts to anything, have only one way of imparting knowledge in this line, namely, by showing how to do things. Nevertheless their children have two ways of getting it, by imitating what they see and by working under the direction of people who give them formal instruction. The two ways are rather sharply defined, some kinds of work being exclusively learned by imitation and practice, while others are first formally taught and shown and then practised. Before enumerating the different occupations of the Isneg, and stating whether they are practised by boys or by girls and whether they are learned by pure imitation or by formal instruction, I should like to make a few preliminary remarks.

In general it should be said that whenever there is question of formal instruction among the Isneg, a boy is taught exclusively by his father and a girl by her mother. Other persons take the place of the parents only in case of the latters' premature decease, and even then women confine their instruction to girls and men to boys. The reason of this separation of the sexes is not far to seek: every Isneg strictly keeps to the occupations commonly performed by his or her own sex, and so the children necessarily get their knowledge also from persons of their own sex. Recently I had a little conversation with an Isneg widower which very well illustrates the matter:

He: "I am a very poor man."

I: "Poor? How can you be poor when you have so much fertile soil at your disposition?"

He: "Yes, but I have no wife."

I: "Does that make any difference?" [I knew it did, of course, but I wanted to hear him tell me so].

He: "Well, certainly; I need a woman to till my fields."

I: "Now, is that a reason? Are you not healthy and strong enough to do that yourself?"

He: "How could I do that? Do you expect me to plant the seeds and grub up the weeds?"

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462 I: "Of course, why shouldn't you:"

He: "But I never did that; I do not know anything about it."

I: "That is very easy though; and you are not too old to learn. Can you not do like this?" [Here I mimicked the action of a woman who makes holes in the ground for planting the seeds].

He: "Wouldn't that be funny. Have you ever seen a man doing a woman's work?"

I: "I do not see anything funny about it, if you need to do so in order to live."

He: "No, sir, that is not our business; that is woman's work; without a woman we can do nothing. I cannot help it, but that is the custom. Woman's work for a woman, man's work for a man."

856 It is also a fact that boys help their father and girls their mother
861 as soon as they are able to do so. No sooner have they gained the required strength but they will be given some necessary implement in
[869] order to learn its use. Very often, especially in the case of the headax *(aliwa)* of men, which is of universal use and serves almost any purpose, the instrument at first will be a small or light one, provided it serves the purpose, to be superseded later on by a heavier one of the same nature. Whereas a child usually accompanies, first its mother, and later on one of its parents according to its sex, it is but natural that it should also offer them its help, as soon as it has gained sufficient strength. Although at first the help may be very slight and insignificant, the Isneg does not lose sight of the fact that this early exercise and practice will be of great benefit to the child, and that in the end it will accrue to his own advantage.

861 Imitative types of play are very little practised, as may be deduced from the above: the children very soon have to do the real thing, why should they occupy themselves with imitations? Nevertheless it may happen that they imitate in play a certain work which is still beyond their strength: so I have seen little Isneg girls playing at pounding and winnowing rice, with sand for rice, a small hole in the ground for a mortar, a stick for a pestle, and some large leaf for a winnow;
[524] but these are exceptions, and not at all frequent ones. Incidentally it may be mentioned that dolls are unknown to our little Isneg maidens; a real child will be thrust upon them as soon as they are able to carry it.

462 And now as to the sundry occupations of the Isneg.

241 An Isneg is a farmer above anything else, so no wonder that agriculture is not only his chief pursuit, but also that which is taught

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his children earlier and more extensively than any other work. At the same time he believes in the division of labor; so even in this respect, among the Isneg, the two sexes simply complement one another.

The agricultural system of the Isneg is a very wasteful one, as he never plants his rice in the same field for two consecutive years. He has to clear every year a part of the forest or bush: now this work is the exclusive duty of the men. A father tells and shows his boy which part of the forest or bush should be chosen for a future field; then both start the work by cutting down small trees and undergrowth, and finish it by burning the dried plants. The boy imitates his father during the whole procedure, but an occasional hint on the part of the parent is rarely absent, especially in the case of the smaller boys. Then comes the turn of the women, to whom from now on the whole work devolves almost exclusively. The mother teaches her girls how to plant rice, corn, taro, yams, sweet potatoes and the rest, how to weed the fields, and how to harvest the crops. The only time at which the father, with the boys as his pupils, intervenes is when a fence has to be erected around the field.

In brief, almost everything relating to agriculture is formally taught to the children, but it is done in such a way that they can immediately start practising what they have learned, by imitating their elders. The only exception is the original clearing of a chosen field, which is learned by imitation alone; at that time of course the boy should already be old enough to wield at least a small headax, and consequently he must have seen his father at work in former years, and needs no further instruction on the subject.

Pounding rice and preparing the meals are never taught: just as soon as a girl is old enough, she helps her mother, and picks these things up just naturally. Even boys learn how to cook a simple meal (and all Isneg meals deserve that qualification) in the same way, as later on, especially when travelling, they will have to do it without the assistance of the women.

Hunting, fishing and preparing trees for apiculture, which are men's pursuits, are learned almost exclusively by imitation: a boy sees what others do, whether they be his older relatives or just some other boys who have already been initiated into the secrets of the game, and he acts like they do. That an occasional word of instruction or warning may be offered the young man, cannot be denied, but as a whole no formal teaching takes place.

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462 The same may be said with reference to simple and ordinary carpentry, in which most all Isneg are more or less expert. Indeed
335 when there is question of building a new house, the whole agglomer-
868 ation is summoned to take part. Nevertheless one or more men, more skilled than the rest, usually take the lead, and others do what they are told; in the meanwhile the youngsters pick up whatever they can according to each one's capacity of understanding and skill of hand.

462 Baskets are woven by the women, while the weaving of bownets
285 falls to the share of the men. In both cases young people learn the
868 work merely by imitating what is done by their elders.

462 Perhaps the only kind of work that is performed among the Isneg
326 by special craftsmen, and not by everybody indifferently, is that of the blacksmith, and here again boys learn by imitation. While still
868 small, they merely go and look, but once they have attained their
184 tenth year or so, they help their elders and learn the profession through practice. This is the more easy, as such occupations are not monopolized by a few individuals in each agglomeration, but are professed by the whole settlement or at least by several families, in a very restricted number of places.

868 One subject in which a boy generally receives formal instruction, at least if he wants to learn it, is that of managing a boat, of handling an oar, a paddle and a pole: the father is the recognized teacher of his offspring in this respect; but the whole is of course limited almost exclusively to places that are situated along the Apayaw in its lower course. In a few other places, parents teach their children how to manage a raft, but such teaching is generally much less formal, at least when there is only question of crossing a stream or of travelling over parts of a river that are easy to pass, as most youngsters, girls not excluded, will have seen their elders at work, and will try to imitate them without the necessity of such teaching. An occasional plunge rarely does them any harm, as the majority swim like rats, and those who would not float in case of taking an involuntary bath usually do not take the risk of trying to manage any water craft without the help of others.

D. RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

771 And now we come to the fields of religion and morality, which, in the case of the Isneg, seem to have each their own rather well-defined sphere, without encroaching the one upon the other, at least in so far as morality is concerned with man's duties to his fellow men. Nevertheless generalities are of little or no value, so I shall try to give as

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whenever possible the dead body of an adult is forcibly confined to the grave after one or two nights (night of burial always included). Occasionally in some out-of-the-way places, the Isneg may stick to their old custom or at least to the modified one, but this becomes rarer and rarer every day. Children are usually interred after one or two nights according to age and size (Abbil, Musimut, Bolo, etc.), so that in many cases a child who dies in the morning is buried in the evening of the same day.

764 462

And now we come to the digging of the grave. The grave consists of a hole in the ground, large enough to contain the coffined body, but usually not as deep as is actually required by law (1½ meters). This is always begun by a woman (*manusim*) who may be a shamaness or not. This operation, however, is rather ceremonial than practical, as immediately afterwards men do the real work. If jars have to be buried together with the coffined body, a special round hole is dug near the ordinary grave, in such a way as to have the buried jars situated at the right of the dead man's body, near the place of his head if the body is lying down. When digging a hole in the ground, the Isneg use the *sáwit* or blunt point at the back of a headax, or any other instrument, to loosen the earth, and an old basket or a coconut shell (in the case of digging a grave, usually the former), to extract the loose earth and throw it out. For the rest, no definite orientation of grave or body is required, and anybody is allowed to dig the grave, as well as to carry the body and to cover it with earth: there are no persons specifically designated for these purposes. In no case are children allowed to stay near a tomb in which a body has been buried recently (*lábag*).

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Among the Kankanay, young men vie with each other to carry the body of a rich person to its last resting place, as they believe that, if the matter which exudes from the decomposed body (*deñ* in Kankanay, pronounced like English "dung") trickles upon their own, they also will be blessed by this world's goods. No such belief exists among the Isneg.

764 171

Formerly the grave was always dug under the house, and if the gravediggers happened to open a *lúbo-*, a grave already occupied, the lately deceased person was simply interred over the remains of the one in possession. This particular selection of the site for a grave gave rise, as was told me by the natives themselves, to the custom of the Isneg, which obtains to this day, of definitively stopping their work at a new house, and of going to choose some other place for the erec-

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of the hand crosses the palm from one side to the other continuously and without interruption, is absolutely unable to raise a large amount of rice.[4]

Nobody, however, should feel dismayed, as the Isneg possess a cure even for the direst poverty. It consists in having recourse to the use of a very powerful amulet, which has been designed most especially for the needy by the ever merciful spirits, namely the *taxa-rút*, a small herb that grows in the forest. The only question is to know it and to find it.

As will be made plain in the course of this paper, the Isneg firmly believe in a strict division of labor. Each sex has its own work to do, and generally no member of the opposite sex would dare encroach upon this age-long custom. Nevertheless there are a few male individuals who form an exception to this rule: these are the *tăyyén* and the *takowán*. The *tăyyén* (pronounced *tăyyán* in Bolo) do not know how to handle a hatchet, while, on the other hand, they use a woman's *ikó*-knife as easily as if it were a tool specifically their own; even in their gait, they take over everything that is characteristic of woman. The *takowán* dress like women and perform all kinds of work usually done by the latter: they plant, weed and pound rice as well as the most experienced member of the fair sex. But, I repeat it, these are exceptions.

No true Isneg man goes to work without his headaxe or *aliwá* usually stuck in his G-string from beneath, at one side, with the helve uppermost.[5] This is his constant companion and also the sole tool he needs when at work in the field. It will not be amiss to give here a detailed description of the *aliwá* of the Isneg.

The headaxe or *aliwá* consists of a kind of hatchet with a very broad blade and a comparatively thin long helve (*alupítăn*).

The helve is made of hard wood furnished by several trees that grow all through the Isneg country, for instance the *taggáy* (a kind of molave), the *bañálat*, the *kanúmay* (a kind of ebony), etc. The end of the helve, opposite to the head in which the blade is fixed, is called *aguwáy*. The blade is attached to the helve by means of a tang or spike (*otán*) that fits into the head of the helve, which is surrounded by a comparatively long iron ring (*palábo* or *paraddál*).

[4] The *rappód* also easily resorts to murder: he is a dangerous person.

[5] Cf. Publ. Cath. Anthrop. Conf., v. 1, no. 5, Dress and Adornment in the Mountain Province of Luzon, Philippine Islands, p. 217, fig. 36.

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with the choice of a patch of ground to be cleared for a future rice field, and ending with the storing up of the harvest in the granary.

1. PREPARING A RICE FIELD

The first arduous work that we have to consider is the clearing (*mañumá*) of a patch of ground in order to prepare it for a future rice field, and this is the exclusive work of the men.

The last days of February or, more generally, the month of March, is the time at which the Isneg usually commence this business. But to know the exact time of the year appropriate for this kind of work, the Isneg has a few *taximmatón* or signs of his own.

One of them is the appearance of the *bakákaw* or *limbakákaw*, a kind of low herb that is found almost anywhere and is easily noticed on account of its color, which is red throughout, flowers included. The Isneg call it "the sign of the coming of the year (*magdaxún*)", because the time of the first work that has to be done in the field is considered as the beginning of a new year.

Another sign, usually more conspicuous but less common, is the flowering of the *tablán* or coral tree (Erythrina sp.), that bears large scarlet papilionaceous flowers. When this tree is in full bloom, however, it is often considered as a *taximmatón* or sign for subsequent work, as will be seen in its proper place.

The *basiñalán*-tree also serves to announce the coming of the same season: when the native sees its leaves crumbling, he knows that the time has come for making the first preparation of the ground.

Some time before that, however, the Isneg will have been on the lookout for a favorable spot in which to start his prospective *kómān*. Formerly, of course, he had to choose a part of the forest, as originally the whole of Apayaw must have been covered with woods. But actually he may select a patch of ground, either in the forest (*rinúbāt*), which he rarely does on account of the difficulty of cutting down the big trees, or in the bushes (*sirāt*), mostly sections of the mountain slopes that have been cultivated in former years. On no account, however, is he allowed to pick out a former rice field that has not been abandoned for at least three consecutive years. And so, because rice is only planted once on the same field, the work of clearing the ground is always a more or less arduous task, which it would be hardly possible for a woman to perform; but, even though she could do it, custom forbids, and this work is the exclusive privilege or duty of her husband and sons.

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And so, after several days of hard work, perhaps interrupted occasionally by a holiday, in order to follow the rules laid down by his ancestors and the spirits, the Isneg finally reaches the upper end of his field, the *arpád*. Once there, he has to leave untouched a small section of his intended rice field, usually about one square yard, the *nańarpadán*. Later on, after a resting period of from three to five days, he is allowed to go and clear it with the rest (*pammalinán*, "to finish, to end").

The field is now *inumá*, which means that all the grasses, shrubs, canes of bamboo grass, saplings, etc. have been cut down: the first important work is done. It is for the sun now to do its part by drying up everything as soon as possible, man being a mere looker-on. This does not mean, however, that nothing has to be done before there is an opportunity for burning the *kómān*.

First of all, the farmer makes a survey of the *kómān* that is now in the *inumá*-state, carefully cutting down in the meanwhile anything that might have been overlooked, most especially at the center, the sides being of less importance: this is called *manábal*, a term that is also used for the finishing touch given by a woman to the rice field after it has been weeded.

After this comes the *tádaw* or the cutting down of all the branches of the trees that have been left standing in the field. The *lapát úlag* mentioned before forms really no exception to this rule, as it has no branches. The *taxímmatón* or sign for this work, which is usually performed some time in March, is the blooming of the *tablán* or coral tree, referred to under the *taxímmatón* of the preceding work, the *mańumá*. Another sign for the beginning of the *tádaw* is the *lumbá-*, a tree whose flowers are much sought after by honeybees: when the *lumbá-* begins to bear fruit, the Isneg knows that it is the *agtatádaw* or time for lopping the trees in his *inumá*.

This also, of course, is a man's work; but, because most all Isneg are able to climb any kind of tree, the work is not considered hard, provided there are a couple of good sharp hatchets ready at hand. The *kumilá*-tree, however, is usually left with its branches intact, because the boughs are very brittle and it is rather dangerous to climb the tree and cut them; but nothing prevents the Isneg from cutting it down in its entirety, at the time of the *mańumá*, provided it be not too large. The *kumilá* is very straight and its bark is fragrant; it rarely grows very thick, although it may reach a great height. In Dangla,

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243 the cutting of its branches, not the felling of the whole tree, is tabooed in the *kómān*.

243 The spirits whom the farmer has to fear at this time of the year, 776 are *Dalipunáw* and his aid *Agpáw*, who are intent on killing people at the time of the *tádaw*.

Should the Isneg know of a tree where the spirit *Pinańgáw* has taken his abode, he must skip it and leave it intact; besides, even though he tried to lop (*magtádaw*) it, he would never be able to do so.

243 Anything that is left untouched, not cut, for any kind of reason, is called *pinuró-*. To leave any kind of plant standing in the *kómān* is *purokán*.

[462] Almost immediately following the *tádaw*, we have the *maggańát*, also a man's job. This consists in cutting up the trunks of small trees and the large boughs that are strewn all over the field after the *tádaw*.

And now, at the first opportunity, the Isneg burns his field, *maní-dúg* or *sumi-dúg*. This of course mostly depends on the weather, because, if the grasses and canes are not thoroughly dry, they will hardly catch fire, and if the wind does not blow from the right direction, it is no use trying to start a blaze. Indeed, the fire is always started at the lower end of the *kómān*, after which helped by the wind it creeps up the mountain slope devouring everything in its wake, and scorching (without destroying) all the neighboring parts of the forest and bushes, including the *naglatán* (or boundary of untouched bushes between two contiguous fields) mentioned before.

It is really an awe-inspiring and never-to-be-forgotten spectacle, when all around, as far as the eye can reach, the mountain slopes are converted into huge bonfires. At every gust of wind and whenever the flames have met some fresh heap of fuel more especially ready for the conflagration, the whole valley is filled with a crepitating and roaring noise intermittently brought to a climax by loud reports of bursting bamboos.

It is useless to say that this work, which again is a man's job, has to be planned and executed with the utmost care, not only to insure the best results, but also to prevent the burning of houses, granaries, orchards, gardens, etc., lest, besides bringing a blessing to the future rice field, it happen to be a curse to the neighbors and to the owner himself, who must repay his countrymen for all the damages wrought through his carelessness. Such a danger, however, is rather remote, as Apayaw is sparsely inhabited and the Isneg is usually an expert in the choice of a well-located field and in everything that pertains to

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burning of a heap of any kind of rubbish, whether in the field or in the house yard.

2. PLANTING RICE AND OTHER ACTIVITIES IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING

The Isneg plant their rice in the months of May and June. But before that they have to prepare the seeds (*maxaggí-*), which is usually done at home by the women, and is a quite elaborate process, as will be seen anon.

The seeds (*aggí-*: a general name for seeds of rice, Indian corn, beans, peas, and the like) are simply the rice kernels shelled off from the ears. A mat (*abá-*), mostly an old one, is spread over the floor for the purpose; a few bundles of rice, the number varying with the amount of rice seeds that are needed, are brought into it from the granary; and these are shelled by treading on them and pressing them under the feet, until all the kernels are separated from the straw (*agkuláw*). The mat in question is called the *agaggíkán*.

To make the matter more complicated, a number of things have to be observed, on which depends the success of the whole business. Now let us see in detail what has to be done lest the crop prove a failure.

After a small amount of seeds has been made ready, these are placed in a basket (*la-bá*), and all further progress of the work is stopped until they have been blessed. The woman who shells this first rice and performs the blessing ceremony, is ordinarily of mature age, although not necessarily a shaman, and is called *mañodál*. The seeds having been gathered in the *la-bá*, this woman *maglubí*, which means that she mixes with them a whole assortment of objects, while reciting at the same time an appropriate prayer, for instance, one of those given above and addressed to *Pílay*. The following are the ingredients that are absolutely necessary:

Inapúxan, described before;
A piece of *landíg* or husk of a ripe betel nut;
One or more of the following:

Añlubí: A small herb with elongated brown flowers, that grows in the forest. In Bayag they use the *lubí*, a small herb with diminutive red flowers, that grows almost anywhere;

A section of *banatá* cut into pieces. The *banatá* is a tall herb, about two feet high, with large round leaves and fruits resembling those of the betel pepper; it grows all over the district;

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A part of the fruit and leaf of the lemon;

A few seeds of *lańńá* or sesame: these seeds have a peculiar aptitude for "teaching" the rice how to grow vigorously;

A seed of *oldiyátan*, in order to guard the spirit of the rice, lest it leave the rice and the ears become empty. The *oldiyátan* is a forest tree with a thorny stem and round seeds that are used for toys;

A piece of zedoary or rhizome of *kannig* (Curcuma zedoaria [Berg.] Rosc.), which grows wild;

A piece of galangale or rhizome of *disôl* (Kaempferia galanga, L.), cut into small pieces. This plant is often cultivated, as old women use it for perfume;

Some pudding made from *madiliya*-rice, mentioned before.

All these are amulets (*tánib*) that insure the nice growth of the palay.

The seeds of this *la-bá* are now kept apart, and they will be planted in the field before any other ones.

Then the work of shelling goes on and, whenever there is a sufficient amount of *aggí-*, it is transferred to a bamboo tube, called *agaggikán* like the old mat itself. The term *agaggikán* consists of the stem *aggí-* and the locative combination *ag . . . ān*: when referring to the mat, it means "the place where the woman *maxaggí-* or shells rice"; when applied to the bamboo tube, it means "the place of the *aggí-*". In some localities, instead of using a bamboo tube, the Isneg wrap the seeds in the leaves of the *asipúlo* or *sipúlo*: a forest tree with very large round leaves; its bark is sometimes used for chewing with the betel nut.

When the time of planting (*tognó*) draws near, the Isneg puts the finishing touch to the cleaning of his *kómān*. Some of the plants that had been cut during the *ańumá* or clearing, have sprung up again (*rumsí-*), after the field was burnt. And so the man takes his hatchet and the woman her *paló-* (hoe), which will be described presently, and proceed to the field in order to clean everything thoroughly before the planting is begun: this final preparation is called *magpatari-sí-* (*tari-sí-* means: young shoot of plants in general).

For the planting or *tognó* (a term used for rice and Indian corn, not for beans, etc.), which is the exclusive work of the women, the latter need a special implement, namely a dibble.

Here I shall give the description of the aforementioned *paló-* (hoe) and of the two kinds of dibble used for planting rice, the *saguwá-* and the *xádań*.

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243 722 *gaúén daàyó maggiyán ki sirát* (I plant you so that you shoot up, you bear fruit, you be lasting long; you who reside on the earth, so that you have no reason to destroy[20] my plants; go away, you who reside near our plants; do not give us a fever, you who reside in the bushes).

243 784 In the evening of the day of the *agalópat*[1], the woman, owner of the field, *magsima*, which means that she is not allowed to give away anything from the house, not even a leaf of tobacco, and that she may not permit anybody to enter the house. The next morning, however, these prohibitions cease, but at the same time this day has to be kept as a holiday (*áilin*). The real work of planting begins only on the third day, after which planting is done unremittingly until the end.

If the planter is accompanied by children, these should be warned not to shout in or about the field on account of the spirit *Paranánay*, who has taken his abode at the outskirts of the *kóman* ever since the burning of the field, and who stays there until the *tognó* is finished.

243 462 776 While planting is going on or, at the latest, immediately after it is finished, the Isneg cut out again the young shoots of bamboo grass that have sprung up in the meanwhile: this plant has a very tough resistance and is subdued by the farmer only after many exertions. To cut out isolated shoots of *bassów* or bamboo grass, is *magsílsil*; if they grow in clusters, to cut them out is *magtappíl*, and this is much more thorough than *magsílsil*, as the roots are taken out as well as the rest. Both men and women perform this job, the first using their *aliwó* or hatchet, the latter their *paló-* or hoe.

At the time of planting one must especially beware of an evil spirit called *Bibirítan*, who roams around to kill people during the *agtotognó*. About the same time also reigns *Bakákaw* (which is also the name of a bird mentioned before), a spirit who is always carrying a heavy load of *agkukúr* or rice straw (from which rice has been shelled).

Later on, when the paddy has been sprouting all over the field, the woman goes to see if there are any voids in the rows, and if she sees that shoots are lacking here and there, she goes home and prepares for a communication with the spirits (*maxanito*). If she is a shaman, she does it by herself; if not, she calls a *dorarákit* (shaman) for the purpose. After this she goes to the field and fills up the gaps: this is called *magtagnáp*.

243 In the meanwhile the men also are busy, and between the *si-dúg*

[20] Literally: to cut off, to rub off.

1 [i.e., first planting — Analyst]

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243 The text of this prayer was given me by *Bǎydán* from Tawit (O
782 dialect, Main branch).

Before finishing this subject, allow me to warn you against the spirit
776 *Darantán*, who throws stones at people who emit a shout when reaping time approaches.

4. HARVESTING RICE AND STORING IN BARNS

243 The Isneg reap their rice (*maggáni*) some time in November or December. The terms *záni, zaniyán, maggáni*, are used exclusively for harvesting rice.

There is no special *tazimmatón* or sign for harvesting time (*aggazáni*), as everything depends on the ripening palay, and this can be examined in the field without the help of other indications. Nevertheless it is said by the Isneg that reaping time in general begins with the appearance of the *papparazǎy* [38] or fruit of the *tabbág*-tree (a species of Ficus with fruits growing on the stem and the main branches), but this is only a very vague indication of the time for beginning the harvest, as the fields are not all ready at the same time, so that each particular *kómăn* has to be inspected by itself.

243 Reaping, like planting and weeding, is a woman's job. In other
462 parts of the Mountain Province, the men, although much less dexterous than the women, do not scorn to help the latter in this all-important work; but, in Apayaw, no Isneg worth the name would deign to enter the field with his wife and the girls in order to cut down a single ear of rice.

243 The reaper cuts off each ear of palay separately with the help of her *ikó*-knife, held in her right hand, and gathers the ears in her left hand, as many as she can clasp. When the cannot grasp any more, she binds (*magbattá-* or *mamtá-*) them into a small bundle (*battá-*) and throws the latter behind her on the ground. The culm is cut some five inches below the neck or junction of ear and stalk: the part of the culm that remains attached to the ear is called *ákaw*, the rest is the *dazámi* (called *dazádag*, as long as it remains on the field).

There are always several women working together; if there are not enough girls in the family, some of the neighbors come to the rescue. The reapers stand in a row, not very far apart from one another, and go on straight ahead. Behind them the bundles of palay are lying

[38] Children use it for a toy by piercing it with a wooden pin and making it spin like a top.

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on the ground in rows more or less at right angles to the line of the reapers.

Besides her *ikó*-knife, the reaper carries a small basket (*arín*) attached somewhere at her waist by means of a strip of rattan, and used for storing *xúput*, that is, detached branches (of ears), ears that are cut too closely to the neck making it impossible to tie them with the rest, and immature ears that could not be kept for any length of time. The *arín* is a basket, square at the rim and round at the bottom, from twelve to fifteen inches deep, with a diameter, at the rim, of from eight to ten inches.

The reapers generally protect the calves of their legs by winding rags around them: these rags actually go under the pompous name of *sipátut* (from the Spanish *sapatos*), "shoes".

Now let us consider the preparations that have to be made before harvesting is begun.

First of all, materials have to be gathered (*manalibtá-*) for making bands (*battá-*: the same name is applied to the bundle itself), of which each reaper always has a certain quantity about her person. This gathering of materials and the making of the bands, which consist of thin strips of bamboo or bark, about half a yard long, are men's duties, although women occasionally lend a helping hand in putting the last touch to the thinning of the strips.

The kinds of bamboo preferred by the Isneg for this particular purpose, are:

The *kawđyan* (Bambusa blumeana, Schultes. f.), the ordinary spiny bamboo.

The *bólo* (Schizostachyum mucronatum, Mack.), the ordinary unarmed bamboo.

The *pasíñan*, differing from the *kawđyan* in its walls that are lined with a membrane.

The *bđyug*, a kind of unarmed bamboo with very thick walls and a comparatively narrow cavity.

The *ballowit*, a kind of very slender unarmed bamboo.

Besides the bamboo, the Isneg also use the *sirút* or bark of the *sinalixān*, a forest tree; and some people even consider this as the best material.

Should anybody sneeze (*magbanán*) when starting to gather these materials, they must not go on, but wait until the next day, lest one of them die and be unable to partake of the new rice.

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Takkág líńān or *kaddát líńān* or *kaddát ińáto* (literally: takkag or herb of the spirit Lingan, of the spirit Ingato): A kind of scandent vine, resembling the *takkág*, but with smaller leaves, found in rice fields long since abandoned. 243 789

Tallá: A low herb, growing all over the district.

Tańtáń líńān (literally: Lingan's calabash for storing lime): A kind of fungus consisting in a white ball supported by a stipe, and parasitic on the stem of other plants.

Turátud: A kind of herb, some six inches tall, with very narrow leaves about two inches long, growing in rocky places.

Before going to the field to start reaping palay, the women have to *magdaán*, that is, to prepare everything the men need at home: they pound enough rice to last them until the end of the harvest, they gather vegetables for viands, leaves to be used for plates, etc., so that the men will have nothing to do but to cook for themselves and for their families, no real cooking being done in the *síxăy*-hut. 243 462

Here follow the names of most of the spirits who come around at this time of the year:[1] 776 782

Abád: Helps the reapers.

Abalúd: *Inapúxān* (betel for chewing) is offered to him.

Aglalannawán: Helps the reapers.

Alipuńdán: Causes the reapers' toes to get sore all over and swell.

Ańáp: Kills people at the time of the harvest.

Ańát: A female spirit helping the reapers. If the women dream about her at night, they will offer her *inapúxān* in the *síxăy*-hut the next day.

Ańrixád: Increases the palay. Women often dream about him; when they do, he tells them that they will reap nothing, but they know that it is just the contrary.

Arúriń: When the Isneg take their meals, if they fail to give this female spirit a share, they will not harvest anything.

Babalasińnúd: Lives in the *síxăy*-hut.

Bannít: Is angered by the failure of the Isneg to sacrifice a pig at the beginning of the harvest, in which case little rice is raised.

Binu-sílān: Helps the reapers.

Bońós: Is invoked by the shaman and comes at the sacrifice that takes place before the harvest.

Dagdagamiyán (Bayag pronunciation): A female spirit who makes children sick who play where people are busy harvesting.

Dalimáń: *Inapúxān* is offered to him, lest he come near.

[1] [i.e. harvest time, in December.--Analyst]

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Tobacco leaves are always brought home by the women in huge baskets (*rańdya*), and piled up in some convenient place on the floor of the house, where very soon they will be submitted to further manipulations. When men carry tobacco leaves from one place to another, they make use of a *balitáń*, lest they spoil them. The *balitáń* is a device more or less in the shape of a hammock and consists of five sticks and a number of strips of bamboo: two St. Andrew's crosses (four sticks) are tied at the center to either end of a stick (the fifth one), and the strips of bamboo, running in the direction of the central stick, are tied at either end to the upper half of both crosses, covering the latter from one tip to the other. The *balitáń* may be carried on the shoulders or set down on the ground (only the tips of the two lower halves of both crosses touching the ground) without danger of crushing any of the leaves.

While the women are busy bringing in the leaves, the men prepare strips of rattan, which they cut to a point at one end and provide with a knot at the other, and gather a few poles of light bamboo or bolo (*manaxiagdĕrăyān*: to gather bamboo poles for this purpose). Then both men and women cut off (*maxánit*) lengthwise a section of the lower part of the petiole of each tobacco leaf, by means of an *aliwá* (hatchet) or an *ikó*-knife. Hands of tobacco are prepared by spitting (*magkásip* or *magtabbá-*) the leaves, at the reduced end of the petiole, upon a pointed strip of rattan, pushing them all the time toward the knot at the other end of the latter.

Tobacco leaves are hung-up to dry either in the house, under the roof, or else outside if the weather permits.

The hands of tobacco are hung (*magdĕrăy*) by the center on bamboo poles (*agdĕrăyān*), that rest at one end on one of the shorter tiebeams (the *sakkár*) of the house, and at the other on a pole that crosses the house and rests at either end on one of the longer tiebeams of the house. The hands are always kept at a reasonable distance from one another, so as to allow them to dry easily. They must be left like that (*dinĕrăy*) until they are completely dry (*maxáño*), because tobacco leaves that are not entirely dry (*asál*), get spoiled if they are piled up into bulks. The poles with the hands (*dinĕrăy*) attached to them are easily transferred from one place to another if necessary.

After the leaves have been thoroughly dried, and they happen to be too brittle to be piled up immediately, it is advisable to hang them outside for a while in the evening (*ilpáat*) so that they become soft.

The hands that are ready to be placed in bulks, are first taken off

the vegetables may be: tomatoes, egg- 262
plants, squash, peppers, corn, beans, camote, gabi, or [244
yams. Fruits may be: bananas, coconuts, pineapples, 245]
jack fruit, oranges, lemons, guavas, melons, *lucban*, [272]
mangoes, or papaya. The beverages may be: coffee, [263]
cocoa, or water. Honey is included in the diet. From
sugar cane are produced candied fruits and vegetables, 276
molasses, *basi*, and vinegar. A strong tobacco is raised
and smoked—sometimes in a small pipe; but generally
one leaf is rolled into a small cigar. Both men and
women smoke. Boys and girls start smoking at an
early age.

In growing these things, the people do not use ir- 311
rigation; but follow the *kaiñgin* method of farming. 241
A suitable piece of wild land is selected. The vegetation [312]
is cut down, allowed to dry, and then burnt. Seeds
are planted in the ashen earth by making a hole with
a sharp stick and dropping a seed in it The plot is [317]
is enclosed with a bamboo fence. The men clear and [462]
fence the land, while the women do much of the rest
of the work. In two years the soil has become leached
and packed by the heavy tropical rains and so sterile
that a new *kaiñgin* is made elsewhere.

The rice is an upland variety which does not re- 243
quire much water. The seeds are planted during the
beginning of the rainy season in April and May. When
ripe, the heads are cut off by hand, using a miniature
aliwa. These heads are gathered into bundles, tied, and [251]
then stored in a specially built square granary whose 343]
architectural design follows that of the house. Tobacco 249
and vegetables are usually planted during January af- 244
ter the harvest, in the *kaiñgins* where rice was grown.

When the woman wishes some rice to cook, she 252
threshes several bundles on a mat or skin with a club; 412

In the morning the family prepares the food for 796
the guests. The men butcher the dog, chickens, and 574
pigs. They might go out and get a wild pig or two, 252
The women cook the rice, vegetables and meat. Boys 462
carry invitations to the houses of the guests, who be- 202
gin to arrive about noon, all dressed up in their best clothes.

When a guest arrives, he is given a drink of *basi* 796
and also food, if he is hungry. Individual servings 574
of rice, together with some meat and vegetables, are 264
wrapped up in sections of bamboo leaf and passed 782
around. One package of food is placed for the family [778]
anito under the sacred big tree or bamboo clump where it lives, and where it is the custom to hang the heads taken by the family warriors. As the various animals are killed, a little of the blood and liver are placed in a coconut shell or a section of bamboo and hung up for the *anito* of the feast. That is his share. The people eat the rest for him. Also *runo* leaves are hung from a rafter above the stove, one for each pig killed.

Dancing, *talip*, in the house starts early in the 535
afternoon. The intriguing music is supplied by the 796
women, who beat a staccato rhythm on three instru- 534
ments: the *ludog*, a drum fashioned of a hollowed log 574
with a skin secured over one end; a large, shallow curved-bottomed kettle-shaped bronze gong; and the *ganza*, a smaller, flat-bottomed bronze gong. Each [533]
has its own tone (base, soprano, alto) and beat; while the notes are short: quarter, eighth, and sixteenth. Thus the rhythm is fast and intricate: hard to follow. One couple dances at a time. One of the family hands 535
a special cloth to an honored guest. He starts walk- 796
574

634 women around, while the men are in bathing and swimming together, they keep thir private parts covered with one hand while they are out of the water.

186 Community spirit in a *barangay* is strong. They 476 have common interests and often work together in 342 exchange of labor, *pinta*. When one builds a house all the neighbors come and help, making a party of it.

417 Each *barangay* is surrounded by a heavy bamboo picket stockade. The bamboos are filled with small 628 stones so they can not be easily cut away. A *baran-* 648 *gay* has all the other *barangays* as enemies; but a 676 peace-pact, *budong*, is often made between two of them. 672 Peace-pact holders are appointed and held personally 721 responsible that it is not broken. Each *barangay* is held accountable for the acts of any of its members. Then they are allies, helping each other in warfare and being mutually responsible for each other's property and personal safety. There is danger of forays at anytime from other barangays. So war is always imminent. There maybe old feuds to be settled and [554] deaths to be avenged. This is augmented by the fact that each warrior must take at least one head to establish himself, both in society and in the heart of the girl whom he desires.

HEAD HUNTING

721 When the demand either for revenge or for heads 411 becomes strong, the *maingel* gives the order for a head 726 hunting expedition to the enemy *barangay* selected. He will probably be the leader of the expedition. The warriors who are to go, prepare their weapons: shields, spears, and a special *aliwa*, which has the point on the cutting edge drawn out to make it more effective.

IV. *INNAS*

539

First Group: *Ki kayo ñga calagaab*
Intada ñga magdowas
Innas sa ianno onnas inballoballog
ogennas.

2nd Group: *Ay yo diamno dowas*
Aed ac lagud aumicad
Ta piniac makilaglagaak
Ki kao nga kalabeat.

First Group: Oh! beloved brethren,
Let us love one another.
Allright: forget the past and
Let us all love together.

2nd Group: Here I am with you, love;
Yes, I am here with you;
I want to be happy
With you my beloved brethren.

COSMOLOGY

Apayaos say that the earth is flat with edges, off 772
which the water flows and is caught by the moon 821
which returns it to the earth as rain. You can tell 823
when this will be done by observing the new moon. 221
If its tips (forming a container) are horizontal it 241
will not rain. If one tip is down, the water will run 805
out and it will rain. Camotes are planted during the
first and the last quarters of the moon. The positions
of ursa major and ursa minor determine the time of
planting most of the food crops. This is done by co- [476]
operative planting, *abugo*.

241 784 527 Harvest is started in the wax of the moon. In each *barangay* there is a chosen woman, *gomanay* (beginner of harvest) who goes ceremoniously to each field in turn and cuts the first bundle of rice and stores it in the granary. She must observe many taboos and no one else may come near the field for two days prior to cutting. During the first five days of harvest no one visits the owners house nor asks for fire. No fuel is cut nor rice pounded. The *anito* must not be frightened. Otherwise planting and honest are gala seasons.

[805] Each full of the moon is observed as a holiday; also as the first thunder and first rainbow in the season. In the full of the moon the granary (in which all the rice cut has been stored) is first opened by another chosen woman, *Manginas,* who goes ceremoniously, before dawn and takes out three bundles only, which she pounds and cooks. She eats first; but she must not take a bath nor eat fish nor chew betel-nut [479] all that day. Those who worked in that rice field then receive their share of the crop.

821 784 During an eclipse of the moon no work is done and likewise during an earthquake, which is caused in this way: deep under the earth in great cave, there lives a huge eel and a crab. When the crab pinches the eel he wiggles, and so shakes the earth.

821 Once the sun and moon had a quarrel. The moon beat the sun with a broom; and so the sun struck the moon with a fire brand giving it a dimmer light and leaving a scar where it struck.

726 584 weapons also; for it was the custom for a man always to carry his spear, shield and *gaod* with him.

He returned to the house of Bandiyang bringing his trophies with him. All the people joyfully came to celebrate the valor of Angyoban, and the marriage took place soon after.

THE FEUD BETWEEN THE PEOPLES OF ALISIT AND KUMAO

628 Many times the peoples of Alisit went to fight the Bulo people. They found no one at home. One time when on their way to Bulo, they became very hungry [476] and stopped in Kumao. It happened that at that time, the people of Kumao were gathering posts for a house. There were many people there to help. They had *basi* to drink. So they offered some to the Alisit people. [517] While sitting on the ground, they talked and had oratorical contests, each contestant telling of their cus- [579] toms. The *maingel of* Kumao was Lindo. They became drunk and got into an angry quarrel. Lindo said to Baliwan, "You are good only for hunting women [152] and not for hunting men." Baliwan became very angry and answered back and struck Lindo with his *gaod*. When Bayao, the son of Lindo, saw Baliwan strike his father, he snatched up his *gaod* to help his father. Then all the warriors were drawn into the fight, and five of the Alisit men were killed. None of the Kumao people were killed.

628 484 Later on, twelve Kumao people were taking a trip to Sulsuna in Ilocos for trading purposes. They

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it; after a comparatively short time the hole will have become a well and, in some cases, even a small pond.

Now before I give a detailed account of the process of growing rice, I shall try to make clear a few things the knowledge of which is of paramount importance to every Isneg farmer.

This has to do with the *Pílăy* or *Ílăy*. Merely to say that they are the tutelary spirits of the palay would be putting it much too mildly, as will be seen presently. The *Pílăy* (in some places called *Ílăy*, in others known by both names) are spirits, some of them female, others male, and all of them young, in fact mere children, but they have a tremendous power either for good or for evil. Here are some names of *Pílăy*-spirits: *Aggăyén, Kano-nít, Darikokkó, Kópań, Rukkiná-, Lapindy, Dapindy, Ruppitá-, Alindodóăy*, etc. The latter is a female *Pílăy*, as she is said to carry palay on her head (*magtotón*), which is the way for women to carry loads; men carry theirs on their shoulders (*mańagtó*). These *Pílăy* will be mentioned over and over later on, but here I shall give their special characteristics, their habitat, a few general means for winning their favor, etc.

Although there are many of them, the *Pílăy* are never gregarious, and so it never happens that two of them are met together in one and the same spot: each of them keeps to his or her own place. Some of them protect the *kómăn*, others reside in granaries, and in every Isneg house a *Pílăy* takes his abode near the post of the house that is next to one of the four corners of the hearth, either at its base, just above the floor, or more especially on the *páza*, a shelf that is fixed over the hearth.

Pílăy (a term that also means "lame") is not the name of any of the ruling spirits, nevertheless he it is who guards your rice and punishes with lameness any stranger who dares touch a granary that does not belong to him, even though he does so without any malicious intent. Not only does *Pílăy* guard your palay, but he even causes it to increase, and, to accomplish this, he does not shrink from stealing rice for you from people who are not his votaries. One of these *Pílăy* rice thieves is called *Ruńád*. Whosoever is not able to walk, whosoever walks with difficulty, is supposed to have been struck by *Pílăy*, who punishes people not only for touching their neighbor's granary, but also for other acts that may be displeasing to him. Some of *Pílăy*'s victims are *madapindy*, one of their legs is shorter than the other; others are *pákań*, these can hardly walk and their pace is quite irregular; others again are *dapilán*, they crawl over the ground on their

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(*pamanît*) are brought into the house and cut up. This sacrifice guarantees a plentiful harvest for the next year. In some districts, however, it is not offered by everybody indiscriminately, but only by those who have found out, after the counting, that the number of their bundles falls short of the crop they have been used to up till now, and consequently that it will be far from sufficient to last them until the next harvest.

When the days of forced absence from the *sízăy* are over, the palay is transferred in triumph to the *álań* or granary. If the real *álań* cannot be made ready in time, or if it is too small to harbor the whole crop, a *sipí* must be prepared beforehand. The *sipí* is a little hut made of light materials (bamboo, grass, etc.), more or less box-shaped, raised on posts, and covered with a lean-to roof.

In some villages, at Tawit for instance, only the inmates of the owner's house, men and women, are allowed to make this transfer. In others, all neighbors, men and women, may be invited to join; but this happens only, of course, when the palay is very abundant.

When all carriers have reached the *sízăy*, the *dattó* of palay is demolished, the bundles (*ésiń*) being brought outside and put in rows, and everybody prepares his or her load. It should be noted in this connection that the prohibition with reference to trampling on or passing over the *dattó* has never been suspended.

At the same time the Isneg collect all the amulets (*mąmaldúń*) that have been placed at the *sízăy*, inside or outside, whether in the *aligmamán*-basket or over the *bańíbāń* and the *dattó*, and wrap them in a piece of cloth. This package will find its place in the granary together with the palay.

Detached grains and spikelets (*pannár* or *rannú*) [67] that remain in and under the *sízăy* and at the place outside the hut, where the palay has been counted and where the loads have been prepared, will be gathered later on, pounded, cooked and consumed by old men and women. If young people eat them, they grow old in no time. This restriction does not apply to the *rannú* of the granary.

Women place their load of palay in large baskets (*rańáy*, *rańáya* or *balŏ́-*: ordinary type, round rim, square bottom),[68] which they carry on their heads (*magtotón*). Men tie on equal number of bundles to

[67] The latter term is also applied to the detached grains and spikelets that are found in and under the granary.

[68] Also used for carrying tobacco, Indian corn, etc.

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each end a pole (*isíw*),[69] which they carry on their shoulders (*mañagtó*).

Before starting on their journey, the carriers insert a few *dáziń*-herbs in the straw of their load of palay, in order to keep them from all harm. This is not a vain precaution, as there is at least one of the numerous evil spirits in existence, namely *Nasigu*, who is especially fond of annoying people who carry rice from the *síxăy* to the *álań* (granary). If he finds them unprotected, he gives them a thrashing by means of a stick which he is always carrying.

As soon as they arrive at the place of the granary (*álań*), the women empty their baskets and the men untie their loads, after which all bundles are piled up under the granary (*magdaligpán*).

Before the Isneg store their palay in the granary (*magpintá-*), they attend to the following:

Besides a few objects that ultimately find their place in the granary, as the *pinudóń*, the amulets taken from the *síxăy*, etc., and that have been mentioned before, they put inside:

Amintakkán (from *pintá-*, "storing palay in the granary"): A low herb with very small leaves. It is placed on the floor of the granary.

Daraará-: A vine mentioned before among the amulets of the *aligmamán*-basket in the *síxăy*-hut.

Inóá: A kind of herb. It is tied around one of the posts, inside the granary.

Pannó (literally: fullness, filling), mentioned before among the amulets of uncut paddy. This amulet causes the granary to be filled with rice.

The *pamintakkán* (from *pintá-*, "storing palay in the granary"): The *pamintakkán* is a *battá-* (one fourth of an *ćsiń*) and the first of the rice just brought in that is introduced into the granary. It is provided with *takkág*-vines (schizaeaceous ferns, often mentioned before) and *tagaúrabón* (called *tagarabón* at Bayag), which is a kind of herb, some twelve inches tall, with very small leaves and white flowers, that grows in rocky places, along rivers and brooks, and prevents the rice from being consumed quickly. The *pamintakkán* is placed in one of the two corners of the granary that are farthest away from the door.

When the time has come for storing the palay in the granary, the owner, the man, climbs inside, and his wife, standing outside, hands

[69] A pole used for carrying loads between two persons is called *búlig*.

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urged on not only by their offspring, but also by their own appetite, frequently cut down (*magtaggád*) one or more canes, which, divided (*tagtaggán*) into sections (*ańtát*), are peeled by eager teeth and sucked by greedy mouths. To cut *unát* for the purpose of sucking out its juice is called *mambó*: this is never said of cutting something else or of cutting sugar cane for other purposes.

Sugar cane at which a wild cat (*múńaw*) has been gnawing, and hence called *minúńaw*, must not be sucked by married persons, especially when they have children. This taboo, however, does not extend to the other canes of the same plantation, nor to those that have been attacked by wild boars. A bunch (*búlig*) of bananas that has become *minúńaw* is tabooed in the same way, but, in this case, the whole bunch is tabooed, even though most of its fruits have escaped injury.

When the whole plantation has reached maturity (*taxunát*), the men go to the field and gather the crop (*manaxunát*), cutting the stalks one by one at the base, by means of a hatchet (*aliwá*).

All canes that are to be brought to the mill, are trimmed in such a way as to be all of the same length, and then bound into huge bundles. A pole (*alidugdúg*) is inserted into each bundle, to which it is tied in at least two places: this pole prevents the *unát* from moving to and fro and from protruding in all directions, when they are carried on the shoulders.

The aftermath of sugar cane (*pulpúl*) is left untouched until it has to make room for something else that will be planted in the same place.

5. BANANAS

Among the many varieties of bananas (*báxat*) that are cultivated by the Isneg, the following should be mentioned:

The *balâyań* or *sabá* (Musa sapientum, L., var. compressa, Blanco): Skin thick, yellow; flattish; eaten raw or cooked; stalk tall.

The *baráńan* (var. lacatan, Blanco): Skin thick, yellow; meat yellow, fragrant; one of the most esteemed bananas.

The *binańá* (var. cinerea, Blanco): Skin thin, yellow; very much esteemed; setting the teeth on edge when not entirely ripe.

The *dokkasí*: Fruits very close together, as if bound into a tight package.

The *xubáw*: Skin thin, yellow; small; not much esteemed.

The *xúyud* or *laxúyud* (var. suaveolens, Blanco): Skin thick, greenish; meat fragrant.

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SCHEMA II

Passing the mountains between Bayag and Kabugaw

(B)	Bayag:	*makbisi-*	*agoxúp*	*xoxó*
(M)	Dangla:	*magbisi-*	*ayoúp*[5]	*oó*
(M)	Kabugaw:	*magbisi-*	*axoúp*	*oó*
(M)	Tawit:	*magbisi*	*axoúp*[4]	*oó*

In this connection I should like to warn the reader that the text of a given informant does not always and in every particular render faithfully his own special dialect or branch of a dialect, and this for the following reasons:

1. On the part of the informant:

Communication between the different parts of the subprovince is increasing at a rapid pace; and so, except for old women (who are rarely available informants for investigators) and a few exceptionally backward persons (from whom no reliable information can be obtained), the Isneg tends to adopt, at least occasionally, a pronunciation which is not strictly his own. At first, marriage and marriage ceremonies were almost the only means of bringing together persons who pronounced their gutturals in a different way. Later on, however, more extensive travelling brought male representatives of every district into contact with one another. This was mostly due to the gradual elimination of headhunting raids and, although in a less marked degree, to the building of better roads. Now again, with the opening of schools in the larger centers and the introduction of compulsory education, boys and girls flock together from all parts of the subprovince, and differences in pronunciation tend to become obliterated, or rather, the language actually spoken by most of them offers to the ear a confused medley of gutturals.

Besides, an educated Isneg, and, incidentally, a good many others who can lay no claim to education, very often affect the use of Iloko words and sentences, pronounced as in Iloko (*x* none, glottal catch rare), or at least affect the pronunciation of the gutturals as in Iloko, although using pure Isneg words.

[5] This is the *y* of the Anthropos alphabet. For the sake of uniformity, however, and to avoid confusion (as we use the sign *y* for another consonant), we always write *x* for all texts in M of the O dialect, even for those that originated in Dangla and surrounding villages.

726 584 weapons also; for it was the custom for a man always to carry his spear, shield and *gaod* with him.

He returned to the house of Bandiyang bringing his trophies with him. All the people joyfully came to celebrate the valor of Angyoban, and the marriage took place soon after.

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628 Many times the peoples of Alisit went to fight the Bulo people. They found no one at home. One time when on their way to Bulo, they became very hungry [476] and stopped in Kumao. It happened that at that time, the people of Kumao were gathering posts for a house. There were many people there to help. They had *basi* to drink. So they offered some to the Alisit people. [517] While sitting on the ground, they talked and had oratorical contests, each contestant telling of their cus- [579] toms. The *maingel of* Kumao was Lindo. They became drunk and got into an angry quarrel. Lindo said to Baliwan, "You are good only for hunting women [152] and not for hunting men." Baliwan became very angry and answered back and struck Lindo with his *gaod*. When Bayao, the son of Lindo, saw Baliwan strike his father, he snatched up his *gaod* to help his father. Then all the warriors were drawn into the fight, and five of the Alisit men were killed. None of the Kumao people were killed.

628 484 Later on, twelve Kumao people were taking a trip to Sulsuna in Ilocos for trading purposes. They

thought that, as they were very few and the people of Alisit were many, the trip would be very dangerous. There were only seven men and three women. So instead of going by the way of Alisit, they went by the way of Langnao to Sulsuna. They reached Sulsuna all right, and on their return trip reached Baliwan; but one man was injured in the foot. The other people wanted to carry him; but he did not like them to as they might meet an enemy, who would kill him as he lay in the sling. So he said that he would walk along slowly. The people of Baliwan were holding a peace-pact feast and wanted the people of Kumao to stay; but they did not want to spend the time or be to the expense. So they went on and came to a field. Some went to get sugar cane and others went to the river. The lame man, Subugay, went on ahead and came into an ambush of Alisit warriors. But they waited until the others came up, and then the many warriors of Alisit attacked. Subugay was wounded in his hand by a spear: but escaped. Two of his companions were killed and three wounded. The Kumao people were all surrounded by the Alisit people; but they managed to get away and hide in the forest. They reassembled, and the Baliwan people helped them to carry their killed and wounded home to Kumao, which they reached about night time.

Then the people of Kumao went to attack the Alisit people. There were many warriors, as they wanted to revenge their relatives. When they reached Bangcarao, they stopped there to wait for anybody who might be passing. Finally two Alisit men came

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Isneg

The laziness of the Isneg man has become almost proverbial in Apayaw; he resents it of course, but what can be done about it? The Isneg are living in one of the richest provinces of the Philippines agriculturally, and nevertheless these last years, famine has desolated the land at every turn.

Once while at Alumani, I went to visit a few friends: three of them, the father and his two sturdy sons, the older one a widower, the younger one a bachelor, were living together in a house surrounded by the most fertile fields imaginable; and still they complained and said that they were starving to death, because there were no women to till the soil.

The year 1928 was a lean one almost all over the province, but Karagawan men preferred to squat down in their houses and feed on the flowers of the coconut tree rather than come to Kabugaw and earn a ganta (three liters) of rice a day by doing work that could easily be done by boys of twelve years of age: this work was too hard for them.

About the same time I had to go to Bayag, which is some forty miles distant from Kabugaw, a two days' walk. I sent my carriers one day ahead and gave them rations of rice for two days, in order to preclude any excuse for their not reaching their destination at least at the same time as myself. The next day I met the fellows about noon, sitting in a little hut some ten miles from home and cooking their last meal but one. Having rice they did not care for anything else. They had passed a day and a half walking ten miles, cooking rice, chewing betel nut, and . . . resting.

I could adduce a score of examples like this, all from personal experience. But after all why should we blame the Isneg for it? They were reared in years of plenty, when the smallest amount of work brought the largest possible returns; at the beginning of the lean years they consumed all the rice that had been hoarded up for years; and now the hard times have come: when a tree has been growing in a slanting direction for several years, can you make it lean to the other side in its old age? The Bontok Igorot is industrious and always ready to handle a job that may bring him some money; but he is living among rocks and cliffs, where even weeds and grasses refuse to thrive. The Isneg on the contrary are living in an exceedingly fertile country: up to recent times their district was closed to the outside world for lack of roads, and this prevented them from conducting active trade on any large scale and from selling the surplus

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461 of their products to the members of other tribes living in less favored
251 surroundings. Why should they have worked for things with which
433 they could do nothing? Add to this that their needs have always
487 been so very small that they would not have known what to do with
152 the money that would have been given them in exchange for their crops.

It may perhaps be hoped that the members of the younger generation will be less deserving of the reputation of laziness rightly affixed to the Isneg name, as they have never seen the fat years of their fathers, and so will more or less become inured to hard work. But when the years of plenty are again at the door, will they resist the temptation of resting from their exertions? Civilization is bringing them new needs, and roads are being opened to allow them to get rid advantageously of their superfluous crops: so there may be change.

461 On one of my first visits to Nagbabalayan, I was sitting one evening
152 with a large group of Isneg, old and young, on the porch of the teacher's house. It was dark, and the Isneg were asking questions about sun and moon, about light and darkness, etc. So it happened in the course of the conversation that I referred to the protracted darkness of the regions around the poles, where the sun would not rise for months at a time. On hearing this, a young Isneg man, quite exultant at the prospect, exclaimed with enthusiasm: "What a fine thing! Not to have to work for months! I wish we were living in a place like that". That's the Isneg; how he would curse old Adam, if he could but read the first chapters of Genesis.

152 The Isneg are also very easily dejected in time of sickness, and at the approach of any kind of hardship. The Karagawan case just mentioned would perhaps better have been placed here: it was really a case of utter dejection on account of the terrible famine that desolated their settlement, a thing they had never yet experienced in their whole life.

A few months ago I went down the Apayaw, and at a certain moment one of my rowers inadvertently cut himself with a headax that was lying on the bottom of the canoe: the wound was not at all serious, but the man lost a good amount of blood. For more than an hour he remained sitting in the boat without moving his oar, his face the picture of utter woe and desolation: you might have thought he was in a dying condition. He arose from his stupor and was his old self again only a long time after the blood had stopped flowing. Avoidance of hardship, not endurance, is a part of the Isneg system; hence their poor resistance to the blows of an adverse fortune.

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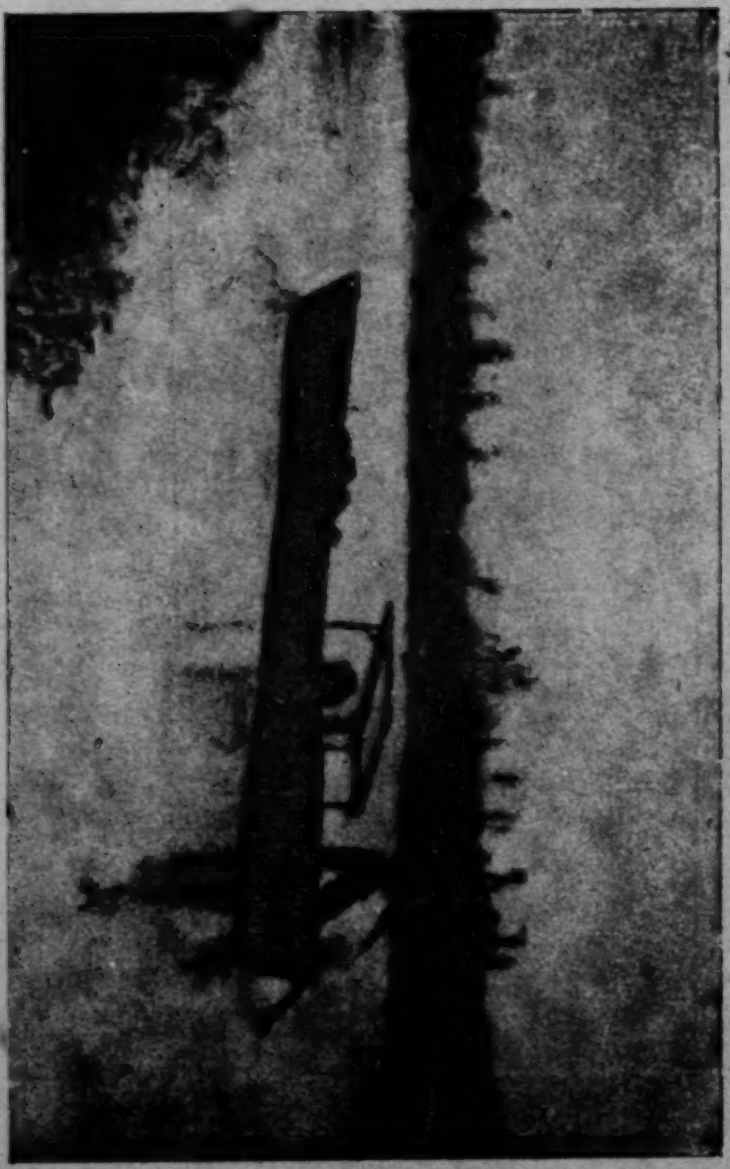

Apayao River is the highway of Apayao.

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I will endeavor to describe, from personal observation of its still numerous cultural remains, something of the life of the Apayaos as it no doubt existed little changed during the long centuries during which their folktales were formed.

The life of these people has much to do with the streams of the country along which most of them live. They do not live on the river flats, but on the mountain sides for safety. Many of their communities are named after the streams near which they are located. A considerable part of the food is obtained from the streams; and they are used for washing, bathing and swimming, as well as for scenery. Much of the transportation is on the streams, and the men are expert boatma nand raftsmen. During the heavy rainy season transportation on swollen rivers is perilous; but it is carried on somewhat. The result is that many a banca has over-turned in the roaring rapids; much valuable merchandidse still lies in the deep pools at the feet of those rapids; and many of family mourns the loss of a loved one. Therefore stories of the streams often occur in the legends of the people.

The people on each stream were isolated from each other for many centuries so that there has come to be quite a difference in their customs and dialects.

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SCHEMA II

Passing the mountains between Bayag and Kabugaw

(B) Bayag:	*makbisi-*	*agoxúp*	*xoxó*
(M) Dangla:	*magbisi-*	*ayoúp*[3]	*oó*
(M) Kabugaw:	*magbisi-*	*axoúp*	*oó*
(M) Tawit:	*magbisi*	*axoúp*[4]	*oó*

In this connection I should like to warn the reader that the text of a given informant does not always and in every particular render faithfully his own special dialect or branch of a dialect, and this for the following reasons:

1. On the part of the informant:

Communication between the different parts of the subprovince is increasing at a rapid pace; and so, except for old women (who are rarely available informants for investigators) and a few exceptionally backward persons (from whom no reliable information can be obtained), the Isneg tends to adopt, at least occasionally, a pronunciation which is not strictly his own. At first, marriage and marriage ceremonies were almost the only means of bringing together persons who pronounced their gutturals in a different way. Later on, however, more extensive travelling brought male representatives of every district into contact with one another. This was mostly due to the gradual elimination of headhunting raids and, although in a less marked degree, to the building of better roads. Now again, with the opening of schools in the larger centers and the introduction of compulsory education, boys and girls flock together from all parts of the subprovince, and differences in pronunciation tend to become obliterated, or rather, the language actually spoken by most of them offers to the ear a confused medley of gutturals.

Besides, an educated Isneg, and, incidentally, a good many others who can lay no claim to education, very often affect the use of Ilokó words and sentences, pronounced as in Ilokó (*x* none, glottal catch rare), or at least affect the pronunciation of the gutturals as in Ilokó, although using pure Isneg words.

[3] This is the *y* of the Anthropos alphabet. For the sake of uniformity, however, and to avoid confusion (as we use the sign *y* for another consonant), we always write *x* for all texts in M of the O dialect, even for those that originated in Dangla and surrounding villages.

Ewagan is very handsome, shining like a flame. 776
A great bird, *Gabilayan*, carried him through the sky. He has great strength and has magical powers. He can cross a river without a boat and can change his body into a pig. There are many stories told of his fighting, hunting, fishing, and farming.

At one time when the sky was very near, Ewagan 773
lived on earth. He built a house for the poor and 821
made a kaifigin for the blind and lame who could not work. He showed the people how to make *aliwas* and build good houses. In order that the people might more easily reach the sky, Ewagan planned to build a high tower. He called all the people together and held a big meeting; but the people from the different *barangays* had different dialects and could not understand orders. So he had to drop the project and send the people home. However, he did take the people 491
in his own *barangay* and built a great bridge across the Apayao River at Lucban. You can still see the stone posts of the ancient bridge standing there.

Ewagan stayed for some time on earth; but one night *Hasatan* came to him in a dream, and persuaded him to become an *anito* in the sky world, so that he would never become tired. At the same time, he could help the people just as well and cure them of their ills. Ewagan agreed and Hasatan used his magical powers to change Ewagan into an *anito* in the sky world.

At first, the sky was so very low that the trees could not grow very high, and the strongest of them grew right into the sky. But one day a woman was pounding rice and she raised her pestle so high that

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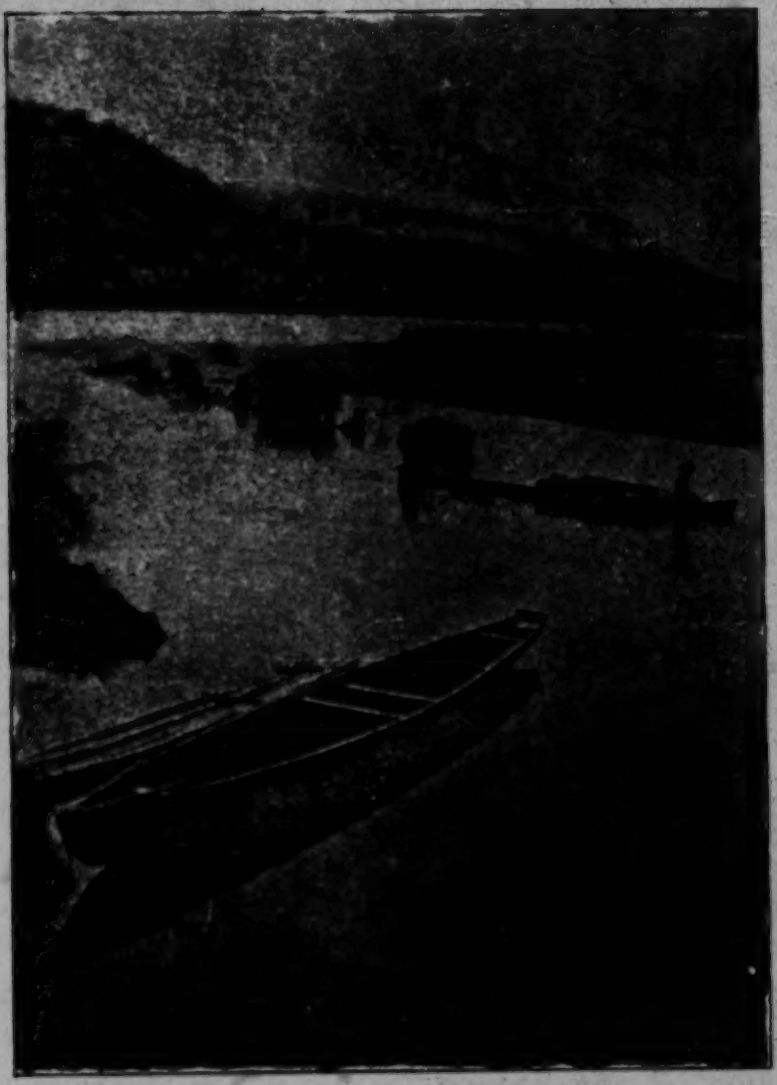

Apayao River in the dry season
This boat, or banca, and bamboo raft are typical.

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46: Wilson F-3 (no date) 1947 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5

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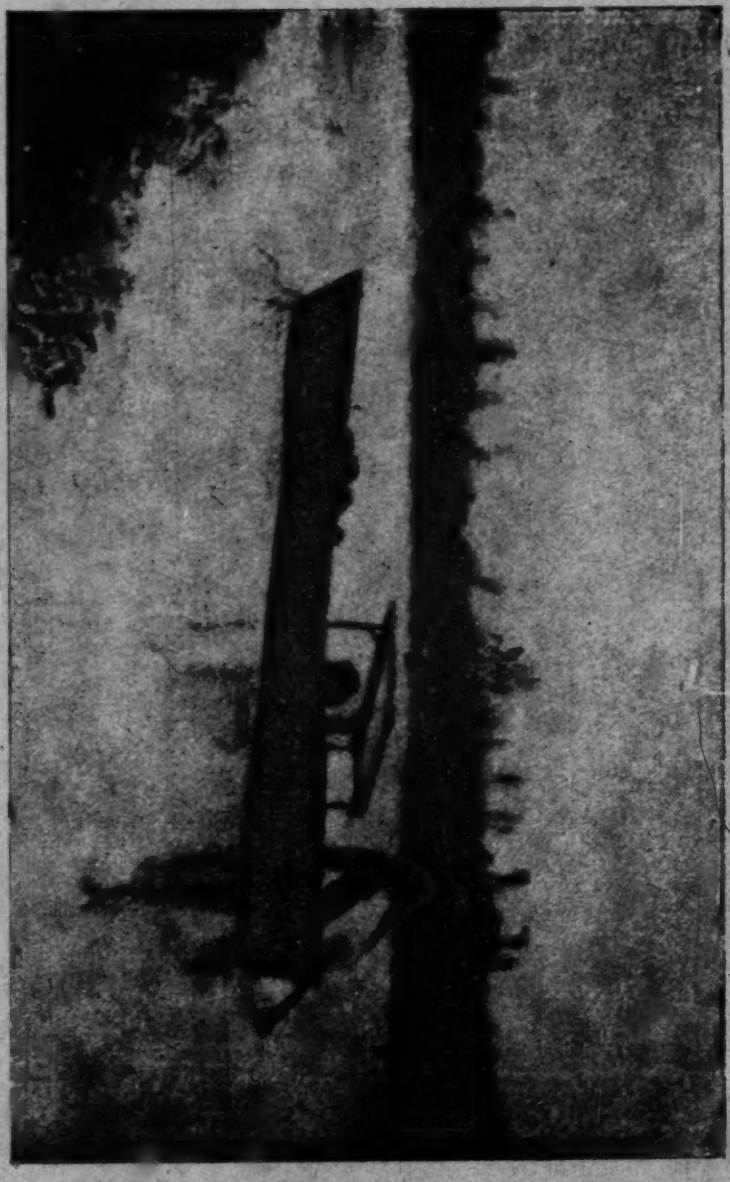

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I will endeavor to describe, from personal observation of its still numerous cultural remains, something of the life of the Apayaos as it no doubt existed little changed during the long centuries during which their folktales were formed.

The life of these people has much to do with the streams of the country along which most of them live. They do not live on the river flats, but on the mountain sides for safety. Many of their communities are named after the streams near which they are located. A considerable part of the food is obtained from the streams; and they are used for washing, bathing and swimming, as well as for scenery. Much of the transportation is on the streams, and the men are expert boatma nand raftsmen. During the heavy rainy season transportation on swollen rivers is perilous; but it is carried on somewhat. The result is that many a banca has over-turned in the roaring rapids; much valuable merchandidse still lies in the deep pools at the feet of those rapids; and many of family mourns the loss of a loved one. Therefore stories of the streams often occur in the legends of the people.

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Isneg expressions referring to names and worthy of notice are the following:

kalōbaxán: a name that has the same ending as another one. *Magkalóbān*: to bear each a name with the same ending. For instance: *Balás*, *Kolás*; *Éba*, *Xawwá*; *Basán*, *Dawwán*; *Antóniyo*, *Ásiyo*, etc.

isáń and *ébáy*: familiar diminutive names for girls in general. Similar names are: in Iloko, *iniń*; in Ibanag, *néne-* (probably from the Spanish *nene*, "baby, whether boy or girl").

Nicknames, as applied to one particular person, are used very sparingly among the Isneg. I know of only one case: a Lettuakan boy, called *Ásiyo* and baptized Pedro, is very generally called *Paláli* even by his own relatives. *Paláli* is the name of a tree, and also of its fruits, which are edible, but very sour.

The Isneg are not very good genealogists. It very often happens that a young man or an adult girl does not even know the name of one or more of their grandparents, especially if the latter died before their grandchild was born. When asked about such names, the Isneg who happens not to know them usually excuses his ignorance by saying: "*Akkáńko nasińán* (I did not see him or her)".

II. Education

It might be thought at first sight that the Isneg leads a very unhappy and miserable life, a life full of drudgery, a life devoid of all comforts and possessing only a minimum of pleasure. But when you come to consider him more intimately, to enter more deeply into the matter, it does not take long for you to be convinced of the contrary. Indeed, he has very few needs; it is comparatively easy, to quote Jerome K. Jerome in "Three Men in a Boat", for an Isneg "to have enough to eat and enough to wear, and a little more than enough to drink", and he has little work to do. Besides, look at the fine family life he is living: if he has a good diligent wife, and most Isneg women are like that, and plenty of children around, really his bliss exceeds all understanding, I mean the understanding of a Caucasian with his manifold cares and innumerable wants.

Again at first sight, it might seem that the children's education is reduced to the very minimum, or rather that the youngsters get no education at all, as everybody, not excepting the children, seems to shift for himself and to do as he pleases. One would be the more inclined to think so when comparing the Isneg with other primitive

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857 *Magdaldál*: Said of a mother who badly wants to see her absent child.

192 *Kakóboń*: Family, parents and children.

104 *Makikóboń*: To live together in the same house (two different families, servants of the family).

601 *Amá* or *anamá*: Father.

Iná or *inná*: Mother.

Wazi: Brother, sister. Plural: *wawázi*.

Manákam: Oldest brother or sister (the first of all); also: parents, ancestors.

Udiydn: Youngest brother or sister (the last of all).

Ulitág: Uncle.

Ikit: Aunt.

Kapinsán: First cousin.

Kapiduwá: Second cousin.

Kapi-ló: Third cousin (prefix *kapi* and stem *talló*, "three").

Katuxáńan: Father-in-law, mother-in-law.

Manúxań: Son-in-law, daughter-in-law.

Kâyoń or *katâyúg*: Brother-in-law.

Ipág: Sister-in-law.

Kabírat: The relation that exists between the husbands or wives of two brothers or sisters, or the husband of a woman and her brother's wife.

Bálo: widower, widow (mourning).

Búkud: widower, widow (after the mourning period is over).

601 Many of these terms have a very elastic meaning. *Wazí* may be either a real brother or sister, or simply any kind of relative. *Amá* and *iná* may sometimes refer to any relative whose relation is similar to that of father and mother, for instance: uncle and aunt, etc. *Kâyoń* may be either a real brother-in-law or the husband of a first cousin, etc.

III. Daily Routine

512 Although the daily life of an Isneg is not regulated by the clock,
264 there is nevertheless a certain order in the routine of his duties and occupations. The family generally rises at daybreak. An Isneg begins the day as soon as artificial light can be dispensed with, and if yams (*úbi*) or sweet potatoes (*kamusí*) are available, the women cook them on the never-absent fire, and all inmates of the house try to get their share as best they can. As soon as this informal break-

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fast is over,—or, if none of the above-named tubers are to be had, which is by far the most usual case, as soon as all limbs have been duly stretched out,—everyone turns to his occupations: the women mostly repair to their fields, and the men either go fishing or attend to some other kind of work that devolves upon them; a good many times, however, they simply do nothing.

About ten or eleven o'clock a. m., the Isneg take their first substantial meal: this has been prepared by the women, who usually come back a little earlier than the men, in case the latter have been out, and it is generally taken in common, the whole family squatting around the plates that are set out on some particular spot on the floor, not too far from the hearth. After that the men act in the same way as in the morning, while women either go back to the field or attend to the pounding of rice, the feeding of the pigs and other chores.

In the evening the second principal meal is cooked, and it is partaken of very often by the light of the flickering flames of the hearth, but never at a very late hour, as the Isneg goes to sleep almost with the chickens. When I say "goes to sleep", I do not of course mean "sleeps", as a comparatively long interval of time generally separates the two actions: this gap is filled in by story-telling and so on, while the young men roam around to see their sweethearts or to court the girls. When there is moonlight, the youngsters usually pass the first part of the night in romping and playing.

In a few families the first substantial meal is cooked and eaten in the morning, before the inmates of the house leave for their respective occupations; and then, cooked yams or sweet potatoes are occasionally partaken of at or about noon. Others again, instead of eating their first meal at home, take along some cooked provisions (*kupíl*; never *bálon*, "provisions of uncooked food"), and eat them at the place of their work.

Such is the Isneg daily life under ordinary circumstances. At the time of the year devoted to the preparation of the fields (clearing the forest and burning the grasses), the men very often start early in the morning, after breakfast, and come back only in the evening, when they partake of their last meal. The women rarely fail to come back more or less early in the afternoon in order to attend to their ordinary household duties.

Whenever the men intend to leave the house very early, whether to go to the field, or to start on a journey that will last for several days, the women arise long before daybreak, at the first crowing of the

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
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512 264 [177 751] cock, in order to prepare breakfast, which early preparation is called *magsira*.

Actually children who attend school continue to follow the general Isneg rule, and leave home early in the morning, before having taken any breakfast. As they have to wait until noon before partaking of their first meal, it is needless to say that such conditions will hardly improve the health of the next generation.

805 Divisions of day and night as known to the Isneg:

Mawarnit: Immediately before sunrise.

Pagmakát: Morning, from sunrise till about ten o'clock a. m.

Alzáw: Day.

Xidam: Evening, from about five o'clock p. m. till darkness sets in.

Xabí: Night.

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of the girl's parents, or if he is a married man, both husband and wife remain where they are after the *lablabág* ceremony, namely in the house of the husband or in that of his parents.

C. FAMILY LIFE

It is not rare to find two or more Isneg families living in one and the same house, as these are usually very roomy. And so it may take a long time before any of the married sons attempt to live elsewhere. This is also a boon to the old people, of course, as in this way they always find a home for their old age with one of their married children.

From now on the young wife will have little time for pleasure, and, although it would be wrong to call her a slave, in our eyes at least she will be leading the life of a drudge. She will be the first to begin work and the last to finish it. Every day she will have to prepare the meals and to clean the dishes; most of her mornings, if not her entire days, will be passed in the field; and when coming back home in the afternoon, she will have to comply with her usual household duties: pound the rice or grind the corn, and feed the hogs. Most of the time she will have to nurse a baby while attending to her other work, not that the little ones come in such quick succession, as usually at least a year and a half elapses between the birth of two children, and very often one or more of them die in infancy, but because the time of nursing is not confined to the first year of her babe: even children two and three years old may be found occasionally partaking of their mother's milk and using it as a supplementary food.

The husband on the contrary will find his married life to be very little different from what he had been used to before. His life may perhaps even appear lighter to him now than it was before he contracted marriage, as he will be mostly his own master, and he will not pass so many sleepless nights as when, as a young man, he was assiduously courting the girls, a custom that plays havoc with the health of a good many Isneg boys.

1. Domestic Relationships

The Isneg husband is the head of the family, and ultimate decisions are always taken by him; nevertheless the woman is no unimportant entity in the government of the house. An Isneg man rarely transacts any important business without the consent of the women folk, and he is usually humble and obedient at the smallest hint of his

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low box about three feet square, filled with earth. In its center are set on end three long stones in a triangular position, which hold the clay cooking pot over the fire beneath. Fire is obtained by striking flint with steel and kindling tinder with the spark; or by rubbing two bamboo sticks together. There are also a round-bottomed iron frying pan and various paddles and ladles. Above the stove is a drying rack, and against the end wall are secured shelves which hold the old Chinese plates and other articles and materials. This end of the room is used for the kitchen, sometimes as the dining room, and as a general work shop. Woven sleeping mats are used, and there are chests for the securing of precious articles. Light from the fire furnishes illumination at night.

There should also be several lovely old ancestral Chinese jars, *gasi*, probably of the Ming dynasty period. In these is kept the *basi*, a pleasant wine made from the juice of the sugar cane. These ancient Chinese jars are much prized by the people. They have a typical shape, and range in size from one to three feet in height. Some of them have dragons and other figures embossed on them. Others have pictures of Chinese scenes and conventional patterns: this being especially true of the white jars with blue designs. They are glazed; some in lovely shapes of brown, yellow and blue. The people have quite a lore about them. There are a number of different varieties and different qualities in each variety. The *dordori* stands first; next is the *garadogod*. Some of the others are the *dinalasan, banaag, kindi-ingan, binilibil, boddi* and *sarang*. Much of the wealth of the Apayaos is held in these jars, together with the beads.

pleasing lilt or perchance composing words in honor of some guest or circumstance. The tune used is called the *salecdomey*. Somewhere a boy may be openly courting the girl of his choice in a characteristic chant *adkaling*, but often composing his own words. Food and sweets may be served two or three times in the night, and the party goes on with increasing excitement, as more and more *basi* is consumed. Drunken quarrels may break out, leading to blows. Killings are not infrequent. One must have had quite a few drinks in order to really enjoy this party.

Along towards morning the music stops and the tired people lie down to sleep—either in that or adjacent houses. If, perchance, a boy has been successful in his courtship, he may follow his girl to where she lies down. After some further discussion, she probably accepts him.

The feast may continue the next day and next, according to the wishes and wealth of the family, and how long the *basi* and food lasts. At the end of the feast, the priestess again calls the *anito*: she tells it that they hope that it is pleased with its feast and will now grant their requests. Then the guests start for home. The relatives are each given some meat to take with them, and soon all is quiet again.

Probably the most popular feast is the *say-am*, given for the *anito*, Pilay, after the harvest. The *dildap* is a small, short feast given for the *anito Kaybacan*, sometimes for the health or welfare of the family, or to clinch some agreement. There is no dancing. The *magboto* is given before, and the *boda* after a head hunting expedition as described elsewhere. The

538 is rather monotonous and at other times becomes excitingly thrilling, according to the drift of the story.

538 In order to follow the tune, the narrator will often
522 draw out the end of some words or maybe add meaningless syllables. There are many repetitions of action and thought, as well as inconsequential happenings. Incongruities of action and sudden transitions of scene often occur. Once in awhile the narrative is broken by some ludicrous incident just as you have clowning in a drama. The greater pleasure is not so much in following the development of the plot of the story as it is in the delightful manner of the telling. Yet the plot is interesting, being often based on some
513 practical joke. Listening to such a story is really a very happy way to spend an otherwise dull time. Sometimes the people stay up all night and listen to them.

126 However, if one wrote down every syllable which the story teller uttered in narrating one story, he would have a book which very few people would care to read. Therefore most of the folk tales in this little collection are written in the short way. With some, the popular dialect used (sometimes ungrammatically) is also given. The English following is a free translation. Sometimes two versions of a story are given.

121 Some students make distinction between myths
538 and folktales. But the people have only one name,
773 *adodit*, for both; and as a matter of fact, there are
776 few folktales which do not have a religious element. In the early days the main distinction between *anitos* and men was that they lived in a different place: the only physical difference being that the female *anitos* had only one breast which was in the center of their

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
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342 335 192 824 which protrudes beyond the ends of the house to protect the smoke holes in the gables.

The Isneg house not being square in plan, its opposite ends are quite different from one another. At 341 342 335 [824] one end, just outside but a bit higher than the transverse beam into which the upper ends of the wall-boards are rabbeted, is another transverse beam whose upper edge is grooved to receive a second tier of wall boards which close the upper section of the gable save for a few feet at the top which are left open as a smoke hole or only loosely covered with horizontal bamboo. The other end of the house terminates in a kind of transverse platform or annex with a lean-to roof up against the gable itself; at the outer two corners of this little annex, in line with the full width of the building, are two more *sinit*-posts under the wall itself, a circumstance which has led some observers to report with slightly dramatic exaggeration that the floor, walls and roof of the Isneg house are supported on three separate sets of posts. The floor of [513] [562] this annex is slightly higher than even the little side platforms of the house proper; Cole reported fifty years ago that it was a special sleeping area for men,[104] and H. Otley Beyer recalls that women were not even allowed to set foot there.[105] In the long sides of the 342 house three or four windows are produced simply by omitting some of the wall-boards; since the door opens into one of these sides, however, it might be more appropriate to refer to it as the "front" rather than "side". [417] Entrance is gained by means of a permanent short flight of steps or ladder.

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[104] Cole, Fay-Cooper, "Distribution of the Non-Christian Tribes of Northwest Luzon," *American Anthropologist*, new series, Vol. XI, No. 3 (July-September 1909), p. 347.

[105] Personal statement during interview in Manila on Feb. 19, 1962.

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The Isneg wash their hands before meals, or, to speak correctly, dip one of their hands in water with a semblance of washing it: they occasionally tell their offspring to do the same.

In order to satisfy the wants of nature, they always retire far away from the presence of other human beings lest they offend the latters' sense of smell: an Isneg resents nothing more than the disregard of this elementary courtesy, and children receive a severe scolding and sometimes a sound thrashing, if they fail to imitate their elders in this respect. Special closets for the purpose were entirely unknown here until Government officials introduced them by force: there is no lack of space in Apayaw.

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Bisndg certainly inures the partakers to hardship and develops their bodily strength, although, to use a minimum of words, one might say that it merely consists in slapping one another's thigh. But such a statement is all too simple; in reality the sport is much more complicated. There must be at least two men in order to play *bisndg* (Figures 1 and 2), and strictly speaking, two men are sufficient: the one who slaps, whom I shall call the agent for short, and the one who is slapped, the patient.

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Anything fragrant, as pineapples, etc.; also cakes, native Isneg sweets, on account of their fragrance, lest her weakness increase.

She is also forbidden to eat any kind of fish for three days after the birth of her child If both she and her child have enjoyed good health so far, she is allowed to partake of it, after the third night provided it as cooked outside the house and brought in only art it had cooled down. Should she infringe any of these taboos, she liable to become sick, which in this case is called *madawig*.

All Isneg parents are very anxious to give the head of their babe the right shape: so, if the little poll is much too markedly oblong, the grandmother or, in her absence, any other woman lightly presses one of her heels (*túmań*) against its soft part, on top, while the little patient is sprawling on the floor; this is called *tumńán* (past tense: *sinúmań*; from *túmań*, "heel"; in Iloko, *túmeń* means "knee"). In other places, for instance at Bayag, they use another means in order to make the head of the newborn child nicely round: a small squash, duly hollowed out and thoroughly dried, is placed over it in such a way as to fit it exactly.

The period of confinement differs in duration from place to place, and it probably depends very much on the state of the mother; this is perhaps also the reason why the number of days during which some taboos have to be observed, is not always and everywhere the same. In general, however, it may be said that the period of strict confinement does not go beyond one week; after that time, the mother first does some light chores in and around the house, and later on proceeds to her ordinary duties.

In some places she goes to the river (*mamáwa*) two days after the birth of her child; but usually this necessary formality is performed on the fifth day, even though for the rest she continues to remain at home for a much longer period. At Bayag, for instance, it takes her one month before she is allowed definitely to leave the house and to start cleaning the yard, although she made her ceremonial visit to the river on the usual day, the fifth after her delivery When going to the river the mother protects herself from either rain or sunshine by means of a *sarikaw* (a kind of large round flat hat made from palm leaves) In most places she goes there alone; in Bayag, however, she is accompanied by her husband, who also watches her while at work.

But what happens at the time of that visit to the river? What is meant by *mamáwa*? Here is what was told me by the generality of my informants, including Bayag people: the woman goes to the river

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in order to take a bath, the first one after the birth of her child. Now, as to discrepancies in the testimony of my informants:

Only Bayag (Bayag branch of Ô dialect) people, and all of them, called this visit of a mother to the river by the name of *mamáwa*. Others told me either (Abbil branch of Ô dialect) that *mamáwa* was said of a ceremony that takes place at the river after the death of a married woman, and which will be described in due time, or (Bolo, Kumaw: Main branch of Ô dialect; Lettuakan: K branch of Ô dialect; Dibagat, G [Abbil?—Ed.] branch of Ô dialect; Karagawan: Bô dialect) that they knew nothing about its meaning. None of the latter seemed to be cognizant of any special term for the ceremonial bath of a woman after her delivery.

Everybody agreed that the mother took along with her a few herbs (*kaddát*) and a piece of ginger (*basáú*), articles which have been referred to in a preceding paragraph. But while all others stated that everything was taken back home, one Bayag informant told me that the herbs were thrown into the river and left at the mercy of the current, so that the spirits might smell them and go downstream instead of following the mother. It should be noted in this connection that the smell of ginger is usually loathed by the spirits.

Another Bayag informant included ashes (*abó*) among the articles taken along at the time of the bath in question. He said that a few ashes and a part of the ginger were left at the bathing place and the rest brought home and placed at the foot of the ladder.

The same Bayag man who told me about the herbs being thrown into the river, also emphatically denied the taking of a bath by the young mother. "She goes to the river", he added, "in order to wash her clothes for the first time".

Is it possible to disentangle this whole network of seemingly contradicting statements and to make them all agree? I think so, provided we separate the municipal district of Bayag from the rest of Apayaw. Then we should have something like this:

At Bayag: husband and wife go to the river, take along herbs, ginger and ashes. Once there, the woman takes a bath; but some women may be reluctant to enter the cold water so soon after their delivery and so they may confine themselves to the washing of their clothes. Before leaving the river, they either throw the herbs, whose smell is enjoyed by the spirits, in the river, or leave ashes and ginger, whose smell is loathed by the spirits, near the bathing place, or perhaps do both. Once at home, they put the rest of the ashes and of

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the ginger at the foot of the ladder. If necessary, other herbs and ginger are always available to take the place of the abandoned ones.

At other places: the young mother goes to the river and takes a bath. Nothing is changed with reference to herbs and ginger, which she took along at the time of her ceremonial bath and which she continues to carry on her person afterwards.

With reference to the meaning of *mamáwa*: originally it may have been applied to any kind of ceremonial ablution; later on, it may have been restricted either to the bath of a woman after her delivery (Bayag), or to the ceremony performed after the death of a married woman (Abbil).

While the mother stays inside the house, the other inmates, men not excepted if necessary, take over her ordinary duties, such as fetching water, gathering vegetables, and so on. Bayag is the only place where the husband is forbidden to leave the house for a definite number of days, as has been explained before.

The husband does not sleep with his wife for from two to five months after the birth of a child; everything depends on the state of the mother and the strength of the baby.

Should it happen that Christian Iloko merchants from the lowlands come along to sell their wares, which usually consist of clothes, at the time there is a newborn babe in the house, the Isneg father will never fail to get a few strips of cloth as soon as his Iloko friends open their packs, and to burn these rags under the nose of the little one. This ceremony is called *rumidméd*, and not to comply with it is said to be *kannáw* (bad, taboo). Such burning of cloth for magical and similar purposes is an almost universal custom all over northern Luzon. The Kankanay burn a piece of cloth and throw it outside through the door, at the same time mumbling a prayer, whenever one of their children is addicted to continual crying. The Iloko (Christians) burn cotton or rags not only at the birth of a child, but whenever somebody is sick in the house: they say that the smoke strengthens the breathing of mother and child or of the sick person, as the case may be. When bringing the little one to church for baptism, one of the attending group usually has a burning sliver of cotton in the hand and constantly keeps it as near as possible to the infant that has to be christened, at least if the priest does not object. If they know him to forbid such practices, they try to hide their diminutive torch in time before his coming, somewhere outside the building: the very offensive smell, however, rarely fails to betray them.

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868 and ordinary work, to which his parents even now introduce him as early as possible,—were those he needed at the time of taking a head or of defending his own; and here again, the best means for acquiring them was practice by imitation or necessity. Even the use of the spear, the headax and the shield was never formally taught: a young man saw his elders at work, and did as they did. After all, a real attack, openly and face to face, has always been rather the exception; to fall unawares on an unsuspecting enemy, to kill a defenceless woman or child, and similar exploits, were usually much more in the line of the Isneg. If nevertheless some of them have been real braves, practice, not formal teaching, has made them such. But nowadays these happy times seem to be gone forever: every Isneg man cultivates his fields in peace and sits undisturbed under his coconut tree, the latter eventuality being usually the more frequent

857 Isneg boys and girls are found of play, this is only natural; but
524 their choice is very limited. Indeed, except for the sport of *bisnág*, most of the time these types of play merely consist in running and wrestling, at least as far as active sports that may serve to develop bodily strength are concerned. A group of Isneg boys, whether inside or outside the house, rarely keep quiet for a long time, and very soon playful fighting, which for the most part consists in slapping and kicking one another, is indulged in. This romping, which the Isneg call by the comprehensive term of *maxaúdd*, after a time becomes so noisy that other people present cannot hear one another's voices, until some old fellow cries: "*Páxat*" (no special meaning), at which the infernal noise stops on the spot, to begin again, of course, at the first opportunity. Isneg girls, although usually less rough and noisy, are not loath to follow the example of the members of the ruder sex; this is generally, but not always, done among themselves exclusively.

[863] Baths are taken rather frequently by both adults and children:
515 the latter either follow the example of their elders or go to take a splash in the river with their companions. In this case each sex keeps strictly apart almost without exception: indeed an Isneg mother never fails to teach her girls a certain modesty as the best means to prevent
[36] regrettable incidents. Baths are always taken in some stream of running water; ponds of still water besides being very rare in the Isneg country, are usually infested with crocodiles, and no Isneg would think of fetching water from somewhere to take his ablutions at home: his village is always situated near some river or brook, and he would consider it as the acme of absurdity to go to the stream in

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775 763 In order to insure the transaction of the whole business without hindrance of any kind, the survivors have to fit out the *inndt* or corpse with brand-new clothes, and a rent must be made in each garment (*maxáyxáy*).

[5/5] Now, what happens to the *kaduduwá*, in case the relatives have failed to comply with their duty, and have left the dead body wearing its dirty old clothes (Isneg clothing is usually both dirty and old), or if they have given it new garments, but without having taken the precaution of tearing them before *Kútaw*'s arrival? Both cases are almost wholly imaginary, as may be readily understood: indeed, the Isneg always see to it that everything is done according to custom, most certainly in this matter. Nevertheless it may happen that the *inndt* cannot be given new clothes; for instance, when a man dies by accident (drowning and so on) and his body cannot be recovered. The rarity of such cases may be one of the principal reasons why explanations on this point differ almost from man to man, and why even one and the same person may offer different explanations. Indeed, although it is a matter of the invisible world, the Isneg would hardly be so contradictory in their statements if they had to do with happenings that are supposed to occur regularly.

What is said to happen to the *kaduduwá*, if the *inndt* wears ordinary everyday garments? Some say that *Kútaw* passes by and refuses to ferry the *kaduduwá* over the big pond. Others say that he brings it over the water, but leaves it there as it is, without either conducting it or showing it the way to its final abode or to the place where its dead relatives are actually spending their time. In any case the *kaduduwá* will be wandering around at a loss what to do and where to go, although exactly what happens to it remains more or less of a mystery. Its punishment, however, seems merely to consist in a kind of loss, probably temporary, namely the loss of an immediately happy life, which would have been its lot had it found at once the relatives who went ahead to the other side of the pond.

And what happens to a *kaduduwá* whose *inndt* has been given new clothes, but whose relatives have failed to tear them,—which is done by making a small rent in every garment at one of its sides? Some say that *Kútaw* positively refuses to bring such a *kaduduwá* to the other side of the pond. Others say that both tarry a long time, because *Kútaw* feels inclined to entertain this nicely clothed individual and to have a long talk with him, and so the latter's ultimate bliss is

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765 Widows and widowers are not allowed to take a bath as long as
515 they have to wear their mourning apparel, and, in some settlements, for instance at Karagawan, they are not even allowed to cross a stream.

765 It goes without saying that many of the taboos described above are nothing but signs of mourning; nevertheless there are other tokens that are more clearly and exclusively (at least in our own eyes) distinctive characteristics of the sorrow that affects man when he suffers some bereavement.

And first as to mourning apparel.

765 As soon as the body is interred, the nearest relative or relatives
292 don their mourning apparel, they *magwáis*. Widows and widowers are of course obliged to do so by custom; for the others, everything depends on their esteem for the deceased. At the death of some persons a whole lot of people wear mourning, while others are barely mourned by a single relative. At any rate, mourning apparel (*kolmót* or *pusá-*; the term *kolmót* more especially refers to men's mourning apparel, while *pusá-* is almost exclusively used for women's mourning apparel; *napusá-* also means "white") once put on has to be worn all the time until the *obóbat*. In Apayaw the color is white, and nice clothes are taboo. All mourners, men and women alike, wear a white headband (*ábal*; pronounced *kábal* at Bolo), which consists in an *inarosó* at Bolo; *arinosó*, at Bayag; *rinosó*, at Dangla), a comparatively narrow strip of bark, mostly taken from the *taudáw* tree and especially prepared for the purpose. If the persons in question also abstain from rice and taro (*mañgabí*), they wear, besides the headband just mentioned, a kind of neckcloth, which is just a second *inarosó*, worn around the neck and left loose in front.

765 For many days after the burial of a near relative, the mourners
201 go every morning to weep at the tomb of their loved one, be it a husband or wife, a father or mother, or a much beloved child, brother or sister. After *Mámaw*'s husband had been buried at Nagbabalayan (beginning of 1926), the widow could be seen every morning, carrying her babe and accompanied by her grown-up son, silently directing her steps toward the graveyard. Once there both the widow and her son would squat down in the immediate proximity of the tomb and weep unceasingly for a considerable period of time, low murmurings and subdued sobs being the only audible manifestations of their grief. While doing so, they usually rested the right elbow on the right knee and extended the right hand over the eyebrows touching the fore-

The Common Law enjoins that man must not: steal, tell false stories of others, court the wife of another, nor make trouble at a feast. It further enjoins that a man must respect the rights of individuals, give food to visitors, give aid to neighbors, and that parents shall teach children the old customs and legends, as well as correct them in order that they may grow up properly. 685 683 684 689 867

The Apayaos have a very complete system of social etiquette which might be characteristic of a high culture. It displays a nice sense of fitness and an innate kindliness of nature. Hispitable customs make the visitor's stay a happy one. There is even no embarrassing sense of indebtedness for gifts of service or materials to be expressed: for the people have no word meaning "thank you" in their dialect. When one goes on a journey, there is no word meaning "goodbye": no sad word of farewell. One just walks away as if he were going down to the river to take a bath. When he returns, even after a long absence there is no word of greeting. He is treated just as if he had only come back from taking his bath. As a matter of fact he may have; for it is the custom to take a bath in the last river crossed before reaching home. 576 192 515

The people keep their houses and surrounding grounds clean and neat. Clothing is kept washed, and daily baths in the river are taken. The bark of the *taplet* tree is used for cleansing purpose. 356 515 824

The Apayaos are remarkedly modest about their persons. A woman must not allow her legs to spread when squatting to a sitting position nor allow her tapis to go above her knees. Even when there are no 516 834 834

765 The bereaved husband or wife
515 must continue in mourning during several months even up to a year, according to the time set by the relatives of the deceased. He must wear white cothes and cannot take a bath nor eat rice during that time.

When the time of mourning is over, a smaller *callas* is held. Only then can the bereaved husband or wife remove his white clothes, take a bath, and don his usual garments. His mourning has changed into happiness again.

000 Thus life has been going on and on through the centuries in the lovely land of Apayao.

PUZZLES

524 I. An enchanted tree grows on the bank of the river.
539 During the day time, it stands straight toward the sky; but when the night comes, it lies flat and blocks the river, rendering it impassable to any boatman. However, a certain boatman did pass. How did he manage it?

SOLUTION: He made a great fire of leaves there so that the enchanted tree thought that day had come and it stood up. The boatman then poled with all his might and was able to pass safely.

II. There were three carabaos on one side of the river, but no grass; so they wanted to cross to the other side. However, there was a crocodile who promised to eat the one female carabao. What did the two male carabaos do to save the female carabao from the hungry crocodile?

SOLUTION: The male carabao went first; the female seized its tail in her mouth. The crocodile waited, of

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
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And first the patient (*magtán*). This man takes a sitting posture, in the case of the Isneg mostly on the ground or on the floor, and extends both legs in such a way as to expose the vastus externus of the quadriceps extensor muscle of one of his thighs. Sometimes the exposed leg is slightly bent at the knee, in order to obtain a uniformly even surface. Lest the leg in question be moved from its position or the muscle relax through trembling, the patient usually thrusts one of his hands (the left, in case he presents the right thigh to be slapped) between the two legs and sustains the exposed thigh from beneath.

FIG. 1. THE *Bisnā'g* GAME

When everything is ready, the other man, the agent (*mańná*) prepares himself to strike a blow on the exposed muscle with the flat of his hand. This preparation is very elaborate: the agent starts from a place at some distance from the patient and approaches, retreats and approaches again several times in succession, every time contorting his body in every possible way, and swinging his arms, especially the one that has to strike the blow, to and fro, up and down, as if he was going to strike a score of enemies. When coming near his opponent, he occasionally pats the exposed muscle with just a slight

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The Apayaos are remarkedly modest about their 516
persons. A woman must not allow her legs to spread 834
when squatting to a sitting position nor allow her tapis to go above her knees. Even when there are no 834

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Isneg expressions referring to names and worthy of notice are the following:

kalōbaxán: a name that has the same ending as another one. *Magkalóbān*: to bear each a name with the same ending. For instance: *Balás, Kolás*; *Éba, Xawwá*; *Basán, Dawwán*; *Antóniyo, Asiyo*, etc.

isáń and *ébăy*: familiar diminutive names for girls in general. Similar names are: in Iloko, *iniń*; in Ibanag, *néne-* (probably from the Spanish *nene*, "baby, whether boy or girl").

Nicknames, as applied to one particular person, are used very sparingly among the Isneg. I know of only one case: a Lettuakan boy, called *Asiyo* and baptized Pedro, is very generally called *Paláli* even by his own relatives. *Paláli* is the name of a tree, and also of its fruits, which are edible, but very sour.

The Isneg are not very good genealogists. It very often happens that a young man or an adult girl does not even know the name of one or more of their grandparents, especially if the latter died before their grandchild was born. When asked about such names, the Isneg who happens not to know them usually excuses his ignorance by saying: "*Akkáńko nasiníán* (I did not see him or her)".

II. Education

It might be thought at first sight that the Isneg leads a very unhappy and miserable life, a life full of drudgery, a life devoid of all comforts and possessing only a minimum of pleasure. But when you come to consider him more intimately, to enter more deeply into the matter, it does not take long for you to be convinced of the contrary. Indeed, he has very few needs; it is comparatively easy, to quote Jerome K. Jerome in "Three Men in a Boat", for an Isneg "to have enough to eat and enough to wear, and a little more than enough to drink", and he has little work to do. Besides, look at the fine family life he is living: if he has a good diligent wife, and most Isneg women are like that, and plenty of children around, really his bliss exceeds all understanding, I mean the understanding of a Caucasian with his manifold cares and innumerable wants.

Again at first sight, it might seem that the children's education is reduced to the very minimum, or rather that the youngsters get no education at all, as everybody, not excepting the children, seems to shift for himself and to do as he pleases. One would be the more inclined to think so when comparing the Isneg with other primitive

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to be able to do so; and the same story may be repeated several times all over again on different occasions without the young people losing any interest in the matter.

The cry "*udŏdit*" (a story) is heard very often when the young people have placed themselves in a position for slumber, and the exclamation "*udŏditko*" (I have a story; literally: my story), emitted by an uninvited story-teller, is usually sufficient to gain him the attention of all present. Consequently Isneg tales are mostly bedtime stories: nevertheless it also happens that they are recited, this time mostly by men, at the opening of a jar of *bási* (alcoholic beverage obtained from the juice of the sugar cane), or rather during the absorption of its contents. On such occasions, whenever an old man begins to tell a story, the youngsters have no sooner got wind of the affair but they leave everything in order to come near and to listen all ears to these wonderful happenings of times gone by or of a world alien to their own. It may sometimes happen also that parents or grandparents call their children or grandchildren together at the time of going to sleep in order to relate to them some traditional myth or legend: in this case, of course, the teaching should be called entirely formal.

How to look for omens and auguries and how to distinguish between good and bad ones are both the subject of almost exclusively direct instruction. Parents and older brothers and sisters are the accepted purveyors of this knowledge, which to the Isneg is absolutely indispensable if he wants to live in peace and beyond the power of malevolent imps and spirits.

E. MORAL EDUCATION

When reading books of travel, especially old ones, written by men who spent a few days at the home of some primitive people, one usually meets with the statement that the latter seem to have no concept of truth and honesty, and one almost always meets with several concrete instances, which apparently prove the truth of that assertion. Not to go too far out of my way, I shall cite as an example a book that has to do almost immediately with the Philippine Islands. We read in the account of Magellan's travels written by Pigafetta that on a certain day, during his famous voyage which led to the discovery of our archipelago, the expedition landed at a place among a group of islands, the inhabitants of which boarded the vessels, laid hands on whatever took their fancy and ran away to hide among the bushes;

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FOLKLORE

Folklore is the fabric upon which the people weave the pattern of their future. It is woven from materials composed of the religious beliefs, customs, habits, and daily life of the people. If these are changed by migration, borrowing from other people, or by internal alteration, the result is a different culture in the future. 121

If one were to make a complete collection of all the folklore of the people during their varied life, he would have the basic material for a cultural history of that people. For folklore has also sometimes been called the vine that clings to the crumbling ruins of man's progress upward.

The culture of the Apayaos has remained much the same during many long centuries: there has been little progress upward. Thus the interesting old vine has been growing and expanding. If you look at it carefully, you will observe much of the culture of these people. 178 121

The Apayao people tell their stories in two ways. The short way is used at such times as when they happen to meet together, perchance on the trail, or are resting for a while. It is a simple narration of events. 538 517

The long way is used when time hangs rather heavily during the confinement of the torrential rains, or in the long evenings. These story hours are much enjoyed and are the principal amusement of the people. An old woman or man, steeped in the lore of the past, makes the best story teller. He spins out his tale using a certain pleasing tune, *sanimela*, which at times 538

726 584 weapons also; for it was the custom for a man always to carry his spear, shield and *gaod* with him.

He returned to the house of Bandiyang bringing his trophies with him. All the people joyfully came to celebrate the valor of Angyoban, and the marriage took place soon after.

THE FEUD BETWEEN THE PEOPLES OF ALISIT AND KUMAO

628 Many times the peoples of Alisit went to fight the Bulo people. They found no one at home. One time when on their way to Bulo, they became very hungry [476] and stopped in Kumao. It happened that at that time, the people of Kumao were gathering posts for a house. There were many people there to help. They had *basi* to drink. So they offered some to the Alisit people. [517] While sitting on the ground, they talked and had oratorical contests, each contestant telling of their customs. [579] The *maingel of* Kumao was Lindo. They became drunk and got into an angry quarrel. Lindo said to Baliwan, "You are good only for hunting women [152] and not for hunting men." Baliwan became very angry and answered back and struck Lindo with his *gaod*. When Bayao, the son of Lindo, saw Baliwan strike his father, he snatched up his *gaod* to help his father. Then all the warriors were drawn into the fight, and five of the Alisit men were killed. None of the Kumao people were killed.

628 484 Later on, twelve Kumao people were taking a trip to Sulsuna in Ilocos for trading purposes. They

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261 you commit regrettable deeds. Gluttony is contemned by everybody; never keep all the best viands for yourself alone, and be careful not to eat to excess.

577 "Beware of talking about your neighbor's defects in his absence
626 (*maglíbá-*; in Iloko, *aglíbák* means "to hide, to conceal, not to confess, not to manifest"); it may come to his ears; and in such a case,
521 just imagine how he will feel about it. Do you expect him to forgive you without more ado, and to continue his friendly relations with you?
152 "Do not be a talebearer; such men are the curse of the community: most quarrels take their origin in this vice. Anyone who is known to be addicted to it, at once loses all consideration among decent men, and his company is avoided as much as possible.

"Never boast about your virtues, your possessions, your actions, except on the occasion of a *sáy-ám* sacrifice, when every brave Isneg should recount his glorious deeds for the edification of youth. A man who is puffed up with self-conceit and vainglory is despised by all. The ignorant may perhaps respect him or rather be afraid of
[578] him, but the general public scorns him. You know what it means to be called *makidáyaw* (proud) or *napañláw* (braggart); so never give occasion to anybody to fling such an epithet at your head.

"Beware of being jealous of your neighbor's prosperity or good luck. If fate or the spirits have been less generous to you, that is no reason for being envious of others who are more fortunate than yourself. Ambition is good, jealousy is bad".

2. Motives Proposed to Young

000 Now I shall discard my role of Isneg moralist, and say a few words about the motives that are proposed to the youngsters. A good many points have already been hinted at in the preceding treatment of the Isneg moral code, so here I shall merely resume and complete or elucidate my former statements.

626 It should be said in general that, except when referring to religious, magical or superstitious practices as such, and to the duty of head-hunting, no religious or supernatural motives are proposed to the children in order to get them to obey the moral law, nor are the children ever taught to expect rewards or punishments from supernatural beings. One might perhaps be inclined to accept a few other cases as possible exceptions, for instance that of scoffers referred to above; but it should be remembered that even in such cases, the Isneg never mention directly the intervention of any supernatural beings.

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fast is over,—or, if none of the above-named tubers are to be had, which is by far the most usual case, as soon as all limbs have been duly stretched out,—everyone turns to his occupations: the women mostly repair to their fields, and the men either go fishing or attend to some other kind of work that devolves upon them; a good many times, however, they simply do nothing.

About ten or eleven o'clock a. m., the Isneg take their first substantial meal: this has been prepared by the women, who usually come back a little earlier than the men, in case the latter have been out, and it is generally taken in common, the whole family squatting around the plates that are set out on some particular spot on the floor, not too far from the hearth. After that the men act in the same way as in the morning, while women either go back to the field or attend to the pounding of rice, the feeding of the pigs and other chores.

In the evening the second principal meal is cooked, and it is partaken of very often by the light of the flickering flames of the hearth, but never at a very late hour, as the Isneg goes to sleep almost with the chickens. When I say "goes to sleep", I do not of course mean "sleeps", as a comparatively long interval of time generally separates the two actions: this gap is filled in by story-telling and so on, while the young men roam around to see their sweethearts or to court the girls. When there is moonlight, the youngsters usually pass the first part of the night in romping and playing.

In a few families the first substantial meal is cooked and eaten in the morning, before the inmates of the house leave for their respective occupations; and then, cooked yams or sweet potatoes are occasionally partaken of at or about noon. Others again, instead of eating their first meal at home, take along some cooked provisions (*kupíl*; never *bálon*, "provisions of uncooked food"), and eat them at the place of their work.

Such is the Isneg daily life under ordinary circumstances. At the time of the year devoted to the preparation of the fields (clearing the forest and burning the grasses), the men very often start early in the morning, after breakfast, and come back only in the evening, when they partake of their last meal. The women rarely fail to come back more or less early in the afternoon in order to attend to their ordinary household duties.

Whenever the men intend to leave the house very early, whether to go to the field, or to start on a journey that will last for several days, the women arise long before daybreak, at the first crowing of the

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up a good many friendships, and it is the starting point of not a few quarrels among them. Voluntary talebearing, by which I mean here reporting to the interested person the gossip that somebody has spread about him, is, as far as I can judge about the matter, rather rare, at least among men.

Drunkenness is a vice that is mostly indulged in only at the time of some *sáy-ám* or other sacrifice, and this mostly by old men. Comparing their use of intoxicating drinks with what I have seen in civilized countries, I should say that the Isneg is a temperate man. Nevertheless theory is stricter than practice, except in the case of youth.

Three points are still to be considered now, namely: chastity, honesty and truthfulness.

And first as to chastity and the virtues related to it. Complete nudity is habitual among youngsters under six years of age; the little coat usually worn even by small boys, is not sufficiently long to cover them decently. Such nakedness is not considered shameful as long as the children are small; nevertheless there is some ground for concluding that it may have an effect upon sex behavior. Indeed small children are very after tickled (*magkuríra-*, *kuríkán*) in order to cause them to laugh, and this tickling is very commonly practised on or near the genitals, not only by the parents, but also by young boys and girls; especially in the case of small boys, the principal use of their penis seems to be that of being fingered by every passer-by.

As soon as the child is able to lisp a few words, the pronunciation by the child of any obscene term that finds its way into the child's vocabulary is greeted with laughter; and if later on foul language is heard to proceed from the small boy's mouth, he is applauded for his cleverness instead of being chastised for his forwardness. Little girls are usually brought up in a less dirty atmosphere, as the mother takes care of them almost exclusively as soon as they are able to walk; but little or no separation of the sexes at night is insisted upon during the first years of the little Isneg's life.

Everything considered, the sight of nudity in both sexes, touching of one another's genitals without reproof, the early excitation of the boys' genitals through indecent handling by older children and adults, the use of dirty speech without the least restraint and almost with encouragement, all these combined can do nothing else but detract from the efficiency of subsequent teaching on sex morality. The existence of the term *kassár* seems to support my inference; *kassár*

181 or, if they
152 acquire money unfairly and buy rice with it, the rice,
157 when eaten, will give them no strength. As born psy-
[577 chologists, they enjoy working on you so that you will
827] think and act as they desire. They like a practical
[522] joke even when it is on themselves. In fact, even accidents are taken as jokes and the one who has been injured is the one who laughs the hardest. When going through hardship, they show real endurance. Their code is to laugh and joke near the end just as if they had only awakened from a good sleep.

181 The Apayaos are courageous and lovers of free-
175 dom. The Spaniards never did conquer them, and even we Americans had a difficult time establishing our benevolent government. It was necessary to continue the military control for many years; and only in 1923 was civil government established. During the first part of the Japanese occupation, Apayao was a place of refuge for fleeing Americans and, after the fall of Corregidor, Cabugao was made the headquarters of the USAFFE of Northern Luzon. The Japanese did not establish themselves here in these mountain fastnesses until March, 1943. They did not find the people at all willing to collaborate and left in August, 1944. When the Americans returned, the Apayaos volunteered, almost to a man, to assist in defeating the Japanese. Many acted as "bolo men" without pay, and served as cargados, messengers and laborers. Thus they neglected even their farming, so that this year their crops are small.

101 These people call themselves *Isnegs* and are so known by the neighboring *Ibanags*, whose language is related to theirs. Probably they are called Apa-

538 is rather monotonous and at other times becomes excitingly thrilling, according to the drift of the story.

538 In order to follow the tune, the narrator will often
522 draw out the end of some words or maybe add meaningless syllables. There are many repetitions of action and thought, as well as inconsequential happenings. Incongruities of action and sudden transitions of scene often occur. Once in awhile the narrative is broken by some ludicrous incident just as you have clowning in a drama. The greater pleasure is not so much in following the development of the plot of the story as it is in the delightful manner of the telling. Yet the plot is interesting, being often based on some
513 practical joke. Listening to such a story is really a very happy way to spend an otherwise dull time. Sometimes the people stay up all night and listen to them.

126 However, if one wrote down every syllable which the story teller uttered in narrating one story, he would have a book which very few people would care to read. Therefore most of the folk tales in this little collection are written in the short way. With some, the popular dialect used (sometimes ungrammatically) is also given. The English following is a free translation. Sometimes two versions of a story are given.

121 Some students make distinction between myths
538 and folktales. But the people have only one name,
773 *adodit*, for both; and as a matter of fact, there are
776 few folktales which do not have a religious element. In the early days the main distinction between *anitos* and men was that they lived in a different place: the only physical difference being that the female *anitos* had only one breast which was in the center of their

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and, if they consider them to be as valuable as that, it is their own business after all. The same may be said with reference to the beads: a single one, if very valuable in the eyes of the natives, may command the price of a carabao or water buffalo, from thirty to fifty dollars, while other ones may be had almost for the asking.

All these jars are earthenware of Chinese make, imported from China long before the arrival of the Spaniards; consequently antiquity is an important item in the estimation of their value. Jars that have been imported recently usually command a much lower price. A great many of the beads also antedate the coming of the Spaniards and were also originally imported from China. Actually, however, beads of all kinds have been put on the market and their origin is very often shrouded in mystery. Isneg plates are all made of coarse earthenware and have mostly been introduced from China; but, although most of them date from comparatively recent times, they are still of the same kind, shape, color and composition as those they have replaced, as may be proved by fragments occasionally unearthed in places formerly inhabited by Isneg. These people certainly hold fast to their old ways and customs; modern crockery is not to their taste. As the Isneg do not weave their own clothes, the latter have of necessity to be bought from outsiders.

During the *amómăn* it is also decided whether the boy has to stay with his parents-in-law or not, and for how long in case he has to do so, which is the customary way. The number of years varies very much, as some stay three years, others from five to ten, and even in a few cases the husband never goes back to the house of his own parents.

No really important business can be transacted, of course, among the Isneg, without remembering the cravings of the stomach. In the ordinary course of events one or more pigs are slaughtered according to the social standing of the girl's parents. If they are too poor to indulge in such prodigality, a chicken will do. In both cases a dog may complete the menu, although this is not absolutely required. No special name is given to the killing and consuming of the chicken; but if one or more pigs enter the lists, the whole ceremony is called *pildáp*. Nevertheless in a few isolated cases, when the people are much too poor, the banquet is completely left out, and the deliberations are conducted on empty stomachs.

All during the *amómăn* the men conduct everything that is connected with the *pildáp*. The *dorarákit* or shamaness does not interfere in the least.

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765 775 262 paratively young woman living at Bayag and called *Dariká*, who has not eaten rice and taro for four consecutive years, and at the present time (March, 1931) she still *mañgabí*. The reason is that she has had to mourn successively her husband and several other members of her family. She stated to me that she had completely forgotten the taste of rice. After the *obóbāt*, when the prohibition is lifted, these persons always mix a few *awát* herbs with the rice they are cooking for their first meal, and they consume the *awát* together with the rest. For a month afterwards, they also usually abstain from corn, yams and sweet potatoes.

765 *Magló:* this consists in abstaining from the use of anything of which the deceased was particularly fond, and may be practised by anybody who wants to show his esteem for the person in question. The purpose of the Isneg is to leave the use of these things to the person who went to the realm of the dead, and this abstinence may be protracted for many years, although it usually stops at the *obóbāt*. So, if the deceased was fond of yams, sugar, etc., the mourners abstain from eating these articles of food; if he was a great smoker, they forego the use of tobacco; if he was a drunkard, they stop drinking *bási;* if he was accustomed to make much ado about his apparel, they wear nothing but a G-string and a headband. I have known a man who drank no water, but only coconut milk and so forth, because his deceased father was wont to drink much water. While I am writing these lines, there is a man in the house who uses absolutely no salt with any of his meals; he wishes to reserve it for his deceased brother who was exceedingly fond of much-salted food. If the deceased liked to play the *balikiń* or nose flute, such instruments are left aside for the time being. If the woman for whom they mourn was a good *oritáń* (native guitar) player, the mourners give up playing that instrument; and so on.

765 523 193 It should be noted in this connection that the Isneg also understand the meaning of a souvenir or keepsake. If the deceased had made something nice or had a trinket or instrument which he valued very highly, the survivors take those things to themselves as *panámdammán* (something used to remember or to think about somebody; from the stem *damdám*, "thinking", the prefix *pań, ń* of the prefix and *d* of the stem being combined into *n*, and the suffix *ān*) or *pagsinsinnán* (something used to see or to look at somebody; from the stem *siñán*, "seeing", reduplicated and syncopated into *sinsinn*, the prefix *pag* and the suffix *ān*).

000 to be quite a differenc in their customs and dialects.
197 Along the length of the Apayao River there are three
162 separate groups. They can understand each other about the way that a Spaniard understands an Italian.

DRESS

291 The ordinary dress of the people is simple. The
[302] men wear breechcloths or G-strings, *abag*. They keep their hair long and coil it on the head. It is confined with a length of cloth wrapped turban fashion.
[304] The hands and wrists are tattooed in the boat pattern.
[142] The teeth are blackened. Each man has a small, de-
[276] corated bag, *bulsa*, in which he keeps his betel nut,
[295] *buyo*, lime bottle, tobacco, flint, tinder, and other small belongings. This is tucked, either into the G-string or in a belt woven of rattan. The woman, when about
30/ her work, wears only a tapis. She has a necklace of
● 523 ancestral beads, shaped from chalcedony, silver and carved amulet bones. There are also patterned porcelain beads in the string. Many of these were obtained from the Chinese when they were active traders here some five centuries ago. Gold does not appear
[304] to be used. The woman has boat-pattern tattoo marks
[291] on the back of her hands as an aid to beauty. The
[854] small children make their skins do as clothing. Babies are carried about by the mothers in slings passed over one shoulder.

292 When all dressed up and ready to go to a party,
301 the woman wears a dark tapis, *aquen;* a cloth girdle, *bajacat;* a short-waisted, long-sleeved, black, pull-on shirt, *badiyo,* all characteristically embroidered in red; a head cloth with spangles, *laddong* and *saban*, topped

low box about three feet square, filled with earth. In its center are set on end three long stones in a triangular position, which hold the clay cooking pot over the fire beneath. Fire is obtained by striking flint with steel and kindling tinder with the spark; or by rubbing two bamboo sticks together. There are also a round-bottomed iron frying pan and various paddles and ladles. Above the stove is a drying rack, and against the end wall are secured shelves which hold the old Chinese plates and other articles and materials. This end of the room is used for the kitchen, sometimes as the dining room, and as a general work shop. Woven sleeping mats are used, and there are chests for the securing of precious articles. Light from the fire furnishes illumination at night.

There should also be several lovely old ancestral Chinese jars, *gasi*, probably of the Ming dynasty period. In these is kept the *basi*, a pleasant wine made from the juice of the sugar cane. These ancient Chinese jars are much prized by the people. They have a typical shape, and range in size from one to three feet in height. Some of them have dragons and other figures embossed on them. Others have pictures of Chinese scenes and conventional patterns: this being especially true of the white jars with blue designs. They are glazed; some in lovely shapes of brown, yellow and blue. The people have quite a lore about them. There are a number of different varieties and different qualities in each variety. The *dordori* stands first; next is the *garadogod*. Some of the others are the *dinalasan*, *banaag*, *kindi-ingan*, *binilibil*, *boddi* and *sarang*. Much of the wealth of the Apayaos is held in these jars, together with the beads.

000 523 [435] [431] [425] [583] [681] in these jars, together with the beads. The[1] jars are valued up to ₱200 and bead up to ₱150 each. They are usually inherited in the family as marriage dowries; but may be received as indemnity for injuries. Sometimes labels, in the ancient script, are chiseled on these jars. According to authorities, when the people came here, they had a high culture and read 212 178 523 and wrote fluently in the script; but this culture gradually lessened from disuse until now there are only a few treasured ancient manuscripts remaining.

415 285 One type of basket is used. The lip is circuar-formed on rattan. The bottom is drawn out to four corners on which is secured a rattan base. Both wicker and twilled basket weaves are used, and the best ones are ornamented with colored lines and conventional designs. These baskets are woven in different sizes to fit various needs; so that a good housewife has a whole set of them which will nest together There are also some especially shaped baskets for particular uses.

415 264 At meal time the cooked rice is ladled out on new banana leaves placed on the floor, and the other food may be placed in polished, half-coconut shells. These are also used as water cups, finger bowls, and general containers. The family squat around and help themselves to the food. Their fingers are washed and, being more convenient, are used in place of forks.

262 The rice has a pinkish hue, is sticky, has a good flavor, and is the basic food of the people. With this may be eaten portions of the flesh of fish, shrimp, snails, crabs, crocodiles, lizards, frogs, ants, chickens, 000 birds, or deer. The vegetables may be: tomatoes, egg-

[1] [ancient Chinese -- ANALYST]

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868 and ordinary work, to which his parents even now introduce him as early as possible,—were those he needed at the time of taking a head or of defending his own: and here again, the best means for acquiring them was practice by imitation or necessity. Even the use of the spear, the headax and the shield was never formally taught: a young man saw his elders at work, and did as they did. After all, a real attack, openly and face to face, has always been rather the exception; to fall unawares on an unsuspecting enemy, to kill a defenceless woman or child, and similar exploits, were usually much more in the line of the Isneg. If nevertheless some of them have been real braves, practice, not formal teaching, has made them such. But nowadays these happy times seem to be gone forever: every Isneg man cultivates his fields in peace and sits undisturbed under his coconut tree, the latter eventuality being usually the more frequent

857 Isneg boys and girls are found of play, this is only natural; but
524 their choice is very limited. Indeed, except for the sport of *bisnág*, most of the time these types of play merely consist in running and wrestling, at least as far as active sports that may serve to develop bodily strength are concerned. A group of Isneg boys, whether inside or outside the house, rarely keep quiet for a long time, and very soon playful fighting, which for the most part consists in slapping and kicking one another, is indulged in. This romping, which the Isneg call by the comprehensive term of *mazoúrdd*, after a time becomes so noisy that other people present cannot hear one another's voices, until some old fellow cries: "*Pázat*" (no special meaning), at which the infernal noise stops on the spot, to begin again, of course, at the first opportunity. Isneg girls, although usually less rough and noisy, are not loath to follow the example of the members of the ruder sex; this is generally, but not always, done among themselves exclusively.

[863] Baths are taken rather frequently by both adults and children:
515 the latter either follow the example of their elders or go to take a splash in the river with their companions. In this case each sex keeps strictly apart almost without exception: indeed an Isneg mother never fails to teach her girls a certain modesty as the best means to prevent regrettable incidents. Baths are always taken in some stream of
[34] running water; ponds of still water besides being very rare in the Isneg country, are usually infested with crocodiles, and no Isneg would think of fetching water from somewhere to take his ablutions at home: his village is always situated near some river or brook, and he would consider it as the acme of absurdity to go to the stream in

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question and bring the water home, when without such trouble, the same, and even a much better, result can be obtained by using the water where it is found 575

The Isneg wash their hands before meals, or, to speak correctly, dip one of their hands in water with a semblance of washing it: they occasionally tell their offspring to do the same. 364 515 862

In order to satisfy the wants of nature, they always retire far away from the presence of other human beings lest they offend the latters' sense of smell: an Isneg resents nothing more than the disregard of this elementary courtesy, and children receive a severe scolding and sometimes a sound thrashing, if they fail to imitate their elders in this respect. Special closets for the purpose were entirely unknown here until Government officials introduced them by force: there is no lack of space in Apayaw. 514 863 177

Isneg women sweep the house, not only daily, but whenever there is a reason for doing so, and they clean the yard very often. Small girls are regularly told to help their mother or their elder sisters, and sometimes to do the sweeping in their stead, so that they also may learn how to perform the duties of a good housewife. 356 863

Let us now pass to the noble sport of *bisndg*. *Bisndg* is very popular all over the northern part of the Mountain Province, while Ibaloy and Kankanay seem not even to know it. Among the Isneg, not only boys and young men, but also men of mature age, frequently indulge in it; nay, at stated times, adults take part in it as in a kind of religious rite or ceremony; but more of this later. Isneg youngsters usually practice *bisndg* in imitation of their elders, merely as a kind of play, whenever it takes their fancy to do so. Although this sport is not formally taught, older people often urge boys to take part in it, and they rarely fail to break out into vociferous applause, whenever one of the young braves has performed his part befittingly, in this way encouraging the whole group to do better and better. 524 857 865 865 201 861

Bisndg certainly inures the partakers to hardship and develops their bodily strength, although, to use a minimum of words, one might say that it merely consists in slapping one another's thigh. But such a statement is all too simple; in reality the sport is much more complicated. There must be at least two men in order to play *bisndg* (Figures 1 and 2), and strictly speaking, two men are sufficient: the one who slaps, whom I shall call the agent for short, and the one who is slapped, the patient. 524 865

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And first the patient (*magtán*). This man takes a sitting posture, in the case of the Isneg mostly on the ground or on the floor, and extends both legs in such a way as to expose the vastus externus of the quadriceps extensor muscle of one of his thighs. Sometimes the exposed leg is slightly bent at the knee, in order to obtain a uniformly even surface. Lest the leg in question be moved from its position or the muscle relax through trembling, the patient usually thrusts one of his hands (the left, in case he presents the right thigh to be slapped) between the two legs and sustains the exposed thigh from beneath.

FIG. 1. THE *Bisnā'g* GAME

When everything is ready, the other man, the agent (*mańná*) prepares himself to strike a blow on the exposed muscle with the flat of his hand. This preparation is very elaborate: the agent starts from a place at some distance from the patient and approaches, retreats and approaches again several times in succession, every time contorting his body in every possible way, and swinging his arms, especially the one that has to strike the blow, to and fro, up and down, as if he was going to strike a score of enemies. When coming near his opponent, he occasionally pats the exposed muscle with just a slight

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blow, as if to prepare both that muscle and his own hand for the final blow. The more abundant and gracious the contortions of the agent, the more his performance will be admired by the bystanders. All the while, of course, the patient follows the movements of his opponent with anxious eyes, and as soon as the latter has struck his

FIG. 2. THE *Magtā'n* IN THE *Bisnā'g* GAME

blow, provided it was well done, patient and lookers-on alike examine the skin of the slapped thigh to see if it has been cracked. This is far from being a rare occurrence, and occasionally blood may be seen spurting from the cracks. The best blows are those that are given with a short dry slap and that resound with a clear clapping noise.

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524 865 After this the patient takes his turn in playing the rôle of agent, and all excitement, and perhaps filled with a spirit of revenge, he will try to elicit even more applause than his predecessor by the gracefulness and abundance of his contortions, and by the keenness of his final blow. Sometimes both men repeat the performance once and again, and even several times in succession; but the general rule is one slap to each individual.

All the time some of the bystanders are challenging one another to a similar combat and as soon as the two customary blows have been struck, or in case the same two men played the *bisndg* several times in succession, as soon as these are tired or otherwise stop slapping one another, the next pair takes to the platform.

B. MENTAL EDUCATION

212 868 Let us now turn to the question of mental education. Here at least we meet with a kind of formal training. To make the matter very simple, I shall begin by mentioning the fact that the Isneg have no system of writing, and there is consequently no room for teaching anything concerned with either reading or writing; and, whereas there are no recognized hereditary chiefs among them, all children are practically on the same level. But all of them have to learn the spoken language of the people, and without the help of someone to teach them, most youngsters would remain ignorant of a good many terms that every decent Isneg should know. Moreover such knowledge has to be imparted to them at the earliest opportunity.

868 855 Here the mother, without being recognized specifically as a teacher, takes upon herself to instruct her child as soon as it begins to be able to talk. She tells it the names of articles of furniture, animals, trees, and whatever comes in their way. This is done formally, but not systematically. I mean that the mother really teaches her child, but she does this only on the occasion of meeting the object whose name she wishes her baby to know. The father also does not fail to teach his boys, who have attained the age at which they leave the usual company of their mother and follow their male parent, the names of some objects of which they might still be ignorant, for instance the names of constellations, and more especially the names of places, brooks, etc., which they meet on their way while travelling. Even in the case of small children of both sexes, the father gladly plays the instructor, whenever there is some occasion to do so, although as a rule the mother is supposed to impart most of that kind of training

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462 I: "Of course, why shouldn't you:"

He: "But I never did that; I do not know anything about it."

I: "That is very easy though; and you are not too old to learn. Can you not do like this?" [Here I mimicked the action of a woman who makes holes in the ground for planting the seeds].

He: "Wouldn't that be funny. Have you ever seen a man doing a woman's work?"

I: "I do not see anything funny about it, if you need to do so in order to live."

He: "No, sir, that is not our business; that is woman's work; without a woman we can do nothing. I cannot help it, but that is the custom. Woman's work for a woman, man's work for a man."

856 It is also a fact that boys help their father and girls their mother
861 as soon as they are able to do so. No sooner have they gained the
[869] required strength but they will be given some necessary implement in order to learn its use. Very often, especially in the case of the headax *(aliwa)* of men, which is of universal use and serves almost any purpose, the instrument at first will be a small or light one, provided it serves the purpose, to be superseded later on by a heavier one of the same nature. Whereas a child usually accompanies, first its mother, and later on one of its parents according to its sex, it is but natural that it should also offer them its help, as soon as it has gained sufficient strength. Although at first the help may be very slight and insignificant, the Isneg does not lose sight of the fact that this early exercise and practice will be of great benefit to the child, and that in the end it will accrue to his own advantage.

861 Imitative types of play are very little practised, as may be deduced from the above: the children very soon have to do the real thing, why should they occupy themselves with imitations? Nevertheless it may happen that they imitate in play a certain work which is still beyond their strength: so I have seen little Isneg girls playing at pounding and winnowing rice, with sand for rice, a small hole in the ground for a mortar, a stick for a pestle, and some large leaf for a winnow; [524] but these are exceptions, and not at all frequent ones. Incidentally it may be mentioned that dolls are unknown to our little Isneg maidens; a real child will be thrust upon them as soon as they are able to carry it.

462 And now as to the sundry occupations of the Isneg.

241 An Isneg is a farmer above anything else, so no wonder that agriculture is not only his chief pursuit, but also that which is taught

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formed by any of the shamans. Indeed, why should the spirits be enticed to obsess the shaman at a time when everybody is bent on keeping them at a distance? Besides, the souls of the dead should be left where they are as long as the *inndt* is in the house, probably lest the *kadudued* of the deceased be interfered with on its trip to the other world.

Women mourn and lament in a loud voice almost uninterruptedly, usually two or three at a time: when one group is tired, another one takes its place. Men rarely imitate them in this, especially after the first general outburst of grief, that takes place immediately after death is over, but they *magbibisndg* (slap one another's thighs: the game previously described, CAC–P, 3: 123-26). According to the Isneg, playing *bisndg* is a man's way of showing his grief: a certain chastisement of the body is undoubtedly involved in the whole performance, and just as the near relatives sometimes cut themselves at the death of one of their loved ones in order to show the intensity of their sorrow, so also the men, relatives, neighbors and friends, slap one another's thighs, often until blood spurts out, in order to prove to the whole assembly that they also take part and are far from remaining insensible in the presence of death. That a certain amount of voluntary infliction of pain is at the root of this question, is corroborated by the fact that some women occasionally take part in the *bisndg*, the more so that no member of the weaker sex ever plays the rôle of agent (*maúnd*), but merely receives the slaps (*magtán*) without rendering them. Expressions like the following may be heard frequently among the Isneg: "*Uráy magdáza ya apélko ta xakkánnamagsáúit* (even though my thighs bleed, as I do not weep)". In both cases, namely in that of men and in that of women, the *bisndg* is resorted to more especially by those who do little or no weeping; people, whether men or women, who do a good deal of lamenting, rarely take part in *bisndg*.

It goes without saying that the spirits are wide awake at the death of an Isneg, and that the survivors are annoyed with their unwelcome presence at every turn. Among others the following deserve special mention:

Dupappá-, whose tastes are very peculiar; indeed, he it is who absorbs the decayed matter (*saxó*) that flows from the nose and mouth of the deceased.

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The following terms have been heard at Talifugu (Bo dialect): 243 195

	Common language	Reapers' cant
Dog:	*áto*	*alíal*
Hog:	*ábuy*	*dinakán*
Chicken:	*anú-*	*kăyabkáb*
Monkey:	*ayóń*	*kilsáp*
Cat:	*kusá*	*lannáń*
To eat:	*mańán*	*mańunág* [39]

This is also the time[1] for proposing riddles (*baníko*), a pastime that is taboo in other seasons. Most of these riddles are stereotyped and well known all over the district, otherwise the solution of some of them would be absolutely impossible, as they consist of words that have become obsolete or that are entirely without meaning. Nevertheless new riddles are always welcome, and so the inventive genius of some of the natives is given much scope. 524

In order to avoid crowding into this paper too large a number of native texts, I refer the reader to a paper to be published subsequently, in which I give a long list of riddles and of their answers, all of them gathered during my prolonged sojourn in Apayaw.

It is also customary among the natives to set snares (*ílug*) for jungle fowls all around the *kómăn*, at the time of the harvest, when these birds are especially bold. An Isneg never fails to improve the opportunity of getting a few choice morsels at little cost. 223

Harvest time is the season in which most spirits, good and bad, are abroad, and so the Isneg has a busy time, first to force his protectors to come and help him, and then to propitiate or drive away the evil imps that are intent either on stealing or harming his paddy, his most valued possession, or on playing all kinds of mischief and mean tricks. Besides these, in almost every village, we find one or more dwelling places of special *aníto* (spirits) that have to be remembered at this time of the year. At Dangla, for instance, the reapers never omit to pay their respects to the genius who lives at *Pinaxolowán*, by offering him *inapúxăn* (betel for chewing). 243 782

When offering *inapúxăn* to the spirits, at harvesting time, some or all of the following prayers may be recited:

Iápugko íkăw ulát ta umad-adăyyóka kadakamí (I offer betel [for chewing] to you, Famine, so that you be going away from us).

[39] *Mazunág*, in ordinary language, means: to enter the house.

1 [i.e., at harvest time -- Analyst]

252 412 [45] then hulls it by pounding it with a wooden pestle in a mortar fashioned of two-foot section of a hardwood log, set on end and hollowed out. The woman then winnows it by cleverly tossing it in an oval-shaped tray woven of rattan. There will often be a set of these mortars with the women companionably pounding together, using a sort of chant.

593 854 [84] The relatives are affectionate, and family ties are strong all through life. The family life is a happy one. Babies are much desired and receive a great deal of loving care. Their wants are promptly supplied, and no little one cries its heart out for lack 524 of a mother's loving arms. The small girls do not 857 have dolls to play with but use the babies instead. Also, instead of little play houses, they early begin to play house by helping their mothers in the big houses. Many of the small chores about the house are done by the children. But they also have plenty of time for games. [86] swimming, and other amusements. As they grow older, the girls, of course, follow the work of the mother: housework, washing, taking care of the pigs and chickens, carrying water in jars on their heads from the spring, farming, and other duties. The boys cheerfully work with their fathers in gathering wood, building houses, granaries, chicken coops, bamboo fences, etc., and in fishing and hunting. They early learn the lore of the woods; so that a boy of seven here can take much better care of himself in the open than the average Eagle Boy Scout in the United States. [86] The children are taught a proper decorum; but corporal punishment is rare. A little scolding usually keeps them in order.

765 The bereaved husband or wife
515 must continue in mourning during several months even up to a year, according to the time set by the relatives of the deceased. He must wear white cothes and cannot take a bath nor eat rice during that time.

When the time of mourning is over, a smaller *callas* is held. Only then can the bereaved husband or wife remove his white clothes, take a bath, and don his usual garments. His mourning has changed into happiness again.

000 Thus life has been going on and on through the centuries in the lovely land of Apayao.

PUZZLES

● 524 I. An enchanted tree grows on the bank of the river.
539 During the day time, it stands straight toward the sky; but when the night comes, it lies flat and blocks the river, rendering it impassable to any boatman. However, a certain boatman did pass. How did he manage it?

SOLUTION: He made a great fire of leaves there so that the enchanted tree thought that day had come and it stood up. The boatman then poled with all his might and was able to pass safely.

II. There were three carabaos on one side of the river, but no grass; so they wanted to cross to the other side. However, there was a crocodile who promised to eat the one female carabao. What did the two male carabaos do to save the female carabao from the hungry crocodile?

SOLUTION: The male carabao went first; the female seized its tail in her mouth. The crocodile waited, of

course, for the last carabao, saw it was a male: so it left off. 524 539

III. There is a small girl; but when she goes out of a house, it cannot hold her.

SOLUTION: The small girl is smoke.

IV. It can carry lumber but cannot carry a needle.

SOLUTION: It is water.

V. When they are in, they are brothers; but when they are taken out, they fight each other.

SOLUTION: They are flint and steel.

NURSERY SONG 539

(In the Nabuañgan River Dialect)

I. *We-ya-we, we-ya-we, we-ya-we, we-ya-we*
Matadug can waguicon ta lombet dan amangen,
Mangil bet linoto wen ta canan ta daddanen.
We-ya-we, we-ya-we, we-ya-we, we-ya-we
Please sleep now my brother,
Father will come by and by bringing for us to eat.

II. *Wac-wac-wac-wac-wac-wac*
Matodug can catingen;
Ta awad gayang Malilak
Nga tomabtab can co ota-c.
Wac-wac-wac-wac-wac-wac
Please sleep now my little baby;
Because there is a crow from (Mount) Malilak
That will eat your brain if you do not stop crying.

the body of the wife or husband as he lies beside the corpse. Then the relatives vie with each other in geting the fluid and rubbing it over their bodies. This will influence the dead to request for them from the ancestral spirits, longer lives and healthier bodies. 764

When the time for burial arrives, the corpse, dressed in its best clothes, is laid in a wooden coffin. With it may be placed food, *buyo*, and weapons for the use of spirit of the dead. As the coffin is carried along to the place of burial, grains of rice may be scattered along the way. The coffin is usually placed in an excavation about five feet deep either under the house or under the granary. With the corpse are buried baskets and other articles, depending on the wealth of the family. A small shelter is built over the grave if it is not otherwise shaded: for the dead must be protected from the heat. Then the burial service, pronounced in the ancient cadence, is said.

Some people bury their dead under huge rocks or in caves. After a time, when only the bones remain, they are collected, placed in a small box, and put in the granary.

Following the burial, the relatives, if they are wealthy, return to the house and continue the merry-making. They may also play games. One game, *biznag*, is a contest in which the boys take turns slapping each other's bare thighs with their hands. The loser is the one who cannot stand the pain any more and gives up. 765 526

On the third night after burial the spirit of the dead comes out of the grave and wanders around. It is sometimes seen. The bereaved husband or wife 765 [775]

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After the death of one of their relatives, the Isneg also *lapatán* or taboo some of the coconut trees that belonged to the deceased. Such trees are easily recognizable, as one always finds a certain quantity of strips of bamboo or of thorny branches or of both, tied all around the tree, at the height of one's shoulders. I know of a couple of Iloko teachers who, knowing nothing about this custom, climbed a tabooed coconut tree, in order to drop down some of the fruits and eat them; unfortunately they were caught by the owners and got free only after the payment of a heavy fine. If they had been natives of the district, they would not have escaped so easily, although I doubt very much if an Isneg would ever dare break such a taboo.

Coconuts that have been gathered at the time of the owner's death are also declared taboo, and nobody is allowed to partake of them until the time of the *obóbāt;* if no such ceremony takes place (which must be a rare contingency) the fruits are left to decay. At the time of the *obóbāt*, however, they are declared *inúkas* or free, and everybody is allowed to consume them.

The following are the *lapāt* or taboos that have to do with fishing:

1. It is usually forbidden to catch fish in that part of the river or brook that passes near the settlement in which a person died. This taboo is lifted only at the time of the *obóbāt*. The tabooed section, which is said to be *mabalsiyán*, is marked off at both ends by green leafy canes of bamboo grass (Miscanthus sinensis) stuck in the bottom of the river or brook.

2. If the relatives of the deceased claim the exclusive right of fishing in a certain part of a river or brook, this section or *anáwań* remains tabooed until the *obóbāt* or completion of the mourning period.

It is forbidden to work on two days, namely on the second day after the funeral, the *taribukáy*, and on the day following the *obóbāt* ceremony. This obligatory rest is called *úlin*, and any work done on such a day is considered useless and inevitably subject to being completely spoiled.

A widow or widower is forbidden to visit the relatives of the deceased husband or wife for the whole period that elapses between burial and *obóbāt*. Infringement of this taboo would cause the whole body of the culprit to swell up. The same punishment would be inflicted on a widow or widower who would dare eat mushrooms (*óoń*) or *úbud* (young shoots of some palm trees, as the *anîboń* or fishtail palm, etc.).

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765 The next day a general rest (*ńilin*) is proclaimed all through the settlement, and after that, except for those who practised *mańgabi* ● 527 and usually abstain from corn, yams and sweet potatoes for a month or so, and except for those who insist on continuing to *magló*, every- 769 body again leads his customary easy-going life, just as if nothing had happened, while the grave is forgotten together with its occupant, and the temporary hut is not cared for any more. This hut falls down and its materials decay within a comparatively short time.

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the latter being usually the most plentiful, over a small space called *tálon*. This *tálon* is generally not much larger than one square yard, and so the first day's work is finished within a comparatively short time.

Besides the observances that are usual for all kinds of work, and which have been mentioned previously, here are a few practices that are peculiar to the *mañumá* (clearing), which it is good for the Isneg to heed. And so, before beginning to cut anything, he should perform the ceremony called *sapsapó*. This consists in strewing a certain amount of ashes, brought along for this purpose, first to the left, then to the right, and finally behind his back, in order to avoid, if not the approach, at least the bites of mosquitoes for the entire duration of the *mañumá*. Besides, if he is a careful man, he will have provided himself with one or more of the following: *alimbódo, anagláw, talésăy*. The *alimbódo* is a kind of herb that keeps you from any kind of harm, from anything that might hurt you, provided it be placed at the spot where you begin your work. The *anagláw* is a low herb with comparatively long leaves, that grows all over the district, and is put down at the same place as the preceding, for the benefit of the worker and his *kómăn*. The *talésăy* also is a small herb, and serves the same purpose as the *anagláw*, but it is found only in forested areas. At the same time the following prayer may be recited. The text was given me by *Yadán* from Nagbabalayan (O dialect, K branch).

Dinakami paipalagmán kiyá sipăt năyá inammăyán (Do not disobey us at the clearing of the rice field).

Now pronounce the word *óka* or *póka*, and begin attacking the bushes. This word should be pronounced every day before the first stroke of the hatchet, until the whole field is cleared. Its pronunciation will help you to go up the slope in a lively way and to finish the work quickly. Should somebody come along and pronounce the same word, while you are busy cutting the bushes, its pronunciation will have the same effect, making the work easy for you.

The next day, that is the day after the *tálon* has been cleared, the Isneg *ɪumowáñ*, which means that he stays at home and does nothing: he makes it a holiday (*ñílin*). Woe to him if he infringes this taboo. What would befall him, nobody really knows, as it has never happened yet that this holiday was not kept: no Isneg willfully disobeys any of the customs of his people, and this special taboo is known by everybody.

773 it struck the sky. The sky became frightened and
821 raised up, causing a great commotion, and the trees were torn out of the ground.

776 To the family of Hatan, I will add the names of
[771] some other *anitos*. The tendency is for them to lessen in scope, in number, and in interest (i.e.—toward monagony). First I will mention some good *anitos*.

776 *Kaybacan* is the guardian of the house. A feast,
527 *pildap*, is given to him upon completion of a new house.
342 Small spears are placed there in the house where he stays. Whenever there is meat, a small portion is placed on the spears. Otherwise the family will get
[704] sick. No eels, deer, or mud fish are brought into the house; for the *anito* dislikes their smell and would run away, leaving the family to sicken and die.

776 *Pilay* is the guardian of the farm. He lives in
241 the granary. If a stranger touches it, he becomes lame. A small feast, *pespes*, is given to him at the beginning of the harvest.

Ambungan is the guardian of the rice harvest. Before harvest one must mix some burnt rice with shredded coconut and eat it under a certain big tree
[821] where he is. If the owner does not do this, strong winds and rain will come and blow down the grain.

776 *Danag* is the guardian of the fishermen and hunters; while *Ayan* induces the wild pig to run into the trap; but *Siwasion* helps the wild pig and deer to avoid the hunters.

Daguan makes one strong to work, and *Manglanbang* is the guardian of the warrior; while *Panugatang* is the guide. *Sangasan* guards the entrance to the *barangay*.

241 784 527 Harvest is started in the wax of the moon. In each *barangay* there is a chosen woman, *gomanay* (beginner of harvest) who goes ceremoniously to each field in turn and cuts the first bundle of rice and stores it in the granary. She must observe many taboos and no one else may come near the field for two days prior to cutting. During the first five days of harvest no one visits the owners house nor asks for fire. No fuel is cut nor rice pounded. The *anito* must not be frightened. Otherwise planting and honest are gala seasons.

[805] Each full of the moon is observed as a holiday; also as the first thunder and first rainbow in the season. In the full of the moon the granary (in which all the rice cut has been stored) is first opened by another chosen woman, *Manginas,* who goes ceremoniously, before dawn and takes out three bundles only, which she pounds and cooks. She eats first; but she must not take a bath nor eat fish nor chew betel-nut [479] all that day. Those who worked in that rice field then receive their share of the crop.

821 784 During an eclipse of the moon no work is done and likewise during an earthquake, which is caused in this way: deep under the earth in great cave, there lives a huge eel and a crab. When the crab pinches the eel he wiggles, and so shakes the earth.

821 Once the sun and moon had a quarrel. The moon beat the sun with a broom; and so the sun struck the moon with a fire brand giving it a dimmer light and leaving a scar where it struck.

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584 *Iwaxán:* a spirit who formerly was a man, assiduous in courting 832 the girls and very clever in causing the latter to allow him to per- 776 form coitus with them. If the boy who goes to court the girls happens to have a small bottle of coconut oil on his person, which is quite customary, *Iwaxán* sometimes enters the bottle, so that the girl may smell the fragrance he emits and fall in love with the boy.

584 5. The wearing of beads. The most powerful in this line are the 832 *buláwan*, round beads, varying much in size, of the color of silver, 301 and possessing a kind of silky lustre. They appear in strings that are worn as necklaces or as ornaments around the headband. Although they prove very attractive to the girl when worn by the boy who comes to court her, these beads are not the exclusive property of the male sex: both men and women make use of them for ornamental purposes.

584 6. The giving of presents, as rings, trinkets, clothes, and so on. 832 Isneg young men of marriageable age very often carry their articles for chewing betel nut in a pouch (*kélay*), a rather large and gener- 431 ally multicolored handkerchief, hanging from the neck and dangling on the chest; two ends are knotted immediately over the contents 293 with a large double knot, the other two are joined at the top and reach the neck of the wearer. All along both sides, from the recep- 276 tacle up to about half-way between the latter and the neck, a series of rings (*sańkilát*) covers the cloth. The girl takes betel nut, etc., 415 out of the pouch, and both, boy and girl, occasionally interchange rings, the boy detaching one of his own from his *kélay* to give it to 531 the girl, and the latter adding one of her rings to those of the boy's *kélay*. Such an interchange of rings, however, is not always necessarily a sign of consent on the part of the girl to the advances of the boy: this in modification of a statement made by me in a previous paper (CAC–P, 1:226).

584 Incidentally it should be noted here that lovers' gifts are never 431 returned, even though no further steps be taken or though some obstacle come in the way of the realization of the young people's dreams; such gifts always remain the property of the donee.

584 7. The use of love charms (*mańímud*) to force the girl to think of 832 him. This item is so exceedingly important that I feel obliged to devote a few paragraphs to the same.

832 Love charms are used exclusively and very often, if not universally, by young men, never by girls. They usually consist of some herbs

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585 allowed to mount the ladder, either by herself or on the back of the *mañlakkát*.

Once inside she has to go immediately toward the place where a *balandán* blanket, the property of the boy's parents, has been spread on the floor, and to sit down upon it. The *balandán* consists of three rectangular pieces of cloth, sewn together at the sides, not at the edges; the two sutures are provided with large ornamental stitches of purple thread. The bride, however, is not to stay there very long, as she has barely squatted down on the *balandán* when her mother pulls it away from under her, and takes possession of the same. Here also the *mañlakkát* dons her customary attire, — jacket, headband and the rest, — as her rôle is finished by this time.

The parents of the boy usually prepare a banquet for all present; chickens or pigs and dogs are slaughtered, according to the social standing of the owners of the house, but, as previously noted, no shaman performs the *maxanito*. Should the *bálat* be killed on this occasion, which is not absolutely necessary, as the boy's parents may prefer to keep it alive, neither bride nor groom, nor any of the girl's relatives, is allowed to partake of it. If any of them should infringe this taboo and eat the meat of the *bálat* pig, his or her children, whether born already or to be born in the future, would die a certain death. The same prohibition obtains with reference to the cakes. It is certainly a great sacrifice for an Isneg not to partake of a meal of pork and rice, and only the fear of some dire punishment such as that of death for his children could effectively check his appetite in that direction. But in nearly all cases the boy's parents slaughter some other animal, which all present are allowed to partake. It goes without saying that a copious flow of *básı* keeps the whole company in merriment, otherwise you could not very well call it a marriage feast.

The principal ceremony, however, consists in the distribution of gifts, of which there are two classes:

1. The *ákit* (from which the whole marriage ceremony takes its name, *mañakit:* to perform a marriage ceremony): these are gifts of beads, clothes, etc., offered by the boy's relatives and outsiders to the women of the girl's party in exchange for a certain amount of cakes, or some part of the *bálat*, in case the latter is slaughtered.

2. The *tugnúl:* gifts of spears, headaxes, *xúsi* jars, etc., also offered by the boy's relatives and outsiders, but this time to the men of the girl's party, again in exchange for cakes or portions of the *bálat*.

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lighten that of the young shaman who has to confide these things to memory. Here stops the exclusive rôle of the *dorarákit* or shaman as far as religious instruction is concerned.

Dancing and singing, whether religious or otherwise, are learned by pure imitation. Songs are improvised most of the time; the only exceptions are a few scattered terms and a limited number of sentences, more especially a kind of refrain or burden, that recurs at the end of every verse or every stanza in most Isneg songs. These traditional terms and sentences are mostly archaic, and their meaning is a mystery to at least the generality of the Isneg; perhaps some of them have never had any meaning at all.

All Isneg beliefs, whether they have to do with magic or with religion, whether they refer to the world of spirits or to the state of a person after death, are simply picked up, or, as the Isneg put it, "they hear them (*maxi-náda da*)." This means that there is no formal instruction about the matter. Aged persons, particularly old women, and still more especially shamans, freely talk about these things at the slightest provocation, and youngsters are always eager to listen to them. This, however, does not exclude the possibility and even the probability of the members of the older generation talking about magical or religious beliefs purposely and with the direct intention of telling the children about them. And that such instruction, whether intended or not, is sometimes really very efficacious is proved by the fact that I have had among my informants girls of barely ten years old who know everything about certain spirits and could vividly describe them to me. This is the more easily understood when one remembers that all these extraordinary details agree very well with the usual trend of the Isneg mind toward the supernatural, so that the children experience little difficulty in keeping them impressed upon their memory.

Myths and legends, stories and tales, which by the way are sometimes far from being religious, are mostly related by the parents and grandparents in the evening, when the whole family is stretched out on the floor and ready to sleep. The Isneg are not in the habit of making much use of artificial light, and they very often go to sleep almost at sunset, so that there is usually ample time for the old people to comply with the wishes of the youngsters, who among them as well as among us, are always eager to hear a story, and the more fantastic the story, the better. Even young boys and girls are sometimes invited to play the rôle of story-teller, provided they are known

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836 course, and the distinction seems rather to be theoretical than prac-
673 tical: nevertheless that is what is going on in the Isneg mind as far
684 as I understand it. To them purpose and intention mean very little,
672 as will be shown again very soon when I shall refer to killing as a crime; what counts is the result. If a boy chances to sleep with a girl without rendering her pregnant, the Isneg may perhaps not see anything very wrong in the whole affair, but woe to him if fate is against him.

836 Nevertheless with reference to young women, the code is much
684 stricter, although the boy will suffer a much harder immediate punishment for his delinquency than will the girl. A girl should never think of doing anything in that line; a boy might perhaps be inclined to do it, but he should know the consequences, if the result is what it should not be.

834 I have described in my introduction to this paper how certain
626 Isneg parents refused to send their girls to school on account of the notoriously immoral conduct of their teacher, and here is what we read in a little manual of instructions for soldiers of the Philippine Constabulary: "No Isneg woman should be joked with or touched by anyone. Christian cargadores or servants should be cautioned about this, as serious trouble may result".[2]

836 Once I heard a boy of some twelve years old, who was working for
●533 wages here at Kabugaw, improvise a little song, probably in order to render the work less heavy and to relieve his tiredness. The song was not what you would call a religious one, but it served to show very nicely the ideas current among these people, and at the same time it proved that even the Isneg understood the meaning of what is called an "occasion of sin" (in this case: the sin of impregnating a girl). I may be permitted to write the song down exactly as I heard it: "Do not approach my vulva, I do not want you to have sexual intercourse with me, I am afraid of becoming pregnant: so say the women".

836 A boy who has made a girl pregnant has to marry her; if he refuses,
684 the raids just referred to take place without exception, and the family of the boy loses everything. The same happens when a married man commits adultery with a girl and impregnates her; in his case of course there is rarely question of marriage, and the raids take place almost without exception. Formerly the boy must have been for-

[113]

[2] Camp John Hay Guide Book. A Trip to Ifugao and Bontoc. By Captain Harrington W. Cochran, Coast Artillery Corps, 1923, p. 28.

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584 832 534 [828] 1. The use of musical instruments, which he plays at the house of the girls, usually while lying down in the evening, and which are supposed to have a very soothing influence on the mind of any member of the weaker sex. As this is not the place to describe these instruments at length, I shall merely enumerate them and add a few of their most outstanding characteristics:

The *kuribáw*, a kind of Jew's-harp, entirely made of bamboo, whose tongue is struck by the finger at its fixed base.

The *axiwáń*, another kind of Jew's-harp, partially made of bamboo, whose metal tongue is moved by a string.

The *balikiń* or nose flute, which consists of a slender tube of bamboo, open at both ends, and provided with holes along its length, three at one side and one at the other.

584 832 533 2. The singing of love songs (*magdaldallán*). This is done in the daytime as well as in the evening, whenever the boy is moved by concupiscence (*makibabbáy*). Such songs, however, are not the exclusive property of the male sex.

584 834 192 3. The pronunciation of special terms, otherwise meaningless, that are supposed to have a magical influence on the female sex. These are interwoven in the verses of the song and more or less connected with the rest of the sentence. Such terms are: *dumaripón, dumiñidiń, dumardarobó*, etc.

584 832 302 824 4. The use of perfumes (*bańúg*), usually consisting of fragrant herbs or leaves stuck in the headband; although unseen by the girl in the evening, these perfumes forcibly strike her nostrils in an agreeable manner. Any kind of perfume may be used for the purpose, but the most esteemed on such occasions is the *malindáw* (called *indáw* at Bolo). The *malindáw* is a small tree covered with spines and provided with very aromatic leaves. The *Andn* brook near Dangla flows through a thicket that is renowned for the abundance and variety of its odoriferous plants: *sildyon* (aromatic leaves, parasitic on trees), *ditán* (aromatic seeds, a kind of rattan), *malindáw*, etc.

584 832 776 Here two spirits occasionally play an important role: both of them are supposed to spread a very agreeable odor, and they sometimes accompany the boys on their courting expeditions, although nothing is done by the latter to attract them. They are:

Asindw: a spirit who lives in the hills and always wears very nice apparel; he is supposed to be visible at times. He merely accompanies the boy and through his fragrance influences the girl in behalf of her lover.

46: Wilson
533, 854

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[For the texts of some Apayao nursery and feast songs, see category 539, pp. 35-39. --Analyst]

In the morning the family prepares the food for 796
the guests. The men butcher the dog, chickens, and 574
pigs. They might go out and get a wild pig or two. 252
The women cook the rice, vegetables and meat. Boys 462
carry invitations to the houses of the guests, who be- 202
gin to arrive about noon, all dressed up in their best clothes.

When a guest arrives, he is given a drink of *basi* 796
and also food, if he is hungry. Individual servings 574
of rice, together with some meat and vegetables, are 264
wrapped up in sections of bamboo leaf and passed 782
around. One package of food is placed for the family [778]
anito under the sacred big tree or bamboo clump where it lives, and where it is the custom to hang the heads taken by the family warriors. As the various animals are killed, a little of the blood and liver are placed in a coconut shell or a section of bamboo and hung up for the *anito* of the feast. That is his share. The people eat the rest for him. Also *runo* leaves are hung from a rafter above the stove, one for each pig killed.

Dancing, *talip*, in the house starts early in the 535
afternoon. The intriguing music is supplied by the 796
women, who beat a staccato rhythm on three instru- 534
ments: the *ludog*, a drum fashioned of a hollowed log 574
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has its own tone (base, soprano, alto) and beat; while the notes are short: quarter, eighth, and sixteenth. Thus the rhythm is fast and intricate: hard to follow. One couple dances at a time. One of the family hands 535
a special cloth to an honored guest. He starts walk- 796
574

535 ing in the clear space and is joined by a woman, per-
796 chance of his own choice. Occasionally a highly hon-
574 ored guest has two partners. They raise and wave their arms and hands resembling the wings of a bird in flight. The man gestures with his outspread cloth and goes in a circle somewhat reminiscent of a youth courting a girl. Their feet begin to shuffle and then stamp in cadence to the music. In the middle of the dance one of the family brings *basi* for the dancers and musicians to drink. The music rapidly becomes faster and louder so that the dancers must stamp harder and faster and raise their knees higher. This is such hard exercise that one of the couple soon gives up and goes and sits down. His partner follows suit and the music stops. The man hands his cloth to a friend, who starts the next dance. This dance is difficult to learn, and only long experience makes one
[53] proficient in it. Sometimes, if some famous old warrior does not choose to dance, the people shout, and he recounts his noble deeds in the characteristic chant, *oggayam*.

Meanwhile the people are talking and joking.[1] The (1)
is happy. Dancing and talking become more excit- (4)
and once in awhile drinks pass around: so everybody (3)
basi has been dug up from underneath the granary (2)
[53] ing. Sometimes two men contest in a long debate (5)
over some such matter as the quality of the feast. They talk in the characteristic chant, *palawag*. If one of the men cannot chant, he shouts. The party is be-
796 coming noisy. There is some enjoyable antiphonal
574 singing. A group of boys sing and a group of girls
● 533 answer: sometimes using well-known songs with a
786

[1] [The numbers to the right of the text indicate the proper sequence of lines.--Analyst]

pleasing lilt or perchance composing words in honor of some guest or circumstance. The tune used is called the *salecdomey*. Somewhere a boy may be openly courting the girl of his choice in a characteristic chant *adkaling*, but often composing his own words. Food and sweets may be served two or three times in the night, and the party goes on with increasing excitement, as more and more *basi* is consumed. Drunken quarrels may break out, leading to blows. Killings are not infrequent. One must have had quite a few drinks in order to really enjoy this party.

Along towards morning the music stops and the tired people lie down to sleep—either in that or adjacent houses. If, perchance, a boy has been successful in his courtship, he may follow his girl to where she lies down. After some further discussion, she probably accepts him.

The feast may continue the next day and next, according to the wishes and wealth of the family, and how long the *basi* and food lasts. At the end of the feast, the priestess again calls the *anito*: she tells it that they hope that it is pleased with its feast and will now grant their requests. Then the guests start for home. The relatives are each given some meat to take with them, and soon all is quiet again.

Probably the most popular feast is the *say-am*, given for the *anito*, Pilay, after the harvest. The *dildap* is a small, short feast given for the *anito Kaybacan*, sometimes for the health or welfare of the family, or to clinch some agreement. There is no dancing. The *magboto* is given before, and the *boda* after. a head hunting expedition as described elsewhere. The

764 A fence is constructed around the house, and all neighbors are strictly prohibited, *canao*, from entering [822] it or even from coming around the place. The rela- [262] tives dress in white as a sign of mourning and drink *basi*; but they do not eat rice nor meat; only plain food, such as camotes and bananas. There is no music, dancing, or singing; only mourning in order that the spirit of the dead may be happy in the knowledge that they miss him.

The corpse is bathed, dressed, and laid out on a mat, length-wise with the house. Then the nearest relative (husband or wife), with hair cut short and dressed in white, must lie down by the side of the corpse just as if it were still alive, and remain there without food and without moving for two or three days, all during the *callas*. After a while it becomes torture for the person to stay still; but when he does move without permission, the relatives of the dead are there to punish him and force him to pay them indemnity.

764 While this is going on, all the relatives are eat- 533 ing, drinking and mourning. This mourning is not so much the grief of parting, but rather as entertainment for the dead. There are certain specified shouts and talking back and forth, using certain old cadences: sometimes expressing pity or carrying on vigorous debates which almost seem quarrelsome. As the *callas* continues, it all makes quite a noise.

764 In the meantime, the corpse has begun to smell and putrify. A relative takes some of the fluid beginning to come out of the mouth, ears, and eyes of the decaying body and rubs it as an ointment all over

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584 832 534 [828] 1. The use of musical instruments, which he plays at the house of the girls, usually while lying down in the evening, and which are supposed to have a very soothing influence on the mind of any member of the weaker sex. As this is not the place to describe these instruments at length, I shall merely enumerate them and add a few of their most outstanding characteristics:

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584 832 776 Here two spirits occasionally play an important role: both of them are supposed to spread a very agreeable odor, and they sometimes accompany the boys on their courting expeditions, although nothing is done by the latter to attract them. They are:

Asináw: a spirit who lives in the hills and always wears very nice apparel; he is supposed to be visible at times. He merely accompanies the boy and through his fragrance influences the girl in behalf of her lover.

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larger trees excepted, nevertheless there are a few objects about which he should be extremely careful. 243 824

First of all we have the *amitál*, a kind of woody vine with elongated leaves, that may be found in almost any brake or bushy plot of ground. In case the Isneg comes upon it while busy clearing his field, he should stop immediately, go home, and stay there all through the next day, making the latter a *núlin* or holiday. This *amitál* is by far the worst of all, as it retards the progress of the work considerably; others are not so bad.

The *lapát úlag*, for instance, a kind of tree usually growing to a considerable size if left to thrive without interruption, must not be cut down in the *kómān* under any pretext whatsoever, because if the Isneg fails to heed this prohibition, the rats will inevitably destroy the rice that might happen to grow on this field. The *lapát úlag* is easily noticeable by its absence of branches, all leaves growing directly on the trunk, and by its large leaves which measure approximately fifteen by five inches.

Then there is the *lúbo-*, a herbaceous vine that grows in forested areas: not only must it remain untouched, but the place where it grows should be excluded at any price from the *kómān* or rice field, otherwise a member of the owner's family will die before the end of the season. Consequently the *lúbo-* often obliges the farmer to alter completely the shape of his *kómān*, so as to keep the ground on which it grows at the outside of his future rice field. In some districts the same nefarious influence is attributed to a herbaceous vine which the natives call *bitál*, but which is probably the same as the *lúbo-*: the name *bitál* may have been given to it on account of the properties of the *bitál*-knot of vines, which will be described presently.

Another taboo has to do with the *pirúy*-instrument which the farmer is absolutely forbidden to carry or play in the field, for the whole time that elapses between the *sarsár* and the end of the harvest. Even a stranger who happens to have a *pirúy* on his person, when entering the field, must be warned not to play it; usually, however, he will know about the prohibition without needing a warning. The reason of this taboo is that the sound of the *pirúy* attracts the birds and causes them invariably to come and ravage the field before the end of the harvest. This *pirúy* (fig. 3) consists of a small piece of bamboo in which two parallel slits have been cut lengthwise, without entirely severing the intervening portion from its adjacent parts; this central part is then lifted up by means of a small stick, that has been slid 243 534 124

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[534] 243 784 under it and that produces a slight sound when pinched on either end. It is also absolutely forbidden to pare one's nails in a new-made *kómān*.

243 825 789 A very favorable omen is the meeting of a nest of *amsí-* in the future rice field. The *amsí-* is a stinging medium-sized red-and-black ant, very thin between thorax and abdomen. Such a find forebodes the lusty growth of rice and of all plants that may subsequently be raised in this field.

Another happening that is eagerly looked for is the finding of a jungle fowl's nest. At such an occurrence all work is momentarily stopped and the only concern of the Isneg is to count the number of eggs it contains, each egg presaging the harvest of one hundred bundles of rice.

[534]

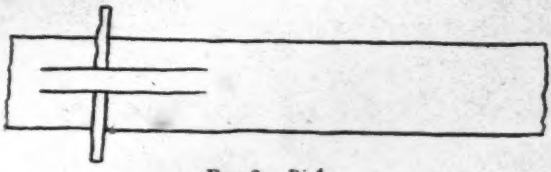

Fig. 3. *Piráy.*

243 262 When the day's work is over, the Isneg goes home to enjoy a well-deserved rest. Here, however, he should be careful, when partaking of a meal, not to eat the crust of the rice (*assíp*), that is, the rice that is next to the pot and has become brown and hardened, because, if he did so, the palay on the field would *umsíp*, which means that it would refuse to grow after having sprung up lustily, and would then wither and become yellow and die. This taboo, however, has to be observed only at the beginning of the *mañumá* or clearing of the field.

243 824 On subsequent journeys to the field for the purpose of continuing the clearing of the ground, it may happen that one sees along the road a *bitál* (also called *bitúl* and *binitulán*), that is: a cluster of vines or rather a considerable amount of strong vines that have become so intertwined as to form a huge knot. This knot could not have been there before, as it could not have escaped observation, so it is only reasonable to conclude that it has formed after the *mañumá* has been started. In this case the Isneg should retrace his steps and make that day a holiday (*níilin*). If met in the rice field itself, however, such a knot may remain unheeded, as it has not the slightest influence on the man and his *kómān*.

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It is forbidden to whistle (*magpapannút*), whether in the *kómān* or in the *sízăy*, lest Pilay, the protector of the rice, run away. 243 784

Nobody is allowed to blow any kind of taro flower (*baríri*), lest a famine invade the district. The *baríri*, when blown upon, produces a very shrill sound.

The *patańgó-* must not be played in or around the rice field, lest the wind turn into a typhoon. The *patańgó-* is a section of bamboo, closed at one end, and cut out at the other end into a tapering tongue; one of its sides is provided with a small hole. It is played by striking its tongue either against one's left hand or against the upper end of a hatchet held in one's left hand, while pressing the thumb of one's right hand intermittently over the hole at its side. The tunefulness of the sound it produces depends on the length of its tongue. 243 784 534

Forging (*magbattál*) is prohibited in the village until all the inhabitants have completed the reaping of their fields. 243 784

People are not allowed to winnow (*magsáp*; *asáp*: chaff of rice) rice, although they are permitted to pound it. Winnowing rice at the time is supposed to cause typhoons. In this instance we have a definite proof of the fact that not all taboos remain in force as long as the harvest lasts; indeed, after reaping has been progressing for some time, the Isneg roast immature rice, which they have to pound and winnow before they are able to eat it.

No outsider is permitted to enter a field where reapers are at work. This applies very particularly to all who are not Isneg.

Nobody is allowed to enter the house of the owner of such a field, the members of the household alone excepted.

No outsider is permitted to enter the *baláwa* (place near the house where rice is pounded), and of the owners only those that are not actually binding palay into bundles. On the other hand, it is absolutely required to have a *baláwa* in readiness, before the harvest begins; should this be overlooked, the spirits will be angry and they may even resort to killing.

In some sections of Apayaw, it is forbidden to *maxappó-* (to eat in another man's house) in the house of anybody who owns another *bańíbāń* (palay piled up in the *sízăy*). If both persons own the same *bańíbān*, they are allowed to eat in each other's house.

No fire may be taken from the hearth, to be given to somebody outside of the house.

Nobody is allowed to *magtósa*, to draw water by holding a receptacle under a waterfall (*barańóboń*) and allowing the water to drop into it.

727 ally the houses are burnt. The attacking warriors withdraw after a time and start for home with what heads they have secured.

If the warriors have secured some heads, they start shouting in triumph while still some distance from home. The women answer and come out to meet them. There is much victorious clamour. Each successful warrior hacks his heads in pieces and either places them on bamboos in front of his house, or else hangs them in the convenient large tree sacred to his especial *anito*. They are decorated with flowers. Then the people hold a feast, called *boda*, at which they eat and drink; but do not dance. The main event is the [537] triumphal shouting of the warriors. Each relates in a chant the mighty deeds which he has done.

MARRIAGE

582 A youth is free to select and woo the girl of his
584 choice—with his nose flute, *baling*, or a kind of jews-
● [534] harp, *oribao*, or by other means common to youth the
[836] world over. If she is agreeable, the courtship becomes serious and they enter into an arrangement, *aluloy*, whereby the sleep together for a period of from three months to a year. They are in earnest in this affair. for they know that, if it does not result in marriage, they must pay a heavy fine. Their object is pregnancy.

583 When the youth decides to have the marriage, he
534 requests his parents to deliver several baskets of rice cakes to the house of the girl. All the relatives of both parties are notified and assemble in the house to arrange for the wedding. They have a feast: rice.

In the morning the family prepares the food for the guests. The men butcher the dog, chickens, and pigs. They might go out and get a wild pig or two. The women cook the rice, vegetables and meat. Boys carry invitations to the houses of the guests, who begin to arrive about noon, all dressed up in their best clothes.

When a guest arrives, he is given a drink of *basi* and also food, if he is hungry. Individual servings of rice, together with some meat and vegetables, are wrapped up in sections of bamboo leaf and passed around. One package of food is placed for the family *anito* under the sacred big tree or bamboo clump where it lives, and where it is the custom to hang the heads taken by the family warriors. As the various animals are killed, a little of the blood and liver are placed in a coconut shell or a section of bamboo and hung up for the *anito* of the feast. That is his share. The people eat the rest for him. Also *runo* leaves are hung from a rafter above the stove, one for each pig killed.

Dancing, *talip*, in the house starts early in the afternoon. The intriguing music is supplied by the women, who beat a staccato rhythm on three instruments: the *ludog*, a drum fashioned of a hollowed log with a skin secured over one end; a large, shallow curved-bottomed kettle-shaped bronze gong; and the *ganza*, a smaller, flat-bottomed bronze gong. Each has its own tone (base, soprano, alto) and beat; while the notes are short: quarter, eighth, and sixteenth. Thus the rhythm is fast and intricate: hard to follow. One couple dances at a time. One of the family hands a special cloth to an honored guest. He starts walk-

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Girl dancing at a feast.

535
291

Another characteristic dance pose.

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ments: the *ludog*, a drum fashioned of a hollowed log 574
with a skin secured over one end; a large, shallow curved-bottomed kettle-shaped bronze gong; and the *ganza*, a smaller, flat-bottomed bronze gong. Each [533]
has its own tone (base, soprano, alto) and beat; while the notes are short: quarter, eighth, and sixteenth. Thus the rhythm is fast and intricate: hard to follow. One couple dances at a time. One of the family hands 535
a special cloth to an honored guest. He starts walk- 796
574

535 ing in the clear space and is joined by a woman, per-
796 chance of his own choice. Occasionally a highly hon-
574 ored guest has two partners. They raise and wave their arms and hands resembling the wings of a bird in flight. The man gestures with his outspread cloth and goes in a circle somewhat reminiscent of a youth courting a girl. Their feet begin to shuffle and then stamp in cadence to the music. In the middle of the dance one of the family brings *basi* for the dancers and musicians to drink. The music rapidly becomes faster and louder so that the dancers must stamp harder and faster and raise their knees higher. This is such hard exercise that one of the couple soon gives up and goes and sits down. His partner follows suit and the music stops. The man hands his cloth to a friend, who starts the next dance. This dance is difficult to learn, and only long experience makes one
[531] proficient in it. Sometimes, if some famous old warrior does not choose to dance, the people shout, and he recounts his noble deeds in the characteristic chant, *oggayam*.

Meanwhile the people are talking and joking. The (1)
is happy. Dancing and talking become more excit- (4)
and once in awhile drinks pass around: so everybody (3)
basi has been dug up from underneath the granary (2)
[537] ing. Sometimes two men contest in a long debate (5)
over some such matter as the quality of the feast. They talk in the characteristic chant, *palawag*. If one of the men cannot chant, he shouts. The party is be-
796 coming noisy. There is some enjoyable antiphonal
574 singing. A group of boys sing and a group of girls
533 answer: sometimes using well-known songs with a
786

[The numbers to the right of the text indicate the proper sequence of lines.--Analyst]

727 ally the houses are burnt. The attacking warriors withdraw after a time and start for home with what heads they have secured.

If the warriors have secured some heads, they start shouting in triumph while still some distance from home. The women answer and come out to meet them. There is much victorious clamour. Each successful warrior hacks his heads in pieces and either places them on bamboos in front of his house, or else hangs them in the convenient large tree sacred to his especial *anito*. They are decorated with flowers. Then the people hold a feast, called *boda*, at which they eat and drink; but do not dance. The main event is the [537] triumphal shouting of the warriors. Each relates in a chant the mighty deeds which he has done.

MARRIAGE

582 A youth is free to select and woo the girl of his
584 choice—with his nose flute, *baling*, or a kind of jews-
[534] harp, *oribao*, or by other means common to youth the
[836] world over. If she is agreeable, the courtship becomes serious and they enter into an arrangement, *aluloy*, whereby the sleep together for a period of from three months to a year. They are in earnest in this affair, for they know that, if it does not result in marriage, they must pay a heavy fine. Their object is pregnancy.

583 When the youth decides to have the marriage, he
584 requests his parents to deliver several baskets of rice cakes to the house of the girl. All the relatives of both parties are notified and assemble in the house to arrange for the wedding. They have a feast: rice.

535 ing in the clear space and is joined by a woman, per-
796 chance of his own choice. Occasionally a highly hon-
574 ored guest has two partners. They raise and wave their arms and hands resembling the wings of a bird in flight. The man gestures with his outspread cloth and goes in a circle somewhat reminiscent of a youth courting a girl. Their feet begin to shuffle and then stamp in cadence to the music. In the middle of the dance one of the family brings *basi* for the dancers and musicians to drink. The music rapidly becomes faster and louder so that the dancers must stamp harder and faster and raise their knees higher. This is such hard exercise that one of the couple soon gives up and goes and sits down. His partner follows suit and the music stops. The man hands his cloth to a friend, who starts the next dance. This dance is difficult to learn, and only long experience makes one
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over some such matter as the quality of the feast. They talk in the characteristic chant, *palawag*. If one of the men cannot chant, he shouts. The party is be-
796 coming noisy. There is some enjoyable antiphonal
574 singing. A group of boys sing and a group of girls
533 answer: sometimes using well-known songs with a
786

1 [The numbers to the right of the text indicate the proper sequence of lines.--Analyst]

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lighten that of the young shaman who has to confide these things to memory. Here stops the exclusive rôle of the *dorarâkit* or shaman as far as religious instruction is concerned.

Dancing and singing, whether religious or otherwise, are learned by pure imitation. Songs are improvised most of the time; the only exceptions are a few scattered terms and a limited number of sentences, more especially a kind of refrain or burden, that recurs at the end of every verse or every stanza in most Isneg songs. These traditional terms and sentences are mostly archaic, and their meaning is a mystery to at least the generality of the Isneg; perhaps some of them have never had any meaning at all.

All Isneg beliefs, whether they have to do with magic or with religion, whether they refer to the world of spirits or to the state of a person after death, are simply picked up, or, as the Isneg put it, "they hear them (*mazi-nâda da*)." This means that there is no formal instruction about the matter. Aged persons, particularly old women, and still more especially shamans, freely talk about these things at the slightest provocation, and youngsters are always eager to listen to them. This, however, does not exclude the possibility and even the probability of the members of the older generation talking about magical or religious beliefs purposely and with the direct intention of telling the children about them. And that such instruction, whether intended or not, is sometimes really very efficacious is proved by the fact that I have had among my informants girls of barely ten years old who know everything about certain spirits and could vividly describe them to me. This is the more easily understood when one remembers that all these extraordinary details agree very well with the usual trend of the Isneg mind toward the supernatural, so that the children experience little difficulty in keeping them impressed upon their memory.

Myths and legends, stories and tales, which by the way are sometimes far from being religious, are mostly related by the parents and grandparents in the evening, when the whole family is stretched out on the floor and ready to sleep. The Isneg are not in the habit of making much use of artificial light, and they very often go to sleep almost at sunset, so that there is usually ample time for the old people to comply with the wishes of the youngsters, who among them as well as among us, are always eager to hear a story, and the more fantastic the story, the better. Even young boys and girls are sometimes invited to play the rôle of story-teller, provided they are known

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to be able to do so; and the same story may be repeated several times all over again on different occasions without the young people losing any interest in the matter.

The cry "*udôdit*" (a story) is heard very often when the young people have placed themselves in a position for slumber, and the exclamation "*udôditko*" (I have a story; literally: my story), emitted by an uninvited story-teller, is usually sufficient to gain him the attention of all present. Consequently Isneg tales are mostly bedtime stories; nevertheless it also happens that they are recited, this time mostly by men, at the opening of a jar of *bási* (alcoholic beverage obtained from the juice of the sugar cane), or rather during the absorption of its contents. On such occasions, whenever an old man begins to tell a story, the youngsters have no sooner got wind of the affair but they leave everything in order to come near and to listen all ears to these wonderful happenings of times gone by or of a world alien to their own. It may sometimes happen also that parents or grandparents call their children or grandchildren together at the time of going to sleep in order to relate to them some traditional myth or legend: in this case, of course, the teaching should be called entirely formal.

How to look for omens and auguries and how to distinguish between good and bad ones are both the subject of almost exclusively direct instruction. Parents and older brothers and sisters are the accepted purveyors of this knowledge, which to the Isneg is absolutely indispensable if he wants to live in peace and beyond the power of malevolent imps and spirits.

E. MORAL EDUCATION

When reading books of travel, especially old ones, written by men who spent a few days at the home of some primitive people, one usually meets with the statement that the latter seem to have no concept of truth and honesty, and one almost always meets with several concrete instances, which apparently prove the truth of that assertion. Not to go too far out of my way, I shall cite as an example a book that has to do almost immediately with the Philippine Islands. We read in the account of Magellan's travels written by Pigafetta that on a certain day, during his famous voyage which led to the discovery of our archipelago, the expedition landed at a place among a group of islands, the inhabitants of which boarded the vessels, laid hands on whatever took their fancy and ran away to hide among the bushes;

46: Wilson
● 538, 539, 773, 173

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[For the texts of various Apayao myths and folktales, see category 116, pp. 44-170. --Analyst]

yaos after the principal river in their country. Some say the word Apayao was originated in their fierce battle cry *"Ma-ap-ay-ao."* During this call the hand is clapped rapidly over the mouth so that the cry sounds much like the American Indian war-whoop. This cry is also used at a feast: when a new visitor comes, when the basi is brought in, and when a pig is killed.

I will endeavor to describe, from personal observation of its still numerous cultural remains, something of the life of the Apayaos as it no doubt existed little changed during the long centuries during which their folktales were formed.

The life of these people has much to do with the streams of the country along which most of them live. They do not live on the river flats, but on the mountain sides for safety. Many of their communities are named after the streams near which they are located. A considerable part of the food is obtained from the streams; and they are used for washing, bathing and swimming, as well as for scenery. Much of the transportation is on the streams, and the men are expert boatma nand raftsmen. During the heavy rainy season transportation on swollen rivers is perilous; but it is carried on somewhat. The result is that many a banca has over-turned in the roaring rapids; much valuable merchandidse still lies in the deep pools at the feet of those rapids; and many of family mourns the loss of a loved one. Therefore stories of the streams often occur in the legends of the people.

The people on each stream were isolated from each other for many centuries so that there has come to be quite a difference in their customs and dialects.

low box about three feet square, filled with earth. In its center are set on end three long stones in a triangular position, which hold the clay cooking pot over the fire beneath. Fire is obtained by striking flint with steel and kindling tinder with the spark; or by rubbing two bamboo sticks together. There are also a round-bottomed iron frying pan and various paddles and ladles. Above the stove is a drying rack, and against the end wall are secured shelves which hold the old Chinese plates and other articles and materials. This end of the room is used for the kitchen, sometimes as the dining room, and as a general work shop. Woven sleeping mats are used, and there are chests for the securing of precious articles. Light from the fire furnishes illumination at night.

There should also be several lovely old ancestral Chinese jars, *gasi*, probably of the Ming dynasty period. In these is kept the *basi*, a pleasant wine made from the juice of the sugar cane. These ancient Chinese jars are much prized by the people. They have a typical shape, and range in size from one to three feet in height. Some of them have dragons and other figures embossed on them. Others have pictures of Chinese scenes and conventional patterns: this being especially true of the white jars with blue designs. They are glazed; some in lovely shapes of brown, yellow and blue. The people have quite a lore about them. There are a number of different varieties and different qualities in each variety. The *dordori* stands first; next is the *gargogod*. Some of the others are the *dinalasan, banaag, kindi-ingan, binilibil, boddi* and *sarang*. Much of the wealth of the Apayaos is held in these jars, together with the beads.

FOLKLORE

Folklore is the fabric upon which the people 121
weave the pattern of their future. It is woven from materials composed of the religious beliefs, customs, habits, and daily life of the people. If these are changed by migration, borrowing from other people, or by internal alteration, the result is a different culture in the future.

If one were to make a complete collection of all the folklore of the people during their varied life, he would have the basic material for a cultural history of that people. For folklore has also sometimes been called the vine that clings to the crumbling ruins of man's progress upward.

The culture of the Apayaos has remained much 178
the same during many long centuries: there has been 121
little progress upward. Thus the interesting old vine has been growing and expanding. If you look at it carefully, you will observe much of the culture of these people.

The Apayao people tell their stories in two ways. 538
The short way is used at such times as when they hap- 517
pen to meet together, perchance on the trail, or are resting for a while. It is a simple narration of events.

The long way is used when time hangs rather heavily during the confinement of the torrential rains, or in the long evenings. These story hours are much enjoyed and are the principal amusement of the people. An old woman or man, steeped in the lore of the past, 538
makes the best story teller. He spins out his tale using a certain pleasing tune, *sanimela*, which at times

538 is rather monotonous and at other times becomes excitingly thrilling, according to the drift of the story.

538 522 In order to follow the tune, the narrator will often draw out the end of some words or maybe add meaningless syllables. There are many repetitions of action and thought, as well as inconsequential happenings. Incongruities of action and sudden transitions of scene often occur. Once in awhile the narrative is broken by some ludicrous incident just as you have clowning in a drama. The greater pleasure is not so much in following the development of the plot of the story as it is in the delightful manner of the telling. Yet the plot is interesting, being often based on some [513] practical joke. Listening to such a story is really a very happy way to spend an otherwise dull time. Sometimes the people stay up all night and listen to them.

126 However, if one wrote down every syllable which the story teller uttered in narrating one story, he would have a book which very few people would care to read. Therefore most of the folk tales in this little collection are written in the short way. With some, the popular dialect used (sometimes ungrammatically) is also given. The English following is a free translation. Sometimes two versions of a story are given.

121 538 773 776 Some students make distinction between myths and folktales. But the people have only one name, *adodit*, for both; and as a matter of fact, there are few folktales which do not have a religious element. In the early days the main distinction between *anitos* and men was that they lived in a different place: the only physical difference being that the female *anitos* had only one breast which was in the center of their

bosoms. It was possible for an *anito* to be a man or for a man to become an anito. If the people make so little distinction between gods and men, why should I? 121 538 773 776

Anyhow, here are some of the Apayao tales.

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2. On my own part:

In my dealings with the Isneg I use the Main branch of the O dialect, while in writing I use the K branch for reasons given before.[6] So it may have happened that, in writing down texts, my own ordinary use of M has influenced me to write down a given word as I myself would have pronounced it, or my use of K in writing has caused me to put down K's where they were absent in the informant's pronunciation.

Nevertheless I have always tried to write down texts as faithfully as possible, and now I start publishing them as I have them, without trying to correct anything, even though an occasional guttural that appears in a given term does not belong to the correct language of a given informant.

The above warning is given here once for all, and it refers to all Isneg texts that I shall publish in the future.

TEXT I

This text is a continuous dialogue between a boy and the girl he goes to court for the first time. My informant is Baydan from Tawit (M), and he calls it *maibabbáy*, "courting the girls".

1. *Laláï: iápugnā- man ikáw*[7] *ta adú kanó ya mamámmo a nánda.*
   Babáy: áwan pañalakkánta ka mamá ña ñáxan balái.[8]
2. *L.: námmo áy pagdamadámagda ña nagsintíñde ka mamá.*
   B.: díta maxuñgám no mapoonó ñam áy.
3. *L.: mañuwáa pagká- kiyá atán kammalañín simpapadán.*
   B.: turáñka mañuwá ka ibatáymo ka asitólāymo.
4. *L.: díka mañaluníb kiyá ittó ya nánko.*
   B.: xapó walá xané ta ummánta kiddí ya agdalidálīnta ña dadúma.

[6] Op. cit., 14.

[7] *ikáw*, sometimes pronounced *kow*, which literally means "you", and which I render by 'you', is a little term which is very hard to translate. The Isneg use it all the time, and always in the form *ikáw*, although when it stands for the personal pronoun, those who use the Main branch pronounce *ídw*. Here thus it stands for something like "come on now", "what is the matter", but it changes its shade of meaning with every context.

[8] *balái* is a term used with affectation; the real ordinary word is *babáy*; *balái* is made to look similar to *laláï*, "man".

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5. *L.: bakkán luxúd dalá ńam ăy nā́mmo ăy nawadá kammalańín.* 539
B.: ăy úrăy no matańabúlan magmandármo no bakkánnā- patiyán.

6. *L.: ăy día atā́n mańuwá no sissá ńa algáw ka pańiballaxobowā́mmo ka asitólăymo.*
B.: ăy úrăy no sinnámmo walá no mabăyā́g no pagbusidántaa.

7. *L.: ăy no patiyánta iyā́n séno paka-maā́nta ka apardisiyónānta ńa dadúma.*
B.: ăy úrăy yalá iyā́- maxikáro no atā́n apardisiyónāmmo.

8. *L. (magkag-axí): díta bumanannā́y*[9]
pē yô[10] *lu-sáw di babbā́y*
ô do ăy ăy,
ăy bakkán mabalín no maianā́yonta ka puńā́n kadaăyó.
B.: taán na turā́mmo apaka-múd ya mapooná kiyā́n manín, turā́nnā- ummā́n apakassińā́n.

9. *L.: nā ńa apakassińā́n ya pampanúnutmo.*
B.: ammóm sińkabainta ńa dadúma toni.

10. *L.: atā́n ummā́n kada-tá no ipasilládawta ki pandá daldalḗnān pē ya pańipalawaxā́nta kiyá lamlamtán,*
dímo pagkaaxiyā́n ka xasáwta ńa dadúma no ibbaxáta ya kăyā́tta kadaăyó.
B.: nā́mmo ikáw appēlańín nam ăy no iyā́- bakkán kapēlańín, ummaí dăyá abbulón no mapoonáda.

11. *L. (ag-axí): ríxas agká- di babbā́y*
pē yó sublá-da ńid baggí ni dumnā́y,
isáń rā́ndā- adí taglamán
ki inapplaxā́n ńa dapán.
B.: ăy ummā́n mū́ńaw ya datúlāńko iyá agtūlitū́lim.

12. *L.: mapooná kiyā́n ta iyā́- ya umáń mańidóon kiyá pampanunútańko,*
iyá- ya ummā́n kiyá mamaliā́t kinurā́y sadasadapan ned baggí-,
to ya ummā́n kiyā́n ya isugńálmo ya balbaliā́tko iyáw.
B.: bakkán luxúd dalá ńam ăy ya atā́n ummān kada-tá no uruxánta ya tarénu pańonaonā́n.

[9] A magic term to obtain a girl's love.

[10] *yô* instead of *ya*. The change of a into *ô* is of very frequent occurrence in songs. 192

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13. *L.: dálinko no atán allá-mo ka asitólăymo ńa magkaxumán ńa makipakaási kadaăyó.*
B.: as mo rā magkallá- ka bakkán matáy.

14. *L.: námmo iyá matáy ya tańar-uwásan ya agdamdámta.*
B.: ô a ńam ăy ráńka ma- manaróxas ka pańpańuwáko.

15. *L.: ăy ummán kiyá pańpańsáw ya aramídanta iyá ańuwámo.*
B.: iinna ya maxallán no matúdogka kiyá datág.

16. *L.: ăy ummán ta datág ya záatko iddí.*
B.: ya ulátko ya paxulátmo.

17. *L.: díyā- alá kaw no mapooná kiyán,*
maxuláttā- iddé ta nalmínnā-.
B.: maxulátka no magsibnáta ka paxiddaán.

18. *L.: iinna ya namalbúya kiddí no díta naxalád kitó nōnná a biyág.*
B.: ta urâymo tuńpálannin no isá ńa algáw no kurúg ya lamlamtám.

19. *L.: ô mindaggánta ma- iyán ńam ăy matáytańin.*
B.: úrăy man ta turán ummán madu-liyáwăn ya patudóxānta kiyá ańuwámo.

20. *L.: wăyyá mańkammín ta xańáyta ńa tólăy ńid mapooná.*
B.: ăy ummánā- luxúd maxińbáw ka átat amúyaw kadaăyó no kurúg ya panúnutmo.

21. *L.: ăy wăyyáta ńalá magkōnaoná kiddí no pańōg-ógta ka asitólăyta.*
B.: ăy maańgámta no mapooná.

22. *L.: ăy sinnámmo ńalá ya náńko.*
B. xará sinnáńko man no kurúg ya lammalammátmo kiyá-.

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TRANSLATION

1. Man (boy): Prepare betel for me, please, 'you', as they say that it is said that you have much betel (for chewing).
Woman (girl): We, who are called "girl", have nowhere to get betel (for chewing) from.

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2. M.: So you say, but they [11] proclaim that they [12] store up betel (for chewing). 539 584
W.: But would we not be happy if it were so.

3. M.: You act perhaps on account of the existence of one who is waiting [13] though.
W.: Why do you act making something step on your companion.[14]

4. M.: Do not contradict (lying) what I say.
W.: Only because, is it not, we are like this, we others are just walking along.[15]

5. M.: Not at all though, but what you say is clear though.[16]
W.: Ah, even though you watch me during a month, if you do not believe me.

6. M.: Ah, do not pose an act so as one day to have deceived your companion.[17]
W.: Ah, even though you see after a long time if I have lied to you.

7. M.: Ah, if we believe that, we others may meet to our loss.[18]
W.: Ah, even though I expiate it if you suffer that loss.

8. M. (sings): Let us not approach
The anger of the woman
O do ay ay.
Is it not allowed to lie on the same pillow with you.
W.: Why do you happen to do like that again.
Why is it as if you saw me for the first time.

9. M.: Why is your idea about seeing you for the first time.
W.: We others are ashamed about that, you know.

[11] Other people.
[12] The girls.
[13] Another lover.
[14] Why do you suspect this of me, to whom you are talking.
[15] You dare say so because I am a plain ordinary girl, is it not?
[16] There is another lover.
[17] Me, to whom you are talking.
[18] If, one day, both lovers meet, one may kill the other.

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10. M.: It is like with us, if we throw around on any kind of road the explanation of what we meditate upon.[19]
Do not call it greed on our part if we tell you what we like from you.
W.: You say that though, but, as to myself, I do not though.
The companions sing when they are like that.

11. M. (singing): Women are difficult,
They push away the body of the one who draws near.
My little girl, why do you not share with me
The mat that has been spread out.
W.: The place where my ladder rests on the ground seems to be worn out through your frequent coming back.

12. M.: It looks like that as I am the one who comes to manifest what I think.
I am like the one who pronounces the thought of the constant feeling of this my body.
That is like that to have you answer what I pronounce to you.
W.: Not so indeed, but is it like us to believe the things without value that you put forth.[20]

13. M.: I thought that you would pity your companion[21] who tries his best to sue for your mercy.
W.: Ha, how can one pity one who is not dead.

14. M.: You say that it is to the dead that we offer transiently our thoughts.
W.: Yes indeed, but why though do you cheat me in my acts.

15. M.: Is it like joking what we do to your acts.
W.: Who will scold you if you sleep on the floor.[22]

16. M.: Is it like the floor being my purpose here.
W.: Let my blanket be what you use for your blanket.

[19] We also are ashamed to talk about love along the street, that is the reason why I come here to your house.

[20] *paíonaondn*, literally: to cause to be first all the time.

[21] Me.

[22] Away from my mat.

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17. M.: I do not want though, 'you', if it is like that.
I shall cover myself with a blanket here as I feel cold.
W.: Cover yourself with a blanket if we lie down separately.

18. M.: Who shows these things, if we did not use for a pattern those that lived first.[23]
W.: Your thought will be fulfilled one day, if what you meditate upon is true.

19. M.: Yes, we have to wait for that, but we die now already.
W.: Even so, why is it as if our sleeping place be bright for your act.[24]

20. M.: How can we complete our human customs like that.[25]
W.: Ah, thus I am like feeling to be the fruit of an amuyaw-tree left on the tree after the harvest, if your idea is true.

21. M.: How can we put forth this, if we do it to fool our companion.[26]
W.: Ah, we are happy if it is so.

22. M.: Ah, look only at what I say.
W.: All right, let me see if your idea regarding me is true.

The girl allows the boy to lie down on her mat, which is her first concession and proves to the boy that his suit is not rejected. My informant emphatically stated that nothing untoward would happen after this first concession.

Although this text is essentially Isneg, we find the following foreign terms:

Two Spanish terms with an Isneg jacket:

In (5), *mandar*, "to order", in the sense of watching.
In (7), *perdición*, "loss".

One Ibanag term:

In (11), *dapán*, instead of *abá-*, for "mat".

[23] We do only what our parents did before us.

[24] Is my mat the only place where you can lie down?

[25] Yes, but is that the way of human nature, for man and woman to sleep on a different mat?

[26] Can you imagine that I would fool you?

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192 Three Iloko terms, almost in juxtaposition with their corresponding Isneg terms:

In (12) and passim: *panúnut*, "thought", Isneg *damdám* (in 14).

In (13), *kaási*, "pity", "mercy", Isneg *allá-*.

In (15), *arámid*, "doing", "acting", Isneg *uwá*.

TEXT II

[584 115] This text, like the preceding, consists in a continuous dialogue between a boy and the girl he goes to court for the first time. My informant is Umila from Abbil (A), and he calls it *mamabáy*, "to court a girl".

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1. *L.: magápugka man ikáw.*
   B.: áwán abbulón.
2. *L.: daddán turá áwán no iyá- ya maiápug ta.*
   B.: wáyyó ñalá iddánta ya áwán.
3. *L.: ta daddán turúñka mapáwanán ta.*
   B.: úráy nad atán abbulón áy piyánnu pé nad.
4. *L.: bakkánnu a abbulón piyán no daáyó.*
   B.: magiyámánta a no ummán kiyán.
5. *L.: áy simpre bakkánnu id kammalañín piyán ya mañiápug.*
   B.: ó walá no andaáyó.
6. *L.: se pé lugúd ta bakkámmo piyán mañílnáb ki mamám.*
   B.: ammóta ma- no piyánnu ya dagapágap ña gawád.
7. *L.: bakkámmo a piyán babáy no iáw.*
   B.: ó námmo walá a kiyán ikáw kiyá ummán pé idí.
8. *L.: agkúd kammalañín lu-sáwañko úráy dagapágap ña gawád.*
   B.: no áwánmo lu-sáwan bakkáñka lugúd magbabáwi ta iápugtaka.
9. *L.: áy paannánta lugúd abbulón.*
   B.: mapaannád totó walá ya urámo ikáw ki ummá iddí.
10. *L.: sigún ki panúnutko a ikáw ya atán ki ólo-.*
    B.: no sigún ki panúnutmo ikáw áy bakkáñka lugúd nagdamdám ki sabáli.
11. *L.: nágan ma- kam pagtuñpálañko no di ittó widí.*
    B.: babáyyá- ikáw ña áwán serbí.

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12. *L.: turâ mepabobóñ ya urâymo ki ummán iddí.*
B.: paiyán na urâyko mepabobóñ ta.

13. *L.: iyán nalá añuwámo a ikáw.*
B.: abây gané ya básolko ki ummán kîdí ña arámid.

14. *L.: ô walá abbulón kané iyâ- ya atán kîdí.*
B.: ây bakkán lugúd a ñam ây náñko ampêlañín.

15. *L.: iápugnâ- ma- totáwin íkáw a.*
B.: ammóta nad abbulón no magñáñây ya ymmán kiddí a pampanúnutmo.

16. *L.: bakkán nad magnâyon a no âaâyó abbulón.*
B.: bakkán lugúd a ñam ây turâ pê yalá nepagásat iáw ya atán îdí.

17. *L.: kurúg kammalañín ya pampanúnutko ki mepapán kiáw.*
B.: no ummán kiyán abbulón turânnu kammalañín ilaw-át ya urâyta a dadúma.

18. *L.: kâyâtko ammalá ñamminnin abbulón úrây ñanná ya añôg-óg da abbulón kiyâ- gapó kiáw.*
B.: nânnu walá abbulón kid atânka ñalá kîdí.

19. *L.: ây bakkán lugúd a abbulón ñam ây díta pê mabaín kiyá ummán kiyán ña ag-agiyánnu.*
B.: ây pandá ñalá a ya añuwámo kiyá ummán kîdí ña uuwaán ta.

20. *L.: ây nágan ma- kam- nâyá pagtuñpâlâñko no di ya ummán kîdí.*
B.: pandá ñalá ya añuwánuwin abbulón ta iparúbâ- lugúd ya pinañkaâyâtko kiáw ñam ây bakkáñka magbabáwi lugúd no adaddú ña algáw ya mapalpalábasta ka pandá iddí ña gabí.

TRANSLATION

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1. M.: Prepare betel, please, 'you'.
W.: I have none, companion.

2. M.: Now, why is there none when I am the one asking you to prepare betel.
W.: How can we give what is not there.

3. M.: Now, why are you without.
W.: Even though there were some, companion, would you like it though.

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4. M.: Would you not, companion, like it, if you were those (who ask for it).
W.: We are grateful indeed if it is like that.

5. M.: Surely you do not like though to prepare betel for somebody.
W.: Yes indeed, if it is for you.[27]

6. M.: If so thus you do not like to distribute your betel (for chewing).
W.: Do we know if you like betel that crept over the ground.[28]

7. M.: You would not like it, woman, if it is you (who want betel).
W.: Yes, you say so only, 'you', like this.

8. M.: I will not resent it though, even though it be betel that crept over the ground.
W.: If you do not resent it, do not repent thus when I prepare betel for you.

9. M.: How can we do it then, companion.
W.: What is really the matter with your thinking, 'you', like this.

10. M.: It depends on my thought, 'you', which is in my head, is it not?
W.: If it depends on your thought, 'you', thus you do not think of somebody else.

11. M.: To whom could I finally belong if not to this one.
W.: I am a woman, 'you', without use.

12. M.: Why is your thought put upon the roof like this.
W.: Would to God my thought were put upon the roof.

13. M.: That is only what you do, is it not, 'you'.
W.: Would my fault not be big if I acted like this.

14. M.: Yes indeed, companion, but I am the one who is here.
W.: Ah, not so thus, but I say so though.

15. M.: Prepare betel for me though, really, 'you', won't you?
W.: How can we know, companion, if your thought like this will be permanent.

[27] I do not want to do it for you.

[28] Betel that crept up along a stalk, etc. is the only one considered good by the Isneg.

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16. M.: It will not continue if you (do not want), companion.
W.: Not indeed, but why is the one who is here the fortunate one with you.

17. M.: My thought with reference to you is true though.
W.: If it is like that, companion, why though do you make our thoughts uneasy.

18. M.: I like everything though, companion, even though perhaps my companions make a fool out of me on account of you.
W.: Perhaps you say so only, companion, because you are here.

19. M.: Ah, not so indeed, companion, but would we not be ashamed of what you say like that.
W.: Ah, it does not matter what you do with reference to acting like this.

20. M.: To whom would I finally belong if not to the one like this.[29]
W.: Anything you do is all right then, companion, as I truthfully tell you now that I love you, but do not repent then if we allow long days to pass beginning with this night.

Here we meet again with several words borrowed from other languages:

From the Spanish:

In (5), *simpre* from *siempre*, "always", with the meaning of "surely".

In (10), *sigún* from *según*, "according to", with the meaning of "it depends on".

In (11), *serbí* from *servir*, "to serve", with the meaning of "use".

Then Iloko and Isneg terms in juxtaposition:

In (10), Iloko *panúnut* and Isneg *damdám*, "thinking".

In (13), Iloko *arámid* and Isneg *uwá*, "acting".

TEXT III

This text consists in a continuous dialogue between a boy and the girl he has been courting for some time. My informant is the same Umila of the preceding text, who again calls it *mamabáy*, "to court a girl".

[29] If not to you.

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539 1. *L.: paanná nad totó walá ikáw babáy no turánnā- alá ńa mipagásat nató maddí masińán ńa turánnā- alá umáń manálēn kiyá ummán kīdí ya daddalénān āy bakkán nad da nasirráān abbulón ya panalénān kīdí ya dálēn, iyá- gané ikáw yá maliyáw no turá ńalá bakkán mepalúbus ńa manálēnā- iddí ya dálēn.*

B.: ammó- ad abbulón ta turán bakkán irbańán kid paám nāyá náam-o ya ummán kiyán ńa ba-ba-nánnu abbulón, gi-nánta ńalá ya pagtuńpálān nāyá ummán īdí ya ba-ba-nán.

2. *L.: āwáńko am-ammó wa pagtuńpálāntada ńammin ńa napadapáda ńa tólāy no di ammalá ittó widdíyin ńa gagáńāy ammalańín ńa panarsuwá nató maddí masińán ka ittó ya apa-paiyanāntada ńa tólāy, pandá ńalá ańuwámo a babáy no bakkán ummán kiyán ya pagtuńpálāmmo īdé umáńko pinanálēn.*

B.: ô lugúd abbulón ńam āy bakkán kid paám arbańán na baggio ya ummán iddí se iddí āy magsápul-āyo paám abbulón ka sabáli ya dalénānnu ta bakkáńko padálēn ya ummán iddí ya dálēn, mabainánta pē abbulón ńa turán ńalá umáń magpadálēn kadaāyó wa tólāy ńa bakkán kammalańín arbańán na baggíta ńa annóń dadúma.

3. *L.: āy no ummán kiyán ya agiyámmo pandá ńalá lugúd ta wāyyáta ad mapatab-áyān kiyá agiyán nāyá isá ńa tólāy, díta pē makabásol kiyá di masińán no taggéta ńalá ńa manálēn kiyá ummán kiddí ya dálēn.*

B.: ô abbulón ńam āy díāyo nad magbabáwi óno maappôliāyo no turánta ńalá mepagásat na meabulón kadaāyó bakkáńka lugúd maappôli ta padálēnko ya ummán iddí ya dálēn kadaāyó.

4. *L.: ô walá abbulón kadaāyó ńam āy bakkán kampēlańín ka iyáta no kas pagarígān iyá- pē ya babáy lu-sáwańko pē ya ōg-ógān nāyá isá ńa tólāy.*

B.: no ummán lugúd kiyán agiyámānta ikáw ta natuńpálta lugúd to ba-ba-nánta bakkáńka lugúd maappôli ta pagiddaántaa iggí ya gabí.

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TRANSLATION

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1. M.: What is really, 'you', woman, the reason why I have the good luck from those that cannot be seen,[30] why I come to walk on a road like this, and, companion, the entrance to this road is not closed. I, 'you', is it not, would be ashamed if for some reason it were not allowed for me to walk on this road.

   W.: I do not know, companion, why what you propose like this is not yet proper to my mind, companion. We only want to sound the outcome of what you propose like this.

2. M.: I do not know anything about where we are going to, all of us men (all alike), if not though this here custom though created by those that cannot be seen with reference to what is done to us, men. Never mind what you do, woman, if where you are going to is not like what I come walking here for.[31]

   W.: Yes indeed, companion, but like this and this is perhaps not yet proper for my body; look still, companion, for another road for you to walk, as I did not make you walk on a road like this. We would be ashamed, companion, if for some reason we should come and make you people walk, when it is not proper though for our body as it is.[32]

3. M.: Ah, if you talk like that, never mind thus, as how can we be overpowered by what one man say. We do n[illegible] against the one that cannot be seen, if we almost walk on a road like this.

   W.: Yes, companion, but do not repent or be sorry if for some reason we have the good luck to be made your companion, do not thus be sorry if I let you walk on a road like this.

4. M.: Yes now, companion, that means you, but not me though, because if for instance I were the woman I should resent one man making a fool of me.

   W.: If it is like that thus, we are grateful, 'you', as we obtained thus what we proposed; do not thus be sorry if we lie down with you this evening.

[30] The spirits.

[31] Never mind if you do not reciprocate my love.

[32] I am not worthy of you.

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584 My informant emphatically stated that nothing untoward would yet happen at this juncture.

192 In this text we have one word borrowed from the Spanish:
In (1, *L.*), *sirrá*, from *cerrar*, to close".

Also one Iloko term in juxtaposition with its Isneg equivalent:
In (3, *B.*), Iloko *babáwi* and Isneg *appóli*, "repenting" (the *ó* in *appóli* and in the derivatives above, 3, *B.* and 4, *B.*, is like the *aw* in English "dawn", but longer).

Besides, one Iloko expression, a favorite with many Isneg:
In (4, *L.*), *kas pagarígan*, "for instance".

TEXT IV

584 115 539 This text consists in a dialogue between a boy and the girl he courts for the first time. In the latter part of the dialogue, the answers of the girl are lacking. My informant is Kimat from Baliwanan (M), who calls it *mamabáy*, "to court a girl".

1. *L.: mazápugka mas ikáw.*
   B.: wag[33] *kud mamáńko ikáw.*
2. *L.: busídmo yán ikáw.*
   B.: pazádigmo zané ta magbusbusígka.[34]
3. *L.: bakkán luzúd nam áy náńko ampčlańin.*
   B.: námmo no ikáw.
4. *L.: ač- bakkán ikáw.*
   B.: úrăy no námmo ikáw ăy pandá ńalá.
5. *L.: atán yán ikáw no dódúma se pč iyá.*
   B.: tán nam áy bakkán kammalańin kurkuríggin.
6. *L.: úrăy no bakkán kurúg áy piyáńko walá.*
   B.: poonáńă- pč ikáw.
7. *L.: úrăy man no aniyá ikáw ya malak-ámáńko áy pandá ńalá.*
   B.: maammóa ikáw dčtámo walá ibańát.
8. *L.: úrăymo walá sinnán á.*
   B.: díyă- miyamánan abbulón no mapooná.
9. *L.: isá ampčlańin ikáw ya aziyáńko manín.*

194 [33] *(a)wád*: *d* changed into *g*, before *k*.
[34] *busíd*: Cf. preceding note.

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10. *L.: mapaannd ma-dín abbulón no atán ma-dín ya mañipalbúya ka panúnutna.*

11. *L.: bakkán nôd totó walá mabalín no uwá.*

12. *L.: siñkaammówá- zané kiyá adáyyó ñam lawizán búlan nóray ipibbazáta ña dôdúma.*

13. *L.: yán nalá pandáta áy.*

14. *séno iyá- malak-ámko ya dákes áy nalak-ámko ya napiyá.*

15. *ta séno ummán kidí si idí nóray ipalawógko no bakkámmo walá piyán.*

16. *úray no ummán kidí ya pampanúnutta ña dôdúma no bakkán nánnu áy wáyyáñá- alá paannán.*

17. *ñáñawko la abbulón ya siñkaáxaw wa manálín ka páda- magdaldálín séno bakkán yán nán páda- magbiyág áy wáyyá alá paannán.*

18. *tittó pé ikáw ya mamalagmán ka bandó páda- parnuwá bakkáñko mauwá.*

19. *taré- pakiddumalán bakkán pamalikatán no uwá abbulón.*

20. *ñam áy mabalikáttá- ña dôdúma ta mepañgép kané abiyágta.*

TRANSLATION

1. M.: Prepare betel nut, please, 'you'.
   W.: Have I betel (to chew) then, 'you'.

2. M.: Your lie indeed, 'you'.
   W.: Your model, is it not, because you are lying.

3. M.: Not indeed, but I say it though.
   W.: You say it, if you are (the one).

4. M. Ha, no, 'you'.
   W.: Even though you say it, 'you', never mind.

5. M.: There is, indeed, 'you', sometimes, and I also.[25]
   W.: There is, but it is not true[26] now though.

6. M.: Even though it be not true I like it anyhow.
   W.: That is also like me, 'you'.

[25] There is betel indeed; both of us are liable to tell a lie occasionally.
[26] Good betel.

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539 7. M.: Whatever, 'you', I obtain, it is all the same.
W.: It is your business, 'you', should you throw it away.

584 8. M.: Even though you look at it now, see.[37]
W.: Would I not feel gratified, companion, if it is so.

9. M.: One thing though, 'you', I will say again.

10. M.: How now, companion, if there is one now who manifests his thoughts.

11. M.: It cannot be, really, after all.[38]

12. M.: I know, is it not, that it is farther than the stars,[39] even though we others will say it.

13. M.: That is our end now.[40]

14. M.: As for me, I obtain what is bad or I obtain what is good.

15. M.: So that it is like this and this,[41] even though I explain it if you do not like it.

16. M.: Even though our thought is like this, if you say: "No", what can I do about it.

17. M.: It is my greed, companion, to steal this walk from others who are walking like me, so that if one who lives like me says: "No now", what can be done about it.

18. M.: But, 'you', to transgress the order[42] of my fellow creatures, I cannot do it.

19. M.: Failing to act without permission will result in not being offended by words[43] after all, companion.

20. M.: But I am offended by words on account of our life.[44]

In this text we meet with one Spanish term: *bando*, "ordinance".

[37] I shall not throw it away.

[38] I am not worthy of you.

[821] [39] *lowizān búlan*, literally: rope of the moon, thus: what follows the moon. The Isneg imagine the stars following the moon.

[40] We cannot add anything to it.

[41] Never mind.

[42] To act without permission.

[43] *balikát* usually means: pronouncing. Here it means: pronouncing bad words in order to offend somebody.

[44] Because we are of a lower status.

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TEXT V

This text contains a few scattered sayings, mostly of a boy who is courting a girl, occasionally of the girl answering him. Even when they are not marked "singing", these sayings are pronounced in a more or less singing tone, with rhythm and occasionally rhyme clearly apparent. My informant is Lampa from Dangla (M), who calls it *mamabáy*, "to court a girl".

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[115]

1. *L.: iápugnā- ikit, bowaḗmmo ka lúsit, ta apúxāmmo ka bitti-, asixidańko mamídit.*
2. *(ag-axí): dínu ag-axiyán*
   kaw ô to xāyyám maāwán.
3. *as paannā́n ud xanē ikáw no maxiṅgápta ka bátug iṅgáp no abbulón.*
4. *as kannā́mo ittó piyā́n ya maxiddá kiddí ǎy nalawág ma- ya balā́y.*
5. *kannā́nta ittó piyā́n ya maxis-isissá ǎy atā́nkayo ma- pē ta.*
6. *tittó pē ya mańiroboróbo ka pádana magdalidálēn akkáńko uwaán.*
7. *atā́n kid abbulón no sabáli ya makiápug ńam ǎy se iyā́- to ya āwán nā́nnu.*
8. *B.: akkán luxúd abbulón ńam ǎy āwán kammalańín.*
9. *tittó pē ya magdudúma ka páda- magbibiyā́g akkáńko uwaán.*
10. *pagdudumā́nnu ikáw ya tólǎy ta.*
11. *L.: akkán luxúd abbulón ńam ǎy báraṅ ńalá nā́ńko.*
12. *B.: atā́n mamá ikáw ńam ǎy mamá kammalańín ńa ur-úrǎy.*
13. *xawág*[45] *kammalańín na ur-úrǎy.*
14. *L.: atā́n kud kammalá ńa lu-sáwańko wa tólǎy.*
15. *séno ya xawád da ur-úrǎy ya nā́nnu wag kud da di magkal-kaláse kammalańín kiyá xawád atā́n ya namít ta xawád ǎy atā́n ya nasablḗ-.*
16. *se kadím pē kada-tá tólǎy atā́n da babā́y se laláki.*
17. *ummā́ń kanó ma- pē kada-tá iyā́- ǎy no banā́nā- ka abā́g ǎy ikáw ǎy no banā́ńka ak-akēn.*
18. *(ag-axí): díta bumanbanannā́y*
    ma- ô lu-sáw di babā́y.
19. *nannawā́nā- babā́y*
    ta nalláā- pē sǎy.

[45] *xawád*: Cf. note 33.

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TRANSLATION

539 1. M.: Prepare betel for me, aunt, put soft betel nut in it, add a little lime, I shall pick it up with my left hand.

584 2. (singing): Do not tell
'you', to a friend that there is none.

3. Ha, could it not be, is it not, 'you', that we sleep in front of one another, sleeping when there is a companion.

4. Ha, how do you like this to lie down here while the house is still clear.

5. How could we like to be all alone, when you are here also.

6. That, which would be joking with one who walks along like me, I do not do.

7. There would be some perhaps, companion, if another one asked you to prepare betel for him, but to me: "There is none", you say.

8. W.: Not so indeed, companion, but there is none though.

9. That, which would be making a selection among living people like me, I do not do.

10. You make a selection, 'you', among men.[46]

11. M.: No indeed, companion, but I say only: "If perhaps".

12. W.: There is betel (for chewing), 'you', but betel (for chewing) though that is useless.

13. Betel though that is useless.

14. M.: Could there be though which I do not like, I a human being.

15. As to the useless betel as you call it, are there any things that are not of different grade though; as to betel, there is tasty betel and there is tasteless.

16. And also with us men, there are women and men.

17. It is, they say, also like with us: I, if I sneeze, it is in a G-string, but you, if you sneeze, it is in a tapis.

18. (singing): Let us not approach
The resentment of a woman.

19. You are overbearing to me, woman,
I am really to be pitied.

192 One Spanish word occurs in this text, namely: *clase*, "class", pronounced *kaláse* in Nr. 15.

[46] Why do you want me and not some other girl.

539 Before I proceed, allow me to explain how Indian corn, taro and

sweet potatoes, came to be known to the Isneg; this was related to me by *Magáyam* from Bayag (O dialect).

Adṓdit năyá maís síwăy se ya kamóti

Story of the corn, taro and the sweet potato

Itó nabăyā́g ga dagúnnin uwā́d da nasamńá ńa bisín iyá Apā́yaw./ Adató tólăy imminda ńámin to adṓn nató ā́yo wa namít a pagramanā́nda./ Kané no isá ńa aldáw napanda iyá unág năyá xinúbāt./ To ya naxasárakda ya adánan kiyá xinúbāt./ Itó unág nató adánan uwā́dda ńa talló baláxi ya múla./ Adató tólăy sinónānda to mixin-adánan./ Kané no lumbét to mixin-adánan nagbaláwda ta lamán./ Nagbaláwda ta magúni to lamán./ Kasit-án nató lamán dató tólăy no ińká- to gagára dató tólăy./ Ńam sumuńbā́t dató tólăy ya umáńda ńa magsápul anánda mepagapó to bisín./ Ummáń to lamán nagbálāitó síwăy maís se to kamóti./ Séna la mesúro to mańlúto se to magmúla kadató tólăy./ Kané no malúto to síwăy maít se to kamóti nańā́nda./ Kané mabalinda mańā́n iddán nató lamán dató tólăy ya maís kamóti se to síwăy ya imúlada./ To ya nasarákān dăyá tólăy ya ńágan dăyá maís kamóti se ya síwăy.

Many years ago there was a severe famine in Apayaw./ The people consumed all the leaves of the trees whose taste was good./ Then one day they went inside the forest./ There they found a garden in the forest. Inside the garden there were three kinds of plants./ The men got the owner of the garden./ Then, when the owner of the garden came, they were surprised, as it was a wild boar./ They were surprised as the wild boar talked./ The wild boar asked the men what was the desire of the men./ But the men answered that they came to look for their food on account of the famine./ The wild boar went to gather taro, corn and sweet potatoes./ Then he taught the men to cook and to plant./ Then, when the taro, corn and the sweet potatoes were cooked, they ate./ When they finished eating, the wild boar gave the men corn, sweet potatoes and taro for them to plant./ That is how the men found the name of the corn, sweet potato and the taro.

1. INDIAN CORN

243 The field, whether included in the general appellation *kadánan* (garden) or not, where Indian corn or *maít* (from the Spanish *maís*) is grown, is called *maítā́n* or *makitā́n*.

The bulk of Indian corn is planted (*mańmaít*) in the months of January and February, mostly immediately after the tobacco.

44: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1941 OA1 Philippines
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251 Young banana leaves (*adón*) are used very extensively for wrapping
245 purposes, especially when things have to be kept fresh, for instance cooked rice, several kinds of viands, etc.

The men cut down (*lappadán, maglappád*) the leaves with the *alíwá* (hatchet) and gather (*manaxidón*) them.

Dry banana leaves (*arupát*) are used for wrapping all kinds of small objects.

245 A banana plantation where the leaves are all withered, is supposed
776 to be the abode of the spirit *Alčxān*. For the rest, no harm is done, as she never attempts to destroy the fruits.

6. YAMS

244 The origin of yams or *úbi* (Dioscorea alata, L., D. pentaphylla, L.,
773 etc.) is authenticated among the Isneg by the following stories:

539 *Ucil* from Bolo (O dialect, Main branch) told me this:
824

Ya nonōnná ńa úbi

The first yam

Kitó inumbét daté dódon kiddí ité nōnná ńa alxáw āwánda kanó ńa anán daté tólāy ta amminán daté dódon./ Kané āwánda ńa anán kitó mammínda ńa natáy iníru-da ya anánā-da séda ńa anín ăy imúlada to tábbit nató ababbíń./ Ay to ya nagbalín ka úbi to ya nonōnná ńa úbi.

When the locusts came here in former days, the people, it is said, had nothing to eat, as the locusts consumed everything./ And when they had nothing to eat, so they would all be dead, they took out a part of their children's bodies, and they ate it, and they planted the flesh of the child./ And that became a yam: that is the first yam.

Another man related to me a similar story with reference to the *paddig*-yam: it is very large, and its skin is very red; it looks as if it were bleeding. On a certain day, a mother took her babe as soon as it was born and cut it into pieces, which she buried in the ground. After a while they grew, and when the woman dug them up, they had become *paddig*-yams. She cooked them, ate them, and found them to be a savory kind of food.

A different story is woven around the *dinampāyán*, a kind of *lo-tó* (Dioscorea fasciculata, Roxb. and D. aculeata, L.). The *lo-tó* are small yams, whose meat is yellowish or white, and very soft; their skin is thin and whitish or brown, and is easily peeled off when cooked; their vines and leaves are thorny. Formerly all *lo-tó* were soft

44: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1941 OA1 Philippines
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stones. A little child having stepped on one of them, the latter took the shape of a small foot: that is the reason why the *dinampăyán* are more or less footlike and have small projections like toes.

In Isneg, *úbi* is the general name for all yams, and *lo-tó* is the general name for several kinds of soft yams whose skin is white or whitish. In Iloko, *úbi* refers only to one kind of yams (Dioscorea alata, L.), and *tugí* is the Iloko equivalent of the Isneg *lo-tó*. In Kankanay, *tugí* is the sweet potato.

Besides the *paddíg* (*úbi*) and the *dinampăyán* (*lo-tó*), the Isneg cultivate the following varieties (belonging to different species of Dioscorea) of *úbi*:

The *aniñgát*: A kind of yam with purplish skin.

The *baraóñ*: A kind of yam almost perfectly globose.

The *bisóyoñ*: A kind of yam with purplish skin, very long and crooked.

The *kamáñag*: A kind of yam very similar to the Dioscorea batatas, Dcne., but with a different vine.

The *dampanán*: A kind of *lo-tó* with a very pubescent skin, the most esteemed of all.

The *pixáy*: A kind of *lo-tó* with a very thin skin.

The *mariwag*: A kind of wild yam, with comparatively small vines, growing along brooks. The Isneg improve it by cultivation. Perhaps Dioscorea batatas, Dcne.

Whereas most other tribes cultivate yams rather sparingly, the Isneg plant them much more extensively than anything else, rice excepted. In this they resemble the Batan, whose staple food is the yam: rice, however, is not grown by them.

It takes yams one year to develop their tubers; they may be planted at any time.

Before planting *lo-tó*, the Isneg wash the parts that will be confided to the soil, with *babbalowán*-vines cut into pieces and soaked in the juice of the sugar cane. This is done to ensure their sweetness. The *babbalowán* is a herbaceous vine with yellow flowers and with leaves that resemble those of the *úbi*; it grows in gardens planted with *lo-tó*.

When they want to plant yams (*magbaló*; sometimes; *magtuwág*, which is said of both planting taro and planting yams), the first thing they do is to cut a certain quantity of tubers into pieces (*maxáru-* or *mañúru-*). Then holes are bored in the ground by means of a *paló-* (hoe) or a dibble (the *saguwá* or the *itutunú*; the latter being called *ibabaló* when used for planting yams). Some ashes are strewn in each

44: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1941 OA1 Philippines
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(*magkaskás*) from the *agdĕrăyăn*-pole and then piled up (*magsaldít*) somewhere on the floor of the house, next to the wall, where they are left to cure. To keep the bulk (*saldít*) of tobacco leaves in place, a stick is fixed somewhere in the floor, and the bulk of tobacco finds its place between this stick on one side and the wall of the house on the other.

While the tobacco is curing, the men prepare (*mańolapí*) boxes (*kolapí*) for the final storage. These *kolapí*, which are as high as they are long and very narrow, are made from the bark of one or more of the following trees:

The *adaán*, a forest tree with large leaves.
The *ánut*, a forest tree whose timber is not much esteemed.
The *labdó*, mentioned before, when treating sugar cane.

Before storing (*ipintá-*) the hands of tobacco in the *kolapí*, the Isneg spread some *bánăy*-leaves on the bottom, to serve as a pad (*annáp*) and to cause the leaves to become red. The *bánăy* is a very tall zingiberaceous plant with white flowers and grows in thickets of bamboo grass and in waste places.

To cause the tobacco to appear very valuable to prospective buyers, some *taróyog* are mixed with the leaves stored in the *kolapí* (box). The *taróyog* is a low herb that grows in forested areas.

V. The Isneg Orchard

The Isneg have no idea of a real orchard as we understand it. Nevertheless there is no village, almost no house, where they have not at least a few coco palms growing on the grounds, which surround the house yard or the group of houses that constitute a village. To people who walk along a mountain path or paddle down a river on a canoe or a raft, these coco palms are very often visible from a great distance and are the surest sign of the actual or former existence of one or more habitations in their immediate neighborhood.

All fruit trees planted by the Isneg are to be found on the grounds just mentioned, but there is none more precious and more important to the inhabitants of Apayaw than the universally cultivated coco palm or *iyúg*.

As to the question of its introduction into Apayaw, let us listen to what *Lampá* from Dangla (O dialect, Main branch) has to tell us about it:

Naggăyatán năyă iyúg
Origin of the coconut

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To nōnná ńa alxáw ăy nagdallís nalnáp ńamin to alawaxán ńam āwán piám maiyúg kid apā́yaw,/ ńam ăy rā́nna la uwā́d da iyúg ga nillṓd./ Nasińán dató tólăy ḗluxānda ńa totó ńam bakkánda namálā-./ Nasińán din to kusá sinaluxā́nna séna iddán kadató tólăy séda imúla./ Tówin ya naggăyatā́n ńámin ńa iyúg./ Ńam xapó ta ipaanā́ńi dăyá kusá to nańalā́-da kitó nagdallísna kitó nōnná ńa alxáw séno atā́n ya mańallṓd ônó mańíxād mińirańiráw dăyá kusá maxáwāgda ka iyúg.

In former days the whole world was covered with a flood, but no coconuts were yet produced in Apayaw,/ but it happened that there was a coconut that floated down./ The men saw it, they really desired it, but they did not get it./ A cat saw it then, it got it swimming, then gives it to the men, then they plant it./ That is the origin of all the coconuts./ But, because the cats managed to take it out of the flood in former days, when somebody causes [coconuts] to float down or scrapes out coconut meat, the cats mew, they call the coconuts.

When somebody intends to plant coconuts, the first thing he has to do is to climb one or more of the trees and to detach (*mamúxāt, buxā́tan*) a certain amount of ripe nuts (*iyúg*), which are dropped on the ground and afterwards picked up; cracked ones of course are useless for this purpose. A man who has been roasting meat should abstain from gathering nuts (*manuxúnug*) for some time, lest the trees that grow from these nuts produce nothing else but fruits that wither before they are grown to maturity.

The nuts (*patúbo*) are tied without more ado to a pole that has been stuck somewhere in or near the house yard, in order to cause them to sprout (*mańarā́y* or *magpaarā́y*). There are very few houses in Apayaw in whose immediate neighborhood there is not to be found such a pole with its heap of dry coconuts. Here they are left until the shoots have attained a certain development and they are ready to be planted.

The meat of sprouting nuts (*arā́y*) that are in their first stage namely before the shell has been pierced, consists of a white spongy mass (*tobál*) that fills the whole nut and is considered as a great dainty.

To plant coconuts (*magtubáń*) the Isneg men dig holes in the ground, at a distance of at least fifteen feet (*dapán*) from one another. Then the man who does the actual planting proceeds in the following way:

First he loosens his G-string, because

nexát ya abā́g séno nasulít a bunutā́n

46: Wilson
538, 539, 773, 173

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[For the texts of various Apayao myths and folktales, see category 116, pp. 44-170. --Analyst]

765 The bereaved husband or wife
515 must continue in mourning during several months even up to a year, according to the time set by the relatives of the deceased. He must wear white cothes and cannot take a bath nor eat rice during that time.

When the time of mourning is over, a smaller *callas* is held. Only then can the bereaved husband or wife remove his white clothes, take a bath, and don his usual garments. His mourning has changed into happiness again.

000 Thus life has been going on and on through the centuries in the lovely land of Apayao.

PUZZLES

524 I. An enchanted tree grows on the bank of the river.
539 During the day time, it stands straight toward the sky; but when the night comes, it lies flat and blocks the river, rendering it impassable to any boatman. However, a certain boatman did pass. How did he manage it?

SOLUTION: He made a great fire of leaves there so that the enchanted tree thought that day had come and it stood up. The boatman then poled with all his might and was able to pass safely.

II. There were three carabaos on one side of the river, but no grass; so they wanted to cross to the other side. However, there was a crocodile who promised to eat the one female carabao. What did the two male carabaos do to save the female carabao from the hungry crocodile?

SOLUTION: The male carabao went first; the female seized its tail in her mouth. The crocodile waited, of

course, for the last carabao, saw it was a male: so it left off. 524 539

III. There is a small girl; but when she goes out of a house, it cannot hold her.

SOLUTION: The small girl is smoke.

IV. It can carry lumber but cannot carry a needle.

SOLUTION: It is water.

V. When they are in, they are brothers; but when they are taken out, they fight each other.

SOLUTION: They are flint and steel.

NURSERY SONG 539

(In the Nabuañgan River Dialect)

I. *We-ya-we, we-ya-we, we-ya-we, we-ya-we*
Matadug can waguicon ta lombet dan amangen,
Mangil bet linoto wen ta canan ta daddanen.
We-ya-we, we-ya-we, we-ya-we, we-ya-we
Please sleep now my brother,
Father will come by and by bringing for us to eat.

II. *Wac-wac-wac-wac-wac-wac*
Matodug can catingen;
Ta awad gayang Malilak
Nga tomabtab can co ota-c.
Wac-wac-wac-wac-wac-wac
Please sleep now my little baby;
Because there is a crow from (Mount) Malilak
That will eat your brain if you do not stop crying.

FOLK SAYINGS

539 I. *Desdesadis adda molac camatis.*
Diac pagargaratis, no di telay napso-is."
I have a beautiful daughter.
I will not allow anybody to marry her
If not a refined man.

II. *"Cabayo ñga laguiben no innac purosen boa ñga gasisipan."*
She is beautiful; but the worst in character.

III. *"No awan liñgat, awan napdad."*
Where there is no sweat there is no sweet.

IV. *"Mangasawa ka se pomya ka."*
You marry so as to live more happily.

V. *"Magobja ca se matolay ka."*
You must work in order to live.

VI. *"Igayat mon se lombat ya kayat men."*
Begin it right away and you will have your wish.

VII. *"No magpili ca meg-toc en."*
If you select, you lose.

VIII. *"Unay adi matolay nwaoan babay."*
It is better to die if there is no woman.

IX. *"Napia das isissa no ya dakek ñga kaddoa."*
It is better to go alone than to have a bad companion.

.46: Wilson F-3 (no date) 1947 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5

539

A FEAST SONG

(Tune-salecdomoy)

(In the Nabuañgan River Dialect)

Niwayway bisic weay-sidong ya magbabalay;
Kinalway da co gassay.
Niwayway bisic bical-sidong da magbabakal;
Kinalway da co singal.
Niwayway bisic iyog—
Kinalway da co ga-od.
Niwayway bisic boa-sidong da maggo-obja:
Kinalway da co aliwa;

The rattan fruit is hanging—above the house builders:
Cut it with an axe.
The bicol fruit is hanging—above the brave warriors fighting:
Cut it with a spear.
The nut fruit is hanging—above the peace makers:
Cut it with a head axe.
The betel fruit is hanging—above the workers:
Cut it with an *aliwa.*

SOME ANTIPHONAL SONGS AT A FEAST

(In the Nabuañgan River Dialect)

I. *SALINDUMAY*

First Group: *Salindumay duma-ay*
Acganta da yadowas
Salindomay Domiwas
2nd Group: *Ayad dac din simicad*
Salin dewas Domiwas.

539 First Group: Oh! welcome, welcome visitors,
Let us enjoy the feast together.
Oh! oh! welcome to all.

2nd Group: Yes, I am here standing
Welcome to you all, too.

II. *O! OGAYAM*

First Group: *O! intayo aglalagzac*
O! o! ogayam, magayaman

2nd Group: *O! adda ac ngarud nga sumicad*
O! o! ogayam magayaman.

First Group: Oh! come let us be happy
Oh! oh! in as much as we are together

2nd Group: Oh! I am here now ready standing
Oh! oh! in as much as we are together.

III. *DOMALIWAS*

First Group: *Ta da Domaliwas*
Insa ay yen om hem

2nd Group: *Avad dae dia no sumicad*
No dinac cayat makiagsac
Ki kao ñga kalabsat
In sa ya ca om-he.

First Group: Now let us have a feast;
That's why we are here.

2nd Group: Yes, I am here standing.
If I didn't like happiness,
I wouldn't be here with you.
That's why we are here.

IV. *INNAS*

539

First Group: *Ki kayo ñga calagaab*
Intada ñga magdowas
Innas sa ianno onnas inballoballog
ogennas.

2nd Group: *Ay yo diamno dowas*
Aed ac lagud aumicad
Ta piniac makilaglagaak
Ki kao nga kalabeat.

First Group: Oh! beloved brethren,
Let us love one another.
Allright: forget the past and
Let us all love together.

2nd Group: Here I am with you, love;
Yes, I am here with you;
I want to be happy
With you my beloved brethren.

COSMOLOGY

Apayaos say that the earth is flat with edges, off 772
which the water flows and is caught by the moon 821
which returns it to the earth as rain. You can tell 823
when this will be done by observing the new moon. 221
If its tips (forming a container) are horizontal it 241
will not rain. If one tip is down, the water will run 805
out and it will rain. Camotes are planted during the
first and the last quarters of the moon. The positions
of ursa major and ursa minor determine the time of
planting most of the food crops. This is done by co- [476]
operative planting, *abugo*.

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
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Publications of the Catholic Anthropological Conference, vol. III, no. 3, pp. 187-280, Washington, D.C., U.S.A., December, 1938.

THE ISNEG LIFE CYCLE. II. MARRIAGE, DEATH, AND BURIAL

By MORICE VANOVERBERGH, C.I.C.M.
Mountain Province, Philippine Islands

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IV. Marriage

A. Acquisition of Mates

589 548 581

Celibacy is unknown to the Isneg. It would probably be very hard to convince them of its possibility, at least in men: they certainly never think about it. And so also prostitution is non-existent. There may perhaps be found a few women of loose morals among the Isneg, but even these could never be called prostitutes. To marry is the ultimate aim of every Isneg young man and young woman, none of them knows of any other course to take; marriage is universal.

589

If it should happen that a girl becomes old without having found a husband, she is said to have become the wife of the spirit *Taxindó*. But such cases must be exceedingly rare; I myself have never yet met any.

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao OA19
Apayao OA5
Isneg

The side areas are naturally more used for storage than the center and sleepers lie across the center section with their heads pillowed on the upper (indeed, in Manangol the stringers are called *pongan*—pillow), but the urgency with which the northern architect works this feature into his houses is hard to explain by recourse to such minor considerations. Nor does it seem plausible as an incidental feature consequent to the peculiar Isneg interlocking floor joists and roof posts — to say nothing of the fact that the Apayao house would appear rather too complex to serve as the prototype of the other varieties bearing the Northern Strain. Rather, one would suspect some common parent from which the Kabugao, Mabaca, and Kalinga *kulub*-style houses sprang and matured independently. Perhaps a clue is to be found in the honor which was presumably afforded the end platforms in the old Isneg houses, and the origin of the two-level floor sought outside the Philippine archipelago.

CONCLUSION

Two distinct types of simple houses were inhabited by the old swidden farmers of the Cordillera Central — the *abong*-style by the Kankanays and proto-Bontocs of the southwestern heights, a double lean-to built directly on the ground, and the *kulub*-style by the Kalingas of the northeastern foothills, a square bamboo shed with an entrance at ground level and a partial floor at two slightly different levels on an independent set of posts. An original granary-shaped house standing on three joists on two girders on four posts developed in Ifugao, and spread to Benguet (reaching the Inabaloi of the upper Agno valley only after they had already adapted for themselves a kind of lowland-style house), Lepanto and

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
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843
262
824

From a Dangla informant:

Three kinds of sugar cane:

The *saxádaw*, which has a yellow skin;

The *lokóg*, with a dark-purple skin;

The *banótān*, with a reddish-brown skin.

Three kinds of bananas:

The *dokkasi*, which is a very large banana with a thick yellow skin;

The *parandn*, which is very small and has a thin yellow skin, its taste is more or less sour, and it grows in very large bunches;

The *lippokán* (Iloko: *alimúkeñ*), a small egg-shaped banana with a thin greenish skin.

The terminal bud or cabbage (*baraníbād*) of the fish-tail palm (*aníboñ*, Caryota cumingii. Lodd.).

The *tobál* or soft meat of a sprouting coconut, lest the woman experience difficulty in giving birth to her child.

843
262

From a Nagbabalayan informant:

Legs of a pig, for the same reason as in the case of the *tobál*.

184

It should be noted in this connection that taboos are not always universally observed all over the district of Apayaw. For instance, a certain article of food may be forbidden over a comparatively large area, while everywhere else such a taboo is unknown and consequently unobserved.

B. CHILDBIRTH AND POST-NATAL CARE

843

A pregnant (*nabu-sit*; *bu-sit*, in Isneg, means "fetus"; *buksit*, in Iloko, means "belly, abdomen"; "fetus", in Iloko, is *sikúg*) woman goes about her ordinary duties up to the last moment. I have known a Kankanay woman who gave birth to her child while she was working in an irrigated rice field, and, although I know of no similar cases among the Isneg, it has been told me more than once that an Isneg mother could give birth to her child anywhere, even though walking and at work. On other occasions, while inquiring about their proper names, I was told that a woman who gave birth to a child in the bush, might call her child "Bush" (*sirát*); if she brought forth her offspring near some tree, the name of that particular tree might be given to the newborn babe. All this goes to prove that the intensive care taken by and for a future mother in more civilized areas is entirely absent and considered as quite superfluous among our sturdy mountaineers.

[551]

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
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104 *Aná-* (used only in G [B and/or A.—Ed.] branch of O dialect) or *an-aná-*, when used by the parents: son, daughter, child.
601 *Anánà-*, when used by the parents: sons, daughters, children.
192 *Anánà-*, when used by other persons: children up to the age of puberty.

Abbí-: very small babe.

Abbág: child. A term used contemptuously by older people.

Mazabilin: to watch the baby.

Magtaddáy: to try to stand without support, to learn how to walk. Said of little children.

Magkalúsig: to weep, to cry, when father or mother goes away. Said of little children.

Monongósi: to carry a child on the nape of one's neck, keeping the little one in a sitting position, its legs dangling in front, one on either side. An Isneg father often carries his baby that way, provided the latter has already attained a certain age.

Poñanán: to give to eat, to feed (human beings). To feed animals is *pakkanán*. Both from the stem *kán* and the suffix *an*; only prefix differs: *pañ* (the *k* of the stem being eliminated) in the first case, *pa* (the *k* of the stem being reduplicated) in the second.

C. NAMES AND NAMING

553 Now we come to the giving of a name. It goes without saying that
551 among the Isneg, like among most primitive peoples, there is no question of a family name. Every man and woman, every body and girl, has his or her own personal name, and that is all. But what's in a name? To an Isneg the name of a person in a way stands for that person's own self; to call his name is to call the person in question.

And so when a child is repeatedly ill, which means "pestered by the spirits", the best way to cure it is to change its name, or, to use the Isneg expression, "to shift its name (*ialit ya ñáxanna*)". Let the spirits amuse themselves with the old name, the child as it was formerly; as it is at present, with its new name, its new personality, the spirits will have to leave it in peace: they have been fooled once more by the cleverness of poor mortals, they will pester an old name, a lost personality, and use their evil influence in vain; the new child, the child with the new name, will escape unscathed.

551 Again, do not pronounce the name of a dead person, an Isneg
769 "takes pity on him (*alakkán*)"; leave him in peace where he is, do

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
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not bother him, do not bring him in your midst, he is all right where he is. Pronouncing his name or bringing him into your presence is one and the same thing after all, therefore do not pronounce his name, at least if you are related to him, you at least should "pity him". Never mind if a stranger pronounces his name, he has no business with that dead person and does not care. But you, his relative, leave him at rest.

Of course, in all this only the words inclosed within quotation marks are Isneg explanations, the rest are mine; but I think I have not been far from the truth in my endeavors to show what was going on in the mind of the Isneg. Besides, the above are only two out of many examples that serve to prove the importance of a name and its meaning to an Isneg. In the following paragraphs many confirmations will be found of the same,—for instance, the preference given to names of people renowned for their bravery or old age, and so on.

Now, when is a child given its name? By whom? And what kind of a name is given?

These questions might be answered briefly and truly like this:

When? Immediately after birth.

By whom? By anybody around.

What name? Any name that sounds all right.

But such answers look very unsatisfactory. Let us give a few explanations.

The child is given its name immediately after birth. The reason, as given by the Isneg themselves, is lest some spirit take it upon himself to give it a name. And then? Well, I think the Isneg do not reason any further; maybe they know no case in which an *anito* gave a child its name, and so what could they answer? But I think that from his own point of view the Isneg is quite right after all, although perhaps actually unaware of it. Indeed if a child were given its name by a spirit, would it not be given its personality or something very much akin to it by that same spirit? And in such a case would the spirit not have all power upon that child? And who ever heard of a spirit doing good to a mortal being, except under compulsion, through some magical performance or other stratagem? And so the Isneg do not take any chances: they give their babe its name and claim it as their own as soon as possible, to the exclusion of all malevolent *anito*.

Anybody is allowed to propose a name for the child, and, if it proves acceptable, the baby will be known by that name from now on,

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553 whoever be the person who suggested it. It is very clear though that the relatives, especially the old women, the more so if a shaman is among the latter, have a deciding vote in the matter, and that, in case of disagreement, an Isneg shaman or other old woman decides the question. But such occurrences must be rare, as the Isneg do not mind so much by what name their children are called provided [856] they have one at the earliest opportunity. The parents, however, usually refrain from giving their child its name, as they believe that in such a case the baby would not grow up or at least would grow very slowly.

553 When baptizing an Isneg baby, we always give him some Christian
177 name of course, and I know of very few cases in which I myself was not called upon to choose the name in question. Sometimes I had to
● 551 suggest several names, as some of them did not prove acceptable, but
795 for this there was usually no other reason than that they were too hard for the Isneg either to pronounce or to remember. This new name is generally faithfully adhered to, although the original Isneg name is rarely forgotten and sometimes even remains preponderant; indeed a name is something much too important not to be taken into consideration. Actually many Isneg babies get a Christian name as their proper name from the outset, and so all difficulties and equivocations are eliminated at once.

That this indifference exists not only with reference to the name of a child that has to be baptized, but even with reference to the first name of any newborn babe, is evident from the fact that Christian Iloko or Kagayan school teachers are often called upon to suggest a name for the little one. So, at Ampaw for instance, which is a small agglomeration not so far from Nagbabalayan, we find a little boy called *Mabini*, a name proposed by the teacher of the last-mentioned place at the suggestion of the father; now, even without knowing the person who gave the name, it is patent that such a name could not have been given by Isneg, as it is the family name of Mr. Apolinario Mabini, a Filipino hero of revolutionary war fame, of whom our Isneg know nothing at all. To complete the matter, I called the boy Apolinario at baptism.

551 It may be seen even from the above that any name will do. Nevertheless the Isneg also have their preference, and this especially in regard to three classes of names:

1. Names that have become traditional among the Isneg, "old names" as they call them. For instance *Súxăy*, which has no known

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meaning, but is very popular I know of five men called by that name: two at Bayag, one at Dagara, one at Karagawan and one at Baliwanan. 551

2. Names of renowned warriors, *mẽńal* (brave), men who have taken many heads. So a Karagawan boy was called *Mańasó* after a Bolo warrior, although both villages are rather far apart from one another; a Musimut boy was called *Pátań* after one of his ancestors, also a renowned head hunter. Both names have no known meaning. 551 789

3. Names of people who have attained a ripe old age. The Isneg, to use their own expression, "are loath to relegate those names to oblivion" (*magkekẽńa*, from *kẽńa*, "alas"). Names of children who have died a premature death are never chosen, at least when the fact of their short lives is known to the interested party; indeed it may happen that in a certain locality a person called by a certain name has become very old, while another one born in some other place and called by the same name has died an early death, and that the people who have to choose the name for a newborn babe do not know of both cases: then of course only the fact known to them is taken into consideration.

At this juncture it should be noted that the same names recur at every step all over the Isneg district: they are probably very popular for one of the reasons given above, and the personality and inherent qualities are supposed to be transferred to the child together with the name. Nevertheless it should not be inferred from this that the Isneg believe in metempsychosis: no such belief exists in the whole Apayaw district. [828]

Just to give a few examples. M stands for "male"; F for "female". 551

Sabadáw (M): at Bayag, Madatag, Pili, Musimut, Nagsimbanan, Kumaw, Agnoan (Kabugaw), Magububung.

Púdo- (M): at Abbil, Musimut, Nagbabalayan, Baliwanan, Genned, two at Alumani.

Dẽmáy (F): at Musimut, Dagara, Nagbabalayan, Baduat, Karagawan, Bolo.

Agsdyań (M): at Mayaw, Musimut, Nagbabalayan, Nagsimbanan, Baduat.

Alább (M): at Madatag, Dagara, Pasiyab, Nagsimbanan.

Búsiń (M): at Nagsimbanan, Magapta, Bolo, Katablangan.

Kabagiyát (M): at Baliwanan, Kumaw, Karagawan, Bolo.

Láyldy (M): at Madatag, Musimut, Kabaknan, Bolo.

Asáp (M or F): at Nagilian (Namaltugan), Madatag, Baliwanan, Alumani.

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551 *Alúnăy* (F) : at Nagilian (Namaltugan), Madatag, Lukab, Magapta.
Ladó (F) : at Madatag, Lukab, Kumaw, Alumani.
Makanóń (F) : at Abbil, Musimut, Waga, Tawit.
Rián (F) : two at Musimut, at Dagara, Nagbabalayan.
Banáwal (M) : at Dagara, Kumaw, Magapta.
Dawwán (M) : at Madatag, Kabaknan, Bolo.
Xádăy (M) : at Nagilian (Namaltugan), Karagawan, Bolo.
Kadári (M) : at Baliwanan, Karagawan, Lettuakan.
Kalásiyo (M) : at Bayag, Bolo, Turatok.
Laxi-nắy (M) : at Bayag, Baduat, Bolo.
Mélad (M) : at Kabugawan, Nagbabalayan, Lettuakan.
Pa-rá́y (M) : at Nagbabalayan, Bolo, Tawit.
Pátań (M) : at Pili, Musimut, Nagbabalayan.
Puglá́y (M) : at Bayag, Abbil, Kabaknan.
Bańón (M or F) : at Magapta. Waga, Talifugu.
Annawán (F) : at Lukab, Kumaw, Bolo.
Bakkuwá́y (F) : at Maduang, Nagbabalayan, Kumaw.
Bannáw (F) : at Madatag, Lettuakan, Bolo.
Bańgít (F) : at Musimut, Kabaknan, Karagawan.
Billíń (F) : at Lukab, Kabaknan, Baduat.
Dúpan (F) : at Pili, Bolo, Talifugu.
Xinaudán (F) : at Dallawas, Baduat, Bolo.
Abgáw (M) : two at Bolo.
Bắydán (M) : at Alumani, Tawit.
Bélan (M) : at Kumaw, Tawit.
Búńa (M) : at Dibagat, Bolo.
Élat (M) : at Nagbabalayan, Nagsimbanan.
Xammád (M) : at Baliwanan, Lako.
Kasixá́y (M) : at Bayugaw, Pitpita (Karagawan).
Magdólon (M) : at Madatag, Bolo.
Páloy (M) : at Pili, Nagsimbanan.
Patá́y (M) : at Baliwanan, Alumani.
Póyo (M) : at Apadi, Kumaw.
Sawít (M) : at Nagilian (Namaltugan), Alumani.
Tandí (M) : at Abbil, Kumaw.
Ul-úl (M) : at Tuyangan, Kumaw.
Allapá́y (F) : at Nagilian (Namaltugan), Musimut.
Bégu (F) : at Ripang, Tawini.
Lébas (F) : at Ripang, Pagdawan.
Mámaw (F) : at Nagbabalayan, Tawit.

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Another set of names has to do with certain happenings or other circumstances of time or place connected with the birth of a child, as has been hinted at before. For instance, when *Kábo*, a Nagbabalayan boy was born, it happened that one of the corporals (Spanish *cabo*) of the constabulary passed through that settlement at the time; and a boy who was born at Abbil while some people from Claveria were staying at his father's house, was called by the name of that town. But I do not believe this to be so exceedingly common,—at least actually, the more so that names with a known meaning are comparatively rare. I say "actually", because names that have no meaning at present may have had one before: the language of the Isneg has not remained stationary, any more than has that of other peoples. In Kankanay songs for instance, one encounters lots of antiquated words, some whose meaning is still known, although other terms have actually taken their place in popular language, and others whose meaning has been forgotten and lost for ever.

It may also happen of course that a certain name, now meaningless, was given for some circumstance that has since been forgotten; but on the other hand it is also far from sure that all names that have a known meaning were given for such a reason. I only mention here the name of *Mabíni* related before: the name has a meaning, but it was given merely at the suggestion of a teacher. So after all very few conclusions can be drawn from the fact that a name has a meaning or no meaning. Indeed, let us suppose that a certain *Súxăy* (no meaning) passes through the village at the time of the birth of a boy; that boy will perhaps be called *Súxăy*, and after a very short lapse of time the whole occurrence will be forgotten, as *Súxăy* is a very popular name among the Isneg.

Here may be mentioned some of the native Isneg names that have a meaning:

Balás (M): lemon.
Basáń (M): ginger.
Udán (M): rain.
Ósań (M or F): bagasse.
Adás (F): a kind of sedge, Scleria sp.; its leaves have very sharp
Barańdy (F): canoe.
Barańdy (F): canoe.
Baló (F): stone.
Dódon (F): locust.
Xabí (F): night

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551 *Xídam* (F): evening
104 *Múmaw* (F): a kind of herb used in magical practices.
192 *Pariyá* (F): a vine of the squash family with edible fruits, Momordica ovata. Cogn.

551 For the rest any name will do, provided it pleases everybody concerned. This was repeatedly told me all over Apayaw, although the preferences referred to above, either all three or only one or two of them, were usually mentioned, and occasionally the question of some circumstance connected with the time or place of birth.

551 177 Actually one finds more and more Isneg youngsters who bear a Christian name, not only the one given them at baptism or in school, but the original name given at birth. So at Nagsimbanan and at Magapta we find a *Delfín* (M); at Musimut, *José* (José) (M); at Baliwanan, *Kolás* (Nicolás) (M); at Nagilian (Namaltugan), *Román* (M); at Butaw, *Siyón* (Concepción) (M); at Bayag, *Donáta* (F); at Bayag, *Faustina* (F); at Musimut, *Leónsiya* (Leoncia) (F); at Lako, *Máriya* (María) (F); at Musimut, *Méri* (Mary) (F); at Kabugaw, *Néli* (Nellie) (F); at Abbil, *Eufina* (F); at Bayag, *Simóna* (F); at Nagsimbanan, *Verón* (Verónica) (F).

Such names occur even among those of older people; in this case they were probably brought in from the lowlands, from the Christian provinces, whither the Isneg frequently went either on headhunting expeditions or with the purpose of bartering their wares for clothes and so on. Thus at Musimut there is a *Sáriyo* (Cesario) (M); at Genned, an *Isabél* (F). At Lettuakan there was a man, now dead, called *Antón* (Antonio), the father of a young man called *Asiyo* (Nicasio, Engracio, or some other name with a similar ending). Another *Antón* still lives at Bolo.

[554] Some Isneg names are nothing but the family name or the title of public servants.

551 Family names:

Bawánen (M), at Bayag: after Mr. Bawanen, a sanitary inspector.
Bunnáw (M), at Karagawan: a soldier.
Dison (M), at Mayaw: after Lt. Dizon of the Constabulary.
Dukúsen (M), at Musimut: after Mr. Ducusin, a former lieutenant-governor.
Galiyárdo (M), at Maduang: after Mr. Gallardo, a teacher.
Gársiya (M), at Lukab: after Lt. García of the Constabulary.
Xárma (M), at Musimut: after Mr. Garma, a teacher.

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Inaíso (M), at Lukab: after Mr. Eneiso, a municipal treasurer.
Kôner (M), at Nagbabalayan, at Ripang and at Tawit: after Mr. Norman G. Connor, the second lieutenant-governor of Apayaw.
Líñan (M), at Bolo: a soldier.
Makánas (M), at Bolo: a nurse.
Mína (M), a Bolo: formerly connected with the Bureau of Public Works.
Siddāyáw (M), at Nagbabalayan: soldier.
Tagubá (M), at Bolo and at Tawit: a nurse.

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Titles:

Bokonadôr (M), at Nagsimbanan: vaccinator (Spanish: *vacunador*).
Fôrman (M), at Bubulayan: the title by which the chief inspector of roads is known all over the district
Kábo (M), at Nagbabalayan: corporal (Spanish: *cabo*)
Meistará (F), at Abbil, at Maduang and at Kabetayan (Kabugaw): lady teacher (Spanish: *maestra*).

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Just to show how little the Isneg sometimes care for the kind of name that is given to their offspring, I merely mention here the name *Sentávo* (Spanish *centavo*, a copper coin worth one half cent), which is most certainly not a very precious one. You can meet a Mr. *Sentávo* at Madatag and one at Ampaw.

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In general it must be said that a definite set of names is the exclusive property of boys, and that another set is particular to girls. Nevertheless it may happen that a certain name is given to boys in some localities, while in others the same one is given to girls.

So we have *Asáp*, which is the name of three girls I know, one at Nagilian (Namaltugan), one at Madatag, and one at Alumani, while a Baliwanan boy is called by the same name.

Bañón: two girls: one at Magapta and one at Waga; a boy at Talifugu.

Éba: a girl at Lukab; a boy at Karagawan.

Luwé-: a girl at Nagbabalayan; a boy at Lako.

Ósañ: a girl at Nagilian (Namaltugan); a boy at Lukab.

Pili: a girl at Nagbabalayan; boy at Maduang.

At Nagbabalayan there is a man called *Báñan*, which is the name of the most popular heroine of Kankanay tales.

But such coincidences are of comparatively rare occurrence.

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And now I come to the question of changing the name given at birth. All over northern Luzon, among Christians as well as among pagans,

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553 among Iloko and Kagayan who have been Christians for centuries, as well as among the tribes that inhabit the Mountain Province and some 171 of whom have started embracing Christianity only comparatively recently, the Negritos alone excepted, the custom of changing the name of a person at the time of prolonged or dangerous sickness is almost universal, to the dismay of Government officials and Church dignitaries, as such a practice brings nothing but confusion in the records, especially among pagan tribes, who have not yet adopted family names and continue to give each individual his own special personal name. I have discussed sufficiently the ideas of the Isneg about the matter, at the beginning of my treatment about Isneg names, without having to explain them any further, but some other points should be considered here.

553 Some Isneg keep their original name all through life, others have it changed once or twice, rarely more often. The change usually 551 takes place in infancy, more rarely in youth, and no ceremonies seem to be connected with the same: everything happens as in the case of the giving of the first name immediately after birth. It may happen also, in a few isolated cases, that a man or a woman of mature age gets or takes another name. So, at Kumaw, a girl called *Uńăy* gave the name of her father as *Bélan*, at the time of her baptism, a few years ago, while that same man is known all over the municipal district as *Okkóń*. Although it seems that the fellow must already have been called *Okkóń* at the time of the baptism of his daughter, who was married recently, his old name *Bélan* must have clung to him for a long time, otherwise his daughter would not have known it.

The most important reason for changing a name is, as has been stated repeatedly, the sickness of the child (*séno mawĕ ya takít*, "so that sickness go away") A few Isneg have their name changed once or twice merely through caprice, whether it be a whim of their own or one of their parents (in case they are still small): a certain name comes to their mind, for one reason or another that name catches their fancy and ends by pleasing them, and away goes the old name; the new name will be adopted from now on as the distinctive appellation of the girl or boy in question.

551 At least in the municipal district of Conner, and perhaps also 168 elsewhere, a very serious reason for changing the name of a baby is the death of one of its parents. As will be seen in a subsequent chapter, the Isneg have a certain fear of the dead and usually prefer that they stay where they are: they do not want them to interfere

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with the affairs of the living. Now in this case the Isneg deem it very probable that the dead parent will continue to be fond of his child, and perhaps try to approach it and fondle it, as he was wont to do before his death; but this must inevitably be exceedingly detrimental to the well-being of the little one, so the best way to prevent all such dangerous trifling is to change the name of the infant in question, in order to force the soul of the dead parent to forget all about his offspring. He will be looking for the babe under its old name, but here the living will have got the better of him: the new name, the new personality of the little one, will completely baffle the all-too-fond parent, and the living will be rid of the annoying interference of the dead. *Séno maligpandn nāyá kaduduwána ya ńázan nāyá ababbíń*, "So that his soul forget the name of the child": this was the reason for the custom given me by the Isneg themselves. What would be the use of making the dead forget the name of the child if "name" was not more or less synonymous with "personality"?

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Formerly a stranger travelling in Apayaw must forcibly have been struck by the reluctance of the Isneg to tell his name. I say "formerly", as nowadays the Isneg has been obliged to tell his name on so many different occasions, for instance at school, in the judgment hall, and so on, that this reluctance is fast disappearing. However, it is still to be found in many remote corners, and more especially with grown-up and old men and women: when you ask their name they invariably tell some companion to answer you in their stead. Just exactly what is the reason of this I have not yet been able to ascertain; when questioned about it, the Isneg either deny the custom altogether, if they are not very familiar with you, or else say that they are ignorant of the reason of its existence.

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The same reticence takes place with reference to the names of the dead: this has been touched upon before, and the reason, as explained by the Isneg, has been given at the same time. The prohibition of telling the name of a dead person does not last indefinitely, nor does it equally affect all persons. When some time has elapsed since the death of a certain Isneg whose name you would like to know, your informant will usually say: "*Natdyyin* (he is dead already)", with a look of wonder on his face, as if to say: "What is the use of wanting to know his name, he is dead already, he has lost his name together with his life"; but if you insist, he will give it seemingly without difficulty. So also unrelated persons are much less reluctant than near relatives, when there is question of telling the name of the dead. Be-

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551 769 sides, I have experienced that old men and women usually give the name very readily, although they be related to the person in question. That such a prohibition does not last indefinitely, even with the relatives of the deceased, is corroborated by the fact that the names of persons who were renowned for one reason or another during their lifetime, are often preferred when there is question of giving a little babe its first name: and it is far from unusual to encounter an Isneg youngster called after one of his own ancestors.

551 606 553 Then there are the names of the father-in-law and of the mother-in-law (*kalnxánan*), which may never be pronounced under any pretext. Up to this day very few Isneg, even among those who have been in contact with civilization for a long time, are bold enough to discard all fear on the subject and to pronounce them. This is especially apparent at the baptism of a child, when we record the names of its parents and grandparents: it very often happens that only one of the parents accompanies the baby that has to be christened, and this is a source of many difficulties, if there is no other person at hand who is acquainted with the names of the parents of the absent party. . In case one of the persons whose names have to be recorded is dead, one can get at his name after comparatively little urging, but the name of a father-in-law or a mother-in-law, that never.

551 606 And why? The Isneg mostly do not know or pretend not to know the reason: sometimes they say that, if they pronounce any of these names, their children will die, but such an answer is always accompanied by the term *kanó*, "it is said". But why should their children die? The whole question is probably shrouded in mystery even to the Isneg themselves; but one thing is certain: an almost insurmountable fear must have been instilled into them from time immemorial, while the real reason, the death penalty inflicted on the offspring of the offender, a penalty inflicted by *unito* of course, if this is the real reason, may have been forgotten either entirely or almost so by the majority of the natives. This fear must have been exceedingly great indeed in order to have the custom remain so persistently and so universally, even after the real explanation has been lost sight of. And that the Isneg have forgotten it, I am rather inclined to believe; I have been able to enter deeply into many matters much more delicate than the one in question, and although this has been done sometimes with no little difficulty, I usually have obtained what I wanted, but here the interrogation mark has so far remained as it was. Or is this a matter much more delicate in the eyes of the Isneg than

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many another one that might seem to be so from a Caucasian's point of view?

In this connection I should be allowed to explain a superstition that is current among Christian Iloko. It refers to the name of the mother of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Many old Iloko women persist in denying this title to St. Ann. "Saint Ann", they say, "is the mother of Saint Elizabeth; but the name of the mother of our Lady is not Ann. We are not allowed to pronounce it; whoever does so under ordinary circumstances dies an instantaneous death. When somebody is on his deathbed, the priest whispers that name to him, and if the dying person pronounces it and at the same time recites thirteen times the Hail Holy Queen or Salve Regina, he will go straight to heaven."

Now you may laugh at this superstition, you may preach against it, you may exhaust all your knowledge and eloquence in order to prove its silliness, you may even fly into a passion, but the old women will answer you unperturbed: "Never mind, we know what we are talking about. You see, you yourself do not tell us anything about that name, because you know very well that you would die if you dared to pronounce it out of season". And make an old Iloko woman change her mind!

They even go further than that. One day, while I was rector of the parish at Bangar (1916-1921), my laundress became dangerously ill. One of her relatives having come to call me, I immediately went to her house, but when I reached the place, she had already become unconscious. I ministered to her as is customary under the circumstances, and finally left her seemingly in a hopeless condition. But the old girl was not yet ready to give up the strife, and after a couple of weeks she fully recovered. She had barely been able to move around for a few days, when she started telling anybody who wanted to hear about it that, at the time of my visit, I had whispered to her the name of Mary's mother.

After such an experience I thought it my duty to try all possible means in order to put a stop to this absurdity. Not a few of my parishioners evidently knew the name in question and it might perhaps be possible to learn all about it: then I would pronounce it in season and out of season, and show to everybody's satisfaction that the whole affair was nothing but a silly superstition. But it took me more time than I had anticipated in order to get hold of that elusive name; the women did not want to risk their life by telling me, and besides they

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were firmly convinced that I knew at least as much as they did. Fortunately my persistent efforts in that direction were finally crowned with success, and I came to learn that famous name, which was supposed to be known to all priests, but could not be pronounced by them except at the deathbed of one of their charges, and which was considered as the appellation of our Lady's mother: an old Iloko woman whispered it to me after I had promised her very solemnly that I took all responsibility upon myself, and after I had assured her most emphatically that no harm would accrue to her on account of her indiscretion.

Now that name was, as she pronounced it, *Adúnay*, nothing else but a Hebrew name for God, correctly Adonai. The next Sunday I announced from the pulpit that the whole story was humbug pure and simple, and to prove it I pronounced the name and explained it. All the time I could observe several old women in the congregation who did nothing but cross themselves whenever I pronounced that "sacred" name: they were probably very much concerned about my safety and thought perhaps that I should fall dead at any moment. But had I been able to eradicate this absurd superstition once for all, at least among my own people? Not a bit. The women were ready at once with explanations of their own: my case was a special one; anybody else of course who dared pronounce that name would die a certain death. Maybe they thought that I carried some famous amulet on my person, something which was known only to me and which would preserve me from all harm. Such an explanation on their part should not be wondered at, as I have been credited with bilocation, with the power of passing roaring torrents at a jump, and other nonsense.

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But to return to our Isneg: might it not be possible that there is some connection between the two beliefs? Indeed in both cases the penalty of death is supposed to follow in the wake of the pronunciation of a certain name: in the case of the Isneg, the pronunciation of the name of the father-in-law or the mother-in-law entails the death of the offender's offspring; in that of the Iloko, the person who dares pronounce out of season the name of the mother of our Lady is punished by death. It goes without saying that the latter belief cannot be justified by anything and is nothing else but gross superstition, as the Iloko have been Christians for centuries, and besides the belief in question could not have evolved into its present state except among a Christianized people.

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Isneg expressions referring to names and worthy of notice are the following:

kalōbaxán: a name that has the same ending as another one. *Magkalóbān*: to bear each a name with the same ending. For instance: *Balás, Kolás*; *Éba, Xawwá*; *Basán, Dawwán*; *Antóniyo, Asiyo*, etc.

isán and *ébăy*: familiar diminutive names for girls in general. Similar names are: in Iloko, *iníń*; in Ibanag, *néne-* (probably from the Spanish *nene*, "baby, whether boy or girl").

Nicknames, as applied to one particular person, are used very sparingly among the Isneg. I know of only one case: a Lettuakan boy, called *Asiyo* and baptized Pedro, is very generally called *Paláli* even by his own relatives. *Paláli* is the name of a tree, and also of its fruits, which are edible, but very sour.

The Isneg are not very good genealogists. It very often happens that a young man or an adult girl does not even know the name of one or more of their grandparents, especially if the latter died before their grandchild was born. When asked about such names, the Isneg who happens not to know them usually excuses his ignorance by saying: "*Akkáńko nasińán* (I did not see him or her)".

II. Education

It might be thought at first sight that the Isneg leads a very unhappy and miserable life, a life full of drudgery, a life devoid of all comforts and possessing only a minimum of pleasure. But when you come to consider him more intimately, to enter more deeply into the matter, it does not take long for you to be convinced of the contrary. Indeed, he has very few needs; it is comparatively easy, to quote Jerome K. Jerome in "Three Men in a Boat", for an Isneg "to have enough to eat and enough to wear, and a little more than enough to drink", and he has little work to do. Besides, look at the fine family life he is living: if he has a good diligent wife, and most Isneg women are like that, and plenty of children around, really his bliss exceeds all understanding, I mean the understanding of a Caucasian with his manifold cares and innumerable wants.

Again at first sight, it might seem that the children's education is reduced to the very minimum, or rather that the youngsters get no education at all, as everybody, not excepting the children, seems to shift for himself and to do as he pleases. One would be the more inclined to think so when comparing the Isneg with other primitive

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104 *Aná-* (used only in G [B and/or A.—Ed.] branch of Ô dialect) or *an-aná-*, when used by the parents: son, daughter, child.
601 *Anánă-*, when used by the parents: sons, daughters, children.
192 *Anánă-*, when used by other persons: children up to the age of puberty.

Abbí-: very small babe.

Abbág: child. A term used contemptuously by older people.

Maxabílin: to watch the baby.

Magtaddáy: to try to stand without support, to learn how to walk. Said of little children.

Magkalúsig: to weep, to cry, when father or mother goes away. Said of little children.

Manańgósi: to carry a child on the nape of one's neck, keeping the little one in a sitting position, its legs dangling in front, one on either side. An Isneg father often carries his baby that way, provided the latter has already attained a certain age.

Poñanán: to give to eat, to feed (human beings). To feed animals is *pakkanán*. Both from the stem *kăn* and the suffix *an*; only prefix differs: *pań* (the *k* of the stem being eliminated) in the first case, *pa* (the *k* of the stem being reduplicated) in the second.

C. NAMES AND NAMING

553 Now we come to the giving of a name. It goes without saying that
551 among the Isneg, like among most primitive peoples, there is no question of a family name. Every man and woman, every body and girl, has his or her own personal name, and that is all. But what's in a name? To an Isneg the name of a person in a way stands for that person's own self; to call his name is to call the person in question.

And so when a child is repeatedly ill, which means "pestered by the spirits", the best way to cure it is to change its name, or, to use the Isneg expression, "to shift its name (*ialit ya ăzăńna*)". Let the spirits amuse themselves with the old name, the child as it was formerly; as it is at present, with its new name, its new personality, the spirits will have to leave it in peace: they have been fooled once more by the cleverness of poor mortals, they will pester an old name, a lost personality, and use their evil influence in vain; the new child, the child with the new name, will escape unscathed.

551 Again, do not pronounce the name of a dead person, an Isneg
769 "takes pity on him (*alakkán*)"; leave him in peace where he is, do

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not bother him, do not bring him in your midst, he is all right where he is. Pronouncing his name or bringing him into your presence is one and the same thing after all, therefore do not pronounce his name, at least if you are related to him, you at least should "pity him". Never mind if a stranger pronounces his name, he has no business with that dead person and does not care. But you, his relative, leave him at rest.

Of course, in all this only the words inclosed within quotation marks are Isneg explanations, the rest are mine; but I think I have not been far from the truth in my endeavors to show what was going on in the mind of the Isneg. Besides, the above are only two out of many examples that serve to prove the importance of a name and its meaning to an Isneg. In the following paragraphs many confirmations will be found of the same,—for instance, the preference given to names of people renowned for their bravery or old age, and so on.

Now, when is a child given its name? By whom? And what kind of a name is given?

These questions might be answered briefly and truly like this:

When? Immediately after birth.

By whom? By anybody around.

What name? Any name that sounds all right.

But such answers look very unsatisfactory. Let us give a few explanations.

The child is given its name immediately after birth. The reason, as given by the Isneg themselves, is lest some spirit take it upon himself to give it a name. And then? Well, I think the Isneg do not reason any further; maybe they know no case in which an *anito* gave a child its name, and so what could they answer? But I think that from his own point of view the Isneg is quite right after all, although perhaps actually unaware of it. Indeed if a child were given its name by a spirit, would it not be given its personality or something very much akin to it by that same spirit? And in such a case would the spirit not have all power upon that child? And who ever heard of a spirit doing good to a mortal being, except under compulsion, through some magical performance or other stratagem? And so the Isneg do not take any chances: they give their babe its name and claim it as their own as soon as possible, to the exclusion of all malevolent *anito*.

Anybody is allowed to propose a name for the child, and, if it proves acceptable, the baby will be known by that name from now on,

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553 whoever be the person who suggested it. It is very clear though that the relatives, especially the old women, the more so if a shaman is among the latter, have a deciding vote in the matter, and that, in case of disagreement, an Isneg shaman or other old woman decides the question. But such occurrences must be rare, as the Isneg do not mind so much by what name their children are called provided they have one at the earliest opportunity. The parents, however, usually refrain from giving their child its name, as they believe that in such a case the baby would not grow up or at least would grow very slowly.

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553 177 551 795 When baptizing an Isneg baby, we always give him some Christian name of course, and I know of very few cases in which I myself was not called upon to choose the name in question. Sometimes I had to suggest several names, as some of them did not prove acceptable, but for this there was usually no other reason than that they were too hard for the Isneg either to pronounce or to remember. This new name is generally faithfully adhered to, although the original Isneg name is rarely forgotten and sometimes even remains preponderant; indeed a name is something much too important not to be taken into consideration. Actually many Isneg babies get a Christian name as their proper name from the outset, and so all difficulties and equivocations are eliminated at once.

That this indifference exists not only with reference to the name of a child that has to be baptized, but even with reference to the first name of any newborn babe, is evident from the fact that Christian Ilоko or Kagayan school teachers are often called upon to suggest a name for the little one. So, at Ampaw for instance, which is a small agglomeration not so far from Nagbabalayan, we find a little boy called *Mabíni*, a name proposed by the teacher of the last-mentioned place at the suggestion of the father; now, even without knowing the person who gave the name, it is patent that such a name could not have been given by Isneg, as it is the family name of Mr. Apolinario Mabini, a Filipino hero of revolutionary war fame, of whom our Isneg know nothing at all. To complete the matter, I called the boy Apolinario at baptism.

551 It may be seen even from the above that any name will do. Nevertheless the Isneg also have their preference, and this especially in regard to three classes of names:

1. Names that have become traditional among the Isneg, "old names" as they call them. For instance *Súxdy*, which has no known

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Insiso (M), at Lukab: after Mr. Enciso, a municipal treasurer. 557
Kôner (M), at Nagbabalayan, at Ripang and at Tawit: after Mr. Norman G. Connor, the second lieutenant-governor of Apayaw.
Liñan (M), at Bolo: a soldier.
Makánas (M), at Bolo: a nurse.
Mina (M), a Bolo: formerly connected with the Bureau of Public Works.
Siddâyáw (M), at Nagbabalayan: soldier.
Tagubá (M), at Bolo and at Tawit: a nurse.

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Bokonadôr (M), at Nagsimbanan: vaccinator (Spanish: *vacunador*).
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Kábo (M), at Nagbabalayan: corporal (Spanish: *cabo*)
Meistará (F), at Abbil, at Maduang and at Kabetayan (Kabugaw): lady teacher (Spanish: *maestra*).

Just to show how little the Isneg sometimes care for the kind of 551
name that is given to their offspring, I merely mention here the name *Sentávo* (Spanish *centavo*, a copper coin worth one half cent), which is most certainly not a very precious one. You can meet a Mr. *Sentávo* at Madatag and one at Ampaw.

In general it must be said that a definite set of names is the ex- [184]
clusive property of boys, and that another set is particular to girls. Nevertheless it may happen that a certain name is given to boys in some localities, while in others the same one is given to girls.

So we have *Asáp*, which is the name of three girls I know, one at Nagilian (Namaltugan), one at Madatag, and one at Alumani, while a Baliwanan boy is called by the same name.

Bañón: two girls: one at Magapta and one at Waga; a boy at Talifugu.

Éba: a girl at Lukab; a boy at Karagawan.

Luwé-: a girl at Nagbabalayan; a boy at Lako.

Ósañ: a girl at Nagilian (Namaltugan); a boy at Lukab.

Pílí: a girl at Nagbabalayan; boy at Maduang.

At Nagbabalayan there is a man called *Báñan*, which is the name of the most popular heroine of Kankanay tales.

But such coincidences are of comparatively rare occurrence.

And now I come to the question of changing the name given at birth. 553
All over northern Luzon, among Christians as well as among pagans, 171

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553 among Ilóko and Kagayan who have been Christians for centuries, as well as among the tribes that inhabit the Mountain Province and some 171 of whom have started embracing Christianity only comparatively recently, the Negritos alone excepted, the custom of changing the name of a person at the time of prolonged or dangerous sickness is almost universal, to the dismay of Government officials and Church dignitaries, as such a practice brings nothing but confusion in the records, especially among pagan tribes, who have not yet adopted family names and continue to give each individual his own special personal name. I have discussed sufficiently the ideas of the Isneg about the matter, at the beginning of my treatment about Isneg names, without having to explain them any further, but some other points should be considered here.

553 Some Isneg keep their original name all through life, others have 551 it changed once or twice, rarely more often. The change usually takes place in infancy, more rarely in youth, and no ceremonies seem to be connected with the same: everything happens as in the case of the giving of the first name immediately after birth. It may happen also, in a few isolated cases, that a man or a woman of mature age gets or takes another name. So, at Kumaw, a girl called *Uńăy* gave the name of her father as *Bélan*, at the time of her baptism, a few years ago, while that same man is known all over the municipal district as *Okkóń*. Although it seems that the fellow must already have been called *Okkóń* at the time of the baptism of his daughter, who was married recently, his old name *Bélan* must have clung to him for a long time, otherwise his daughter would not have known it.

The most important reason for changing a name is, as has been stated repeatedly, the sickness of the child (*séno mawí ya takít*, "so that sickness go away") A few Isneg have their name changed once or twice merely through caprice, whether it be a whim of their own or one of their parents (in case they are still small): a certain name comes to their mind, for one reason or another that name catches their fancy and ends by pleasing them, and away goes the old name; the new name will be adopted from now on as the distinctive appellation of the girl or boy in question.

551 At least in the municipal district of Conner, and perhaps also 768 elsewhere, a very serious reason for changing the name of a baby is the death of one of its parents. As will be seen in a subsequent chapter, the Isneg have a certain fear of the dead and usually prefer that they stay where they are: they do not want them to interfere

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551 sides, I have experienced that old men and women usually give the
769 name very readily, although they be related to the person in question. That such a prohibition does not last indefinitely, even with the relatives of the deceased, is corroborated by the fact that the names of persons who were renowned for one reason or another during their lifetime, are often preferred when there is question of giving a little babe its first name: and it is far from unusual to encounter an Isneg youngster called after one of his own ancestors.

551 Then there are the names of the father-in-law and of the mother-in-
606 law (*katuxáñan*), which may never be pronounced under any pretext.
553 Up to this day very few Isneg, even among those who have been in contact with civilization for a long time, are bold enough to discard all fear on the subject and to pronounce them. This is especially apparent at the baptism of a child, when we record the names of its parents and grandparents: it very often happens that only one of the parents accompanies the baby that has to be christened, and this is a source of many difficulties, if there is no other person at hand who is acquainted with the names of the parents of the absent party. In case one of the persons whose names have to be recorded is dead, one can get at his name after comparatively little urging, but the name of a father-in-law or a mother-in-law, that never.

551 And why? The Isneg mostly do not know or pretend not to know
606 the reason: sometimes they say that, if they pronounce any of these names, their children will die, but such an answer is always accompanied by the term *kanó*, "it is said". But why should their children die? The whole question is probably shrouded in mystery even to the Isneg themselves; but one thing is certain: an almost insurmountable fear must have been instilled into them from time immemorial, while the real reason, the death penalty inflicted on the offspring of the offender, a penalty inflicted by *anito* of course, if this is the real reason, may have been forgotten either entirely or almost so by the majority of the natives. This fear must have been exceedingly great indeed in order to have the custom remain so persistently and so universally, even after the real explanation has been lost sight of. And that the Isneg have forgotten it, I am rather inclined to believe; I have been able to enter deeply into many matters much more delicate than the one in question, and although this has been done sometimes with no little difficulty, I usually have obtained what I wanted, but here the interrogation mark has so far remained as it was. Or is this a matter much more delicate in the eyes of the Isneg than

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551 *Xídam* (F): evening
104 *Mámaw* (F): a kind of herb used in magical practices.
192 *Pariyá* (F): a vine of the squash family with edible fruits, Momordica ovata. Cogn.

551 For the rest any name will do, provided it pleases everybody concerned. This was repeatedly told me all over Apayaw, although the preferences referred to above, either all three or only one or two of them, were usually mentioned, and occasionally the question of some circumstance connected with the time or place of birth.

551 177 Actually one finds more and more Isneg youngsters who bear a Christian name, not only the one given them at baptism or in school, but the original name given at birth. So at Nagsimbanan and at Magapta we find a *Delfín* (M); at Musimut, *Xosé* (José) (M); at Baliwanan, *Kolás* (Nicolás) (M); at Nagilian (Namaltugan), *Román* (M): at Butaw, *Siyón* (Concepción) (M); at Bayag, *Donáta* (F); at Bayag, *Faustína* (F); at Musimut, *Leónsiya* (Leoncia) (F); at Lako, *Máriya* (María) (F); at Musimut, *Méri* (Mary) (F); at Kabugaw, *Néli* (Nellie) (F); at Abbil, *Rufína* (F); at Bayag, *Simóna* (F); at Nagsimbanan, *Verón* (Verónica) (F).

Such names occur even among those of older people; in this case they were probably brought in from the lowlands, from the Christian provinces, whither the Isneg frequently went either on headhunting expeditions or with the purpose of bartering their wares for clothes and so on. Thus at Musimut there is a *Sáriyo* (Cesario) (M); at Genned, an *Isabél* (F). At Lettuakan there was a man, now dead, called *Antón* (Antonio), the father of a young man called *Asiyo* (Nicasio, Engracio, or some other name with a similar ending). Another *Antón* still lives at Bolo.

[554] Some Isneg names are nothing but the family name or the title of public servants.

551 Family names:

Bawánen (M), at Bayag: after Mr. Bawanen, a sanitary inspector.
Bunnáw (M), at Karagawan: a soldier.
Dison (M), at Mayaw: after Lt. Dizon of the Constabulary.
Dukúsen (M), at Musimut: after Mr. Ducusin, a former lieutenant-governor.
Galiyárdo (M), at Maduang: after Mr. Gallardo, a teacher.
Gársiya (M), at Lukab: after Lt. Garcia of the Constabulary.
Xárma (M), at Musimut: after Mr. Garma, a teacher.

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Osáñ: a girl at Nagilian (Namaltugan); a boy at Lukab.

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yourself as best you can. Any kind of excuse will do in order to escape a thrashing or a severe scolding, provided it proves acceptable; but take care not to be caught lying: this could but add to the latter's resentment. To get out of a bad predicament a little deceit is not forbidden, but not everybody can use it with good results; so be careful about it".

Lately, when paying a visit to *Basílig* at Pansian, his daughters set the table (in the Isneg way, of course) for him, and partook of the food only after their father had finished his own meal, although this is not required by custom.

In general the Isneg have a high regard for their parents and elders, although in our eyes their conduct may sometimes seem to be lacking in outward signs of respect. Their standard of etiquette and politeness is not exactly the same as our own. An Isneg child calls its parents "father" and "mother", and a usual title of respect for aged people is *kakáy*, but for the rest it is not very demonstrative.

So, when an Isneg mother recently came to visit her son at my house, the other boys repeatedly told him that his mother was there, but he did not move in the least: the old woman had to go and look for him herself somewhere around the house. Nevertheless that boy had asked me on a former occasion to be allowed to stop going to school in order to help his widowed mother with the wages he would be able to earn that way.

To be convinced that Isneg children respect their elders, although most all outward signs common to our own code are usually absent, it is sufficient to observe their behavior and that of their elders, whenever something untoward has happened. Isneg children look like angels, if you compare their attitude and whole demeanor with that of older men and women, who shout and gesticulate and allow the whole neighborhood to know what happened, without having to go out of its way to listen to the conversation. Boys and girls usually keep quiet when their parents are angry, while in the case of older people it is a question of proving who has the loudest voice, the one that carries the farthest: among the Isneg, the biggest shouter usually gains the victory.

An unmannerly person is called *toxároñ*; this epithet, however, is only applied as far as I know, to a person who drinks directly from the *urúd*, a bamboo that is used for fetching water, instead of using a cup.

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his rights, won the sympathy of every unbiased Isneg. He kept up the quarrel and finished it with a complete victory. If no constabulary soldiers had been in the province, the result would evidently not have been as bloodless as that, and a series of interminable feuds would have been the inevitable result. Right and wrong would gradually have been forgotten, and nothing would have been left but a series of revenges on both sides following one another in quick succession, revenges that would have come to be considered lawful in the eyes of every Isneg on account of the injuries that would have preceded them.

The above lines were written while I was away from Kabugaw. When on my way back thither, and before reaching the latter place, I heard that during my absence *Kadáw* had killed *Rukkadéú*, a policeman from Baliwanan and the latest husband (he was the third one) of the woman referred to in the previous paragraph. Instead of going straight to Kabugaw, I stopped for a while at Bolo and had a little conversation about the matter with *Káyábo*, a Bolo brave or *mékal*. Bolo is in sympathy with Lettuakan, *Kadáw's* place, and *Káyábo* did not fail to show that he held no brief for Baliwanan, nor for *Pa-rdy* either. At a certain moment the old fellow stopped his diatribe to ask for *Pa-rdy's* title, and a complacent companion told him that *Pa-rdy* was now "presidente". At this juncture *Káyábo* said: "*Desirénte, kawél* (president, dung)", which is the most forceful expression of contempt in the mouth of an Isneg.

On the same occasion I purposely referred to *Basílig* of Pansian, who belongs to the *Pa-rdy* faction, saying that I had seen an *andóri* (a special tattoo on the arm of a man who has taken the head of an enemy; this *andóri* may sometimes be tattooed on the arm of one of his children) on the arm of his daughter, which I told *Káyábo* I supposed to be a proof of the valor of *Basílig*. But *Káyábo* could not bear to hear any praise of a man who belonged to a faction he despised, and he used a most vulgar expression in denying *Basílig's* rights to such honors: "*Óki náyá atáwana ya andórina* (the vulva of his wife is his *andóri*)". This again shows that in the eyes of an Isneg an enemy has no rights, that no consideration is due to him, that he is a complete nonentity, while a friend is to be supported by all means, even though by committing a most flagrant injustice. *Kadáw* is now in jail, but most all Isneg are firmly convinced that ere long he will get out of it, because he is supposed to be the richest man in Apayaw.

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837 intercourse with other women, that is natural, although it is a dangerous affair; but remember that he is a man, and that you are a woman: between the two there is no possible comparison. A man may take many liberties, while a woman may take none. What are peccadilloes in a man, are crimes in a woman. Beware of deceitful men who would come to entice you away from your rightful owner. Take heed in time, since once the thing is done, there is no longer a remedy, and repentance is too late".

831 At my first visit to Nagbabalayan, a companion of mine wanted to take the picture of an Isneg woman who was pounding rice near her house. When he invited her to pose for him, she quickly demurred and added: "I am a married woman". She evidently misunderstood him, but the answer sufficiently proved what was her opinion about her responsibilities.

On a certain occasion my catechist, an Iloko Christian, went to light his cigar at that of a woman, who came smoking to the river, in order to draw water. Not knowing about his intentions, I was not able to warn him. Fortunately as he was my servant and a stranger at that, everything went on smoothly, although the woman at first strongly objected. The point was that she was married, and no Isneg is allowed to take such liberties with the wife of another man: in the eyes of an Isneg, acting that way means much more familiarity than an uninitiated person might suspect. This shows how strictly a married woman is hedged in, and how easily a man may be offended by an action that implies the smallest degree of familiarity with his wife.

836 On my second visit to Bayag, in July 1929, I met there an Isneg policeman, who was an acquaintance of mine and who was a married man. On the day I was leaving Bayag, he also had to go to a neighboring settlement; so he accompanied me for a part of the road. Here I quote textually what he told me on that occasion, apparently indignant at the occurrence: "This morning I met with a strange case: a Bayag Isneg was scolding his daughter in my presence for having slept with me last night. I asked him if he objected to my using the girl, when she consented. He answered me he did not, of course, but he merely wanted to scold the girl; he said he had nothing against me, his intention was to teach his daughter decent manners. That was all right, of course, but why should he have done so while I was around and could hear him? He should have scolded the girl at a time I was out of earshot. Why! That fellow seemed to resent

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the fact that I had used his daughter. Can you beat it?" Needless to say, the conversation was practically a soliloquy on the part of the policeman. I do not believe though that his action was consonant with the Isneg code of morals; but this incident, and especially the answer of the girl's father, shows clearly how different is the state of man and woman among the Isneg, with reference to sex morality.

It should be added here that the father would probably have objected much more strongly to the man who took such liberties with his daughter, if he had not been a policeman. The latter are supposed to be more or less immune and may take liberties not accorded to others, probably on account of their position. Isneg in general resent that: I have heard them say so more than once; but they are afraid to object too strongly, and so policemen mostly do what they like: their reputation is far from clean all over the district, although I do not believe that they are all equally blamable. Later on I heard that, at the time of the above occurrence, the policeman had intended to make the girl his second wife, an engagement which had been broken off at a subsequent date.

It may be noted in this connection that among the Isneg a man, whether single or married, who commits adultery with a married woman (*manaládag*) is thought to be driven to his crime by some evil spirit. In such a case his guilt would be considerably lessened in our point of view; not so, however, in that of the Isneg: in his eyes, it is only the ultimate act that counts, as has been stated before.

"A fit of anger usually makes a man ridiculous in the eyes of the bystanders. It is true that when there is question of a rightful quarrel, you should never fail to sustain it; to be meek and patient under the circumstances would be mere cowardice. Nevertheless everybody is inclined to laugh at the behavior of an angry man: so, although you be strictly in your right, try to control your anger sufficiently not to cause others to laugh at you.

"You know our belief with reference to people who are wont to laugh at the defects of other persons (*magdóla*): if such people are married, they will be punished by having their children suffer the same defect; if they are still young, the children who will be born to them in the future will be misshapen (*pákań*).

"A certain amount of *básí* is not to be despised, but drinking to excess is always bad. Who respects a drunken man? Besides, think about the consequences: quarrels, fights, bloodshed, revenges, etc. As soon as you feel that you have enough, go away and sleep it off, lest

226 Sometimes the fish are poisoned with tobacco
[824] or the juice derived from the berries of the *tuba* bush. Also several types of fish traps are used.

224 Deer and wild pigs are hunted with dogs. Wild pigs are also trapped in their runways. The meat thus obtained is divided with fellow hunters and among neighbors. The hunting technique is quite communistic.

SOCIETY

621 The government of the Apayaos is simple. In
622 each family the man rules supreme and orders his wo-
[593] man what to do. This is the unit.

[361] A group of from 15 to 30 families build their houses near each other, *babalay*, being joined together for mutual aid and protection under one head man,
[157] *maingel*, who holds his position because he is the na-
[554] tural leader, is wealthy, and is the stongest and fiercest
622 warrior. The *maingel* wears a red turban on his head
624 and his arms are tattooed to the shoulders. He is absolute ruler; but has several advisory assistants, *pangmarwan*, who likewise have won their position through ability. The next best man to the *maingel*, is his number one assistant and so on. The common man may advise a *pangmarwan*. Upon the death of the *maingel* the number one *pangmarwan* takes his place.
627 The *maingel* and *pangmarwans* sit as a court to judge
692 any one who has broken the common law. Disputes between individuals are settled by intermediary peace
681 makers. It is notable that the fines are not paid to the government, but to the injured party, who receives the suitable indemnity. This may be in the form of jars, beads, animals, and other valuables.

834 women around, while the men are in bathing and swimming together, they keep thir private parts covered with one hand while they are out of the water.

186 Community spirit in a *barangay* is strong. They
476 have common interests and often work together in
342 exchange of labor, *pinta*. When one builds a house all the neighbors come and help, making a party of it.

417 Each *barangay* is surrounded by a heavy bamboo picket stockade. The bamboos are filled with small
628 stones so they can not be easily cut away. A *baran-*
648 *gay* has all the other *barangays* as enemies; but a
676 peace-pact, *budong*, is often made between two of them.
672 Peace-pact holders are appointed and held personally
721 responsible that it is not broken. Each *barangay* is held accountable for the acts of any of its members. Then they are allies, helping each other in warfare and being mutually responsible for each other's property and personal safety. There is danger of forays at anytime from other barangays. So war is always imminent. There maybe old feuds to be settled and
[554] deaths to be avenged. This is augmented by the fact that each warrior must take at least one head to establish himself, both in society and in the heart of the girl whom he desires.

HEAD HUNTING

721 When the demand either for revenge or for heads
411 becomes strong, the *maingel* gives the order for a head
726 hunting expedition to the enemy *barangay* selected. He will probably be the leader of the expedition. The warriors who are to go, prepare their weapons: shields, spears, and a special *aliwa*, which has the point on the cutting edge drawn out to make it more effective.

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578 the Ibanag will say. For the sake of peace! What kind of an Isneg
558 is he who knows anything about peace under the circumstances? Keep quiet, if you cannot do otherwise, all right—but there is more than one day in a year: try to find an occasion to settle your quarrels, do not dismiss the matter from your mind until your right has been recognized. Did you ever meet a coward who became rich or influential? And he is a coward who would keep silent in a quarrel when the right is on his side. A few people will continue the fight, although evidently in the wrong: this should not be; if wrong, let go; but if right, go ahead. Nevertheless be careful not to use your headax indiscriminately. The best thing to do is to keep it out of the way, lest you do rashly what you would have to repent of afterwards.
[628] Indeed, you might kill or injure one of your friends and in this way start a series of blood feuds. Remember that the right remains on your side only as long as no blood flows; but when killing or wounding results from your quarrel, the offended party gets the right on its side and will not fail to revenge the offense, and with reason."

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558 *Pa-rây*, the "presidente" or mayor of Tawit. The woman married another man, and her parents failed to give back to *Kadáw* all the
556 articles given them at the time of her first marriage; a few of them
627 were kept: hence a terrible quarrel. *Pa-rây* and *Kadáw*, both influential among their people, met at Kabugaw at the invitation of the lieutenant-governor. For days the square resounded with the shouts of *Kadáw*, who being perhaps the richer and certainly the older of the two, hoped to gain the victory by showing the greatest daring. He even went so far as to challenge the other party to wage war for a year in order to see in whose favor the dispute would be settled. *Pa-rây*, however, kept to his rights, he did not move an inch from his evidently strong position, and after several days of angry words and much ostentation of bravery on both sides, the quarrel was finally settled by the lieutenant-governor himself in favor of *Pa-rây*.

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The above lines were written while I was away from Kabugaw. When on my way back thither, and before reaching the latter place, I heard that during my absence *Kaddw* had killed *Rukkadśi*, a policeman from Baliwanan and the latest husband (he was the third one) of the woman referred to in the previous paragraph. Instead of going straight to Kabugaw, I stopped for a while at Bolo and had a little conversation about the matter with *Kâyâbo*, a Bolo brave or *mâkal*. Bolo is in sympathy with Lettuakan, *Kaddw's* place, and *Kâyâbo* did not fail to show that he held no brief for Baliwanan, nor for *Pa-rây* either. At a certain moment the old fellow stopped his diatribe to ask for *Pa-rây's* title, and a complacent companion told him that *Pa-rây* was now "presidente". At this juncture *Kâyâbo* said: "*Desiréinte, kawôl* (president, dung)", which is the most forceful expression of contempt in the mouth of an Isneg.

On the same occasion I purposely referred to *Basilig* of Panalan who belongs to the *Pa-rây* faction, saying that I had seen an *andôri* (a special tattoo on the arm of a man who has taken the head of an enemy; this *andôri* may sometimes be tattooed on the arm of one of his children) on the arm of his daughter, which I told *Kâyâbo* I supposed to be a proof of the valor of *Basilig*. But *Kâyâbo* could not bear to hear any praise of a man who belonged to a faction he despised, and he used a most vulgar expression in denying *Basilig's* rights to such honors: "*Ôki sâyâ atâwana ya andôrina* (the vulva of his wife is his *andôri*)". This again shows that in the eyes of an Isneg an enemy has no rights, that no consideration is due to him, that he is a complete nonentity, while a friend is to be supported by all means, even though by committing a most flagrant injustice. *Kaddw* is now in jail, but most all Isneg are firmly convinced that ere long he will get out of it, because he is supposed to be the richest man in Apayaw.

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factor should never remain unpunished, even though he be of your own kindred; although in the latter case the sacking of his house and properties will usually be sufficient, without having to resort to bloodshed; and then also there will necessarily be no solidarity, except perhaps in the case of his near relatives. An Isneg who allows an injury to pass unpunished has not the blood of the *ménal* (brave) flowing in his veins. Actually of course we cannot always take the law in our own hands, and so we have to resort to the tribunal of the Ibanag. Now you should never fail to do so, whenever there are no other means available for revenging yourself with impunity".

A couple of years ago, an Isneg from Tawit, whose father was supposed to have been killed at Ripang years ago, murdered a Ripang woman at Kabugaw, under the eyes of the constabulary, on the occasion of a garden day celebration. The murder occurred in the evening, when the woman,—who even then was still too young to have had any knowledge of the murder of the Tawit man's father except perhaps from hearsay, and who consequently could not have had the least participation in it,—was sitting as a guest in the house of one of her people, a policeman, who at the time resided at Kabugaw. She was leaning with her back against the wall of the house, when the Tawit man, who stood outside in the dark, pushed a sharpened bamboo rod through the interstices and pierced the woman's side, with the inevitable result that the victim died after a few hours.

Not so long ago our friend *Kadáw* of Lettuakan, who had been badly injured by *Kinagúrān* of Talifugu in the heroic times now seemingly gone forever, one of his hands having been almost totally disabled, came to pay me a visit. He had a few eatables for sale and wanted to get a comparatively large share of the white man's money. At a certain moment our conversation ran in the following vein:

I: *Kinagúrān* is your friend, is he not?

Kadáw: Yes, indeed, we are good friends now.

I: But suppose the soldiers would leave the district.

I had barely finished my sentence when the old headhunter sprang up, his face beaming, his eyes radiant with a fiendish joy, and, swinging his arms, his hands fingering invisible weapons, he exclaimed: "Oh, then you would see some fighting indeed".

"Never pick a quarrel with a friend: such things should be avoided; but in case of somebody wanting to quarrel with you, go ahead. Nobody will keep his peace if he thinks he is right. Would it not be utter cowardice to keep quiet and let the thing go by? No, shut the

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The children are usually afraid of the spirits, who are legion, and some of whom might be called bugaboos of one kind or another, but threats of these beings or of ghosts are never resorted to in order to frighten the youngsters into good conduct, except again in the first two cases just mentioned.

775

To the Isneg future life is simply a continuation of the present one, except for a few differentiating details, as living in a silver house and so on. A man, whether good or bad, continues his daily life, like in a dream, at the other side of the tomb, just as if nothing had happened. The difference that exists between the interred body of a good man and that of a bad one, which will be explained in due time, can have only very little influence on the conduct of men here on earth; and besides, there also the question of shame is of paramount importance, no less than among the living, as will be seen later on.

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Consequently practically every article of the socio-moral code gets its sanction from non-religious or natural motives. Shame is the most often resorted to, shame that results from the known violation of any point of the moral code, shame that affects not only the delinquent, but also his parents. "Do not do that lest your parents be shamed" is a phrase very commonly used in order to persuade the child to conduct itself well. The terms "shame (*aliyáw*)", "shameful (*nakal-aliyáw*)", "ashamed (*maliyáw*)", are almost continually on the Isneg's lips; they serve both as an excuse for negligence in complying with one's duties, and as a motive for good behavior. Nothing is more powerful than the fear of being shamed in order to cause an Isneg either to live honorably or to commit a dastardly crime. An Isneg is exceedingly sensitive to shameful and opprobrious epithets; he will do anything to avoid any of them being thrown at his head, and he resents it very much if he is accused undeservedly. Lest he be called a coward, an Isneg will sustain a quarrel indefinitely, whether he be on the right side or not. Shame is the biggest incentive for young people to behave and to keep themselves from indulging in all too flagrant transgressions of the moral code, especially with reference to sex morality. An Isneg child will be taught to be obedient and respectful toward its parents, lest the latter be shamed on account of its unruly conduct. Honesty and truthfulness have to be practised lest a man be branded as a thief or a liar, which are exceedingly opprobrious terms in the mouth of a native. In short, the fear of shame keeps the Isneg on the right path in a thousand instances; and any kind of privation or hardship will be suffered patiently, the

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626 hardest labor will be gladly accepted in order to avoid shame, which
558 to an Isneg seems to be a kind of synthesis of all evils. That is also
578 the reason why ridicule is such a powerful weapon among the Isneg. For fear of ridicule a man will cover himself modestly when appearing in the presence of women, and miscreants will resort to ridicule in order to induce a young man to commit the worst crimes. No Isneg can stand ridicule.

626 Among the Isneg pride and ambition are only second to shame as incentives for being virtuous and conducting oneself honorably; nevertheless they are far from having the same power as shame, and parents will use them in a much smaller degree than the latter motive.
[461] The indolence of the Isneg has considerably lessened the power of ambition and pride as a motive for complying with the tenets of their moral code.

And so also praise and encouragement, although they rarely fail to help an Isneg youngster onward on the path of duty, are much less powerful than the all-feared ridicule. Isneg parents, however, are very well aware of the fact that a little occasional praise and a timely word of encouragement will rarely fail to be appreciated by the child, and that they will often do very much for the latter's betterment or the continuance of its right behavior.

Flattery is not so much in their line, and it is comparatively rarely resorted to in order to make a young man or woman behave decently. In the case of smaller children, however, it will often be used with the best of results.

The hope of a reward is not always as powerful as the fear of punishment, at least in the case of the little ones. But allow me to reserve the treatment of this subject for one of the following paragraphs.

3. Methods of Training

361 I shall not enter here into a large number of details with reference
867 to the methods used in the training of children, as very much has been said already in my lengthy treatment of the moral code. I shall
[881] go over the whole matter rather quickly, the more so as there is no question of initiation or puberty rites among the Isneg.

[602] Although elders, whosoever they be, may occasionally take a hand in the training of children, nevertheless this task devolves principally on the parents, and to a certain extent also on the grandparents. The tribe or community as such has little or nothing to do with the moral upbringing of the younger members of any given settlement.

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867 Loyalty to friends and generosity are also made the subject of special teaching on the part of Isneg parents. Occasions do not fail in which the latter explain to their offspring the ugliness of avariciousness and of lack of open-handedness.

867 576 Gratitude, however, is rarely mentioned. Does an Isneg perhaps consider this virtue as a necessary sequel of one's duty of being loyal to a friend in need? Whatever goes on in their mind, the Isneg are certainly not very demonstrative about it. They seem to take a kindness among friends as a matter of course, and they are perhaps not very far from the truth. I am thoroughly convinced though that gratitude is very well known and also practised among our Isneg, but a white man would sometimes prefer to see or hear a little more about it. I repeat it, the Isneg are over-stingy in their expressions of gratitude, and formulas such as "thank you" and so on are unknown to them.

On the other hand the duty of hospitality is very expressly taught to every Isneg boy and girl, and the consequences that are liable to result from lack of hospitality on the part of an Isneg married woman are known to everybody: such a misdemeanor may be a sufficient reason for an Isneg husband to divorce his wife.

867 577 558 To take revenge and to sustain a quarrel are signs of courage in the eyes of an Isneg, and the latter virtue is esteemed and highly praised by all. In his eyes nobody deserves more ridicule than a coward, and such a person usually gets an ample share of the same. Although quarreling and anger as such are considered as bad, everything depends on the reason why, so that rightful anger and maintaining one's rights despite everything are absolutely required in a man who does not want to be called timid. Control of one's temper in many instances would be synonymous with cowardice. All this is so firmly ingrained in the Isneg mind that no formal teaching is necessary. A youngster will ever be applauded for his courage and will be encouraged to go ahead, if he takes revenge after having sustained some injury, if he leaves nothing undone to keep the right on his side while engaged in a dispute, and if he is angry without going into extremes any time that he is firmly convinced that he is not wrong.

867 577 Laziness does not need any special reproof, as every young man and every girl know through daily experience the necessity of forestalling any bad reputation on the subject, lest marriage be either postponed indefinitely or, if already contracted, broken asunder without mercy. With reference to the smaller children, the necessity of

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peoples, who have regular initiation ceremonies or puberty rites or both: in his case these are entirely absent, and so his offspring lacks a very important factor in the education of the young, as all formal instruction that usually accompanies such rites and ceremonies is entirely denied him. Nevertheless there is some kind of education given to Isneg youth, and this I am going to consider presently.

At the beginning it should be noted once for all that the Isneg is not used to divide his life into very definite periods. Possessing no puberty rites of any kind, he is ignorant of any violent transition between any two periods of his earthly existence, and so an Isneg child grows up into a young man (*bagbaxó*, plural *babbáxo*) or a young girl (*balbalásań*, plural *babbalásań*), marries at the first opportunity, is occasionally widowed (*bálo*, *búkud*) and perhaps remarries, and finally dies, whether comparatively young or after having reached a ripe old age (old man: *la-lakáy*, plural *lala-lákăy*; old woman: *ba-bakát*, plural *baba-bákat*). If one would insist on looking for a kind of classification, perhaps the best way would be to divide the life of an ordinary Isneg into three periods: the first one, from his birth till he has attained the age at which any decent boy begins to wear a G-string, a little before the age of reason; the second, from the time of that important change in his dress till his marriage; and the last one, from his first marriage till his death. Here I shall consider only the first two periods and I shall treat them both simultaneously and indistinctively. That some details refer exclusively to one of these two periods will be clear without the necessity of saying so: an Isneg evidently does not teach one of his marriageable girls the name of the mosquito, nor does he point out to a boy three years old the penalties which he is likely to incur if he renders a girl pregnant and refuses to marry her.

Formal education as we understand it, whether in schools or otherwise, through appointed teachers, is totally unknown to the Isneg, except of course instruction in Government public schools, which all Isneg children are compelled to attend; but the generality of the people are not the least convinced of the benefits, and much less of the necessity, of the sort of education they get there, especially with reference to girls.

I shall try now to trace as faithfully and as clearly as possible the process of education as followed by the Isneg, or, if such an expression seems to be too definite, the way in which Isneg boys and girls get the education they need.

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intercourse with other women, that is natural, although it is a dangerous affair; but remember that he is a man, and that you are a woman: between the two there is no possible comparison. A man may take many liberties, while a woman may take none. What are peccadilloes in a man, are crimes in a woman. Beware of deceitful men who would come to entice you away from your rightful owner. Take heed in time, since once the thing is done, there is no longer a remedy, and repentance is too late".

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At my first visit to Nagbabalayan, a companion of mine wanted to take the picture of an Isneg woman who was pounding rice near her house. When he invited her to pose for him, she quickly demurred and added: "I am a married woman". She evidently misunderstood him, but the answer sufficiently proved what was her opinion about her responsibilities.

On a certain occasion my catechist, an Iloko Christian, went to light his cigar at that of a woman, who came smoking to the river, in order to draw water. Not knowing about his intentions, I was not able to warn him. Fortunately as he was my servant and a stranger at that, everything went on smoothly, although the woman at first strongly objected. The point was that she was married, and no Isneg is allowed to take such liberties with the wife of another man: in the eyes of an Isneg acting that way means much more familiarity than an uninitiated person might suspect. This shows how strictly a married woman is hedged in, and how easily a man may be offended by an action that implies the smallest degree of familiarity with his wife.

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On my second visit to Bayag, in July 1929, I met there an Isneg policeman, who was an acquaintance of mine and who was a married man. On the day I was leaving Bayag, he also had to go to a neighboring settlement; so he accompanied me for a part of the road. Here I quote textually what he told me on that occasion, apparently indignant at the occurrence: "This morning I met with a strange case: a Bayag Isneg was scolding his daughter in my presence for having slept with me last night. I asked him if he objected to my using the girl, when she consented. He answered me he did not, of course, but he merely wanted to scold the girl; he said he had nothing against me, his intention was to teach his daughter decent manners. That was all right, of course, but why should he have done so while I was around and could hear him? He should have scolded the girl at a time I was out of earshot. Why! That fellow seemed to resent

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the fact that I had used his daughter. Can you beat it?" Needless to say, the conversation was practically a soliloquy on the part of the policeman. I do not believe though that his action was consonant with the Isneg code of morals; but this incident, and especially the answer of the girl's father, shows clearly how different is the state of man and woman among the Isneg, with reference to sex morality.

It should be added here that the father would probably have objected much more strongly to the man who took such liberties with his daughter, if he had not been a policeman. The latter are supposed to be more or less immune and may take liberties not accorded to others, probably on account of their position. Isneg in general resent that: I have heard them say so more than once; but they are afraid to object too strongly, and so policemen mostly do what they like: their reputation is far from clean all over the district, although I do not believe that they are all equally blamable. Later on I heard that, at the time of the above occurrence, the policeman had intended to make the girl his second wife, an engagement which had been broken off at a subsequent date.

It may be noted in this connection that among the Isneg a man, whether single or married, who commits adultery with a married woman (*manaládag*) is thought to be driven to his crime by some evil spirit. In such a case his guilt would be considerably lessened in our point of view; not so, however, in that of the Isneg: in his eyes, it is only the ultimate act that counts, as has been stated before.

"A fit of anger usually makes a man ridiculous in the eyes of the bystanders. It is true that when there is question of a rightful quarrel, you should never fail to sustain it; to be meek and patient under the circumstances would be mere cowardice. Nevertheless everybody is inclined to laugh at the behavior of an angry man: so, although you be strictly in your right, try to control your anger sufficiently not to cause others to laugh at you.

"You know our belief with reference to people who are wont to laugh at the defects of other persons (*magdóla*): if such people are married, they will be punished by having their children suffer the same defect; if they are still young, the children who will be born to them in the future will be misshapen (*pákań*).

"A certain amount of *básí* is not to be despised, but drinking to excess is always bad. Who respects a drunken man? Besides, think about the consequences: quarrels, fights, bloodshed, revenges, etc. As soon as you feel that you have enough, go away and sleep it off, lest

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4. *Actual Moral Behavior*

And now I come to the consideration of Isneg practice as compared with theory. I always promise to be brief, but I rarely live up to my promises; so I shall see what I can do about it now.

The Isneg are far less fanatical in matters religions than, for instance, the Kankanay. Their religious practices are also comparatively few and far between, and the women usually play the most important rôle. A person who disobeys (*saúran*) any injunction of the shaman is not considered as being a traitor; he is mostly left to his own devices, although his disobedience is not exactly lauded as an act of virtue. Nevertheless not only the old women, but also the old men are usually very punctual in complying with all directions of the shaman and in observing whatever their religious convictions impose upon them. I purposely say "old" men and women, as among the younger generation, this respect for the heathen practices of their tribe seems to be on the wane. The influence of the schools which are supposed to be neutral, is a decided factor in this matter. The teachers, being Christians, have no sympathy with what they call the superstitions and ridiculous practices of the Isneg. Although perhaps they keep these sentiments to themselves during school hours, the sparseness of the population in a district where schoolboys and schoolgirls very often live far from the schoolhouse, forces many of the latter to remain in the immediate neighborhood of the teacher's house for five consecutive days every week, which necessarily allows the influence of the Christian schoolmaster to be very far-reaching.

Besides, Christians are entering Apáyaw in large numbers every year, some to stay, others as transient guests. Since the country is practically pacified, nothing keeps them back any more, and so they also exert an undermining influence on all matters that relate to Isneg religion as such. This immigration coupled with Isneg temporary emigration, tends to teach the people the futility and even the error of their beliefs. Indeed an Isneg who enters the Ilóko or Kagayan country, and stays there for a certain time, cannot fail to bring back a spirit of indifference with reference to his native religion.

It may be the place here to say a few words anent the relations of the Isneg with the Catholic missionary. In general it must be said that all over the Mountain Province the priest has usually met with the sympathy of the natives. During the Philippine Revolution against Spain, when Spanish friars were taken into custody by the

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up a good many friendships, and it is the starting point of not a few quarrels among them. Voluntary talebearing, by which I mean here reporting to the interested person the gossip that somebody has spread about him, is, as far as I can judge about the matter, rather rare, at least among men.

Drunkenness is a vice that is mostly indulged in only at the time of some *sáy-ám* or other sacrifice, and this mostly by old men. Comparing their use of intoxicating drinks with what I have seen in civilized countries, I should say that the Isneg is a temperate man. Nevertheless theory is stricter than practice, except in the case of youth.

Three points are still to be considered now, namely: chastity, honesty and truthfulness.

And first as to chastity and the virtues related to it. Complete nudity is habitual among youngsters under six years of age; the little coat usually worn even by small boys, is not sufficiently long to cover them decently. Such nakedness is not considered shameful as long as the children are small; nevertheless there is some ground for concluding that it may have an effect upon sex behavior. Indeed small children are very often tickled (*magkuríra-*, *kurirkán*) in order to cause them to laugh, and this tickling is very commonly practised on or near the genitals, not only by the parents, but also by young boys and girls; especially in the case of small boys, the principal use of their penis seems to be that of being fingered by every passer-by.

As soon as the child is able to lisp a few words, the pronunciation by the child of any obscene term that finds its way into the child's vocabulary is greeted with laughter; and if later on foul language is heard to proceed from the small boy's mouth, he is applauded for his cleverness instead of being chastised for his forwardness. Little girls are usually brought up in a less dirty atmosphere, as the mother takes care of them almost exclusively as soon as they are able to walk; but little or no separation of the sexes at night is insisted upon during the first years of the little Isneg's life.

Everything considered, the sight of nudity in both sexes, touching of one another's genitals without reproof, the early excitation of the boys' genitals through indecent handling by older children and adults, the use of dirty speech without the least restraint and almost with encouragement, all these combined can do nothing else but detract from the efficiency of subsequent teaching on sex morality. The existence of the term *kassár* seems to support my inference; *kassár*

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583 and, if they consider them to be as valuable as that, it is their own
435 business after all. The same may be said with reference to the beads:
422 a single one, if very valuable in the eyes of the natives, may command the price of a carabao or water buffalo, from thirty to fifty dollars, while other ones may be had almost for the asking.

583 All these jars are earthenware of Chinese make, imported from
435 China long before the arrival of the Spaniards; consequently an-
422 tiquity is an important item in the estimation of their value. Jars
353 that have been imported recently usually command a much lower
415 price. A great many of the beads also antedate the coming of the
178 Spaniards and were also originally imported from China. Actually,
523 however, beads of all kinds have been put on the market and their origin is very often shrouded in mystery. Isneg plates are all made of coarse earthenware and have mostly been introduced from China; but, although most of them date from comparatively recent times, they are still of the same kind, shape, color and composition as those
291 they have replaced, as may be proved by fragments occasionally
286 unearthed in places formerly inhabited by Isneg. These people cer-
439 tainly hold fast to their old ways and customs; modern crockery is not to their taste. As the Isneg do not weave their own clothes, the latter have of necessity to be bought from outsiders.

584 During the *amómān* it is also decided whether the boy has to stay
583 with his parents-in-law or not, and for how long in case he has to
591 do so, which is the customary way. The number of years varies very much, as some stay three years, others from five to ten, and even in a few cases the husband never goes back to the house of his own parents.

574 No really important business can be transacted, of course, among
584 the Isneg, without remembering the cravings of the stomach. In the
262 ordinary course of events one or more pigs are slaughtered according to the social standing of the girl's parents. If they are too poor to indulge in such prodigality, a chicken will do. In both cases a dog may complete the menu, although this is not absolutely required. No special name is given to the killing and consuming of the chicken; but if one or more pigs enter the lists, the whole ceremony is called *pildáp*. Nevertheless in a few isolated cases, when the people are much too poor, the banquet is completely left out, and the deliberations are conducted on empty stomachs.

584 All during the *amómān* the men conduct everything that is con-
574 nected with the *pildáp*. The *dorarákit* or shamaness does not inter-
562 fere in the least.

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fere in the least: consequently she does not *maxanito* or impersonate the spirits of the dead, and remains completely in the background, if indeed she happens to be present. And the same is true with reference to the *ákit* or marriage ceremony: here also there is a feast and a killing of animals, but no *maxanito*. The Isneg probably believe that spirits and ghosts have nothing to do with something that is exclusively the business of living human beings, as an *amómān* or betrothal and an *ákit* or marriage undoubtedly are.

Nevertheless it may happen that the *amómān* takes place at the time a *sáy-ám* sacrifice is in progress at the house of the girl, and then of course the *maxanito* will be performed as usual, as no ceremonies connected with the customary *sáy-ám* are ever omitted; but this *maxanito* will generally be performed before the arrival of the *patúgān*, and in any case it has nothing to do with the *amómān*. The only reason why an *amómān* slightly interferes with the ceremonies of the *sáy-ám* is the fact that on such coincidences the female spirit *Sisiná* has to be especially remembered. Two coconut shells, one partly filled with *básí* (a beverage obtained from sugar cane) and another one partially filled with dog's blood, have to be put down in her honor somewhere along the path that leads to the spot where the women draw water for drinking purposes. This is done in order to induce *Sisiná* to look after the young couple and to see to it that both are of one mind and avoid all disputes and altercations.

The *amómān*, at least if it has resulted to the satisfaction of everybody, does not interfere in the least with the usual nocturnal visits of the groom to the house of the bride. He continues to *maxal-allây* as before, that is, to sleep with her, and even to have coitus if they so desire. Actually in several districts they even translate the term *maxamómān* by that of *maxatáwa*, "to marry"; and in this case, of course, the subsequent ceremony of the *ákit*, after which the two young people are allowed to live together, must in their minds have lost most of its significance.

B. WEDDING RITES AND CUSTOMS

A certain period of time always elapses between the *amómān* and the real marriage or *ákit*, but it is impossible to determine exactly its length. In some cases a month is sufficient for all interested parties to prepare themselves properly for this most important ceremony; in others, even a whole year may pass by before the marriage finally takes place.

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of the girl's parents, or if he is a married man, both husband and wife remain where they are after the *lablabág* ceremony, namely in the house of the husband or in that of his parents.

C. FAMILY LIFE

It is not rare to find two or more Isneg families living in one and the same house, as these are usually very roomy. And so it may take a long time before any of the married sons attempt to live elsewhere. This is also a boon to the old people, of course, as in this way they always find a home for their old age with one of their married children.

From now on the young wife will have little time for pleasure, and, although it would be wrong to call her a slave, in our eyes at least she will be leading the life of a drudge. She will be the first to begin work and the last to finish it. Every day she will have to prepare the meals and to clean the dishes; most of her mornings, if not her entire days, will be passed in the field; and when coming back home in the afternoon, she will have to comply with her usual household duties: pound the rice or grind the corn, and feed the hogs. Most of the time she will have to nurse a baby while attending to her other work, not that the little ones come in such quick succession, as usually at least a year and a half elapses between the birth of two children, and very often one or more of them die in infancy, but because the time of nursing is not confined to the first year of her babe: even children two and three years old may be found occasionally partaking of their mother's milk and using it as a supplementary food.

The husband on the contrary will find his married life to be very little different from what he had been used to before. His life may perhaps even appear lighter to him now than it was before he contracted marriage, as he will be mostly his own master, and he will not pass so many sleepless nights as when, as a young man, he was assiduously courting the girls, a custom that plays havoc with the health of a good many Isneg boys.

1. Domestic Relationships

The Isneg husband is the head of the family, and ultimate decisions are always taken by him; nevertheless the woman is no unimportant entity in the government of the house. An Isneg man rarely transacts any important business without the consent of the women folk, and he is usually humble and obedient at the smallest hint of his

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592 wife. Especially when the women have attained a more or less ad-
562 vanced age, their tongue usually rules the household; and in this
578 they have a very sharp-cutting instrument indeed. The husband
may occasionally vindicate his authority, but most of the time he
[201] shrinks from the women's displeasure. Besides, as a last resort, they always have their tears ready at hand; I have assisted more than once, although involuntarily, at family scenes in which the quarrel ended with a flow of tears on the part of the wife and subsequent awkwardness in the manner of the more or less aggressive husband, who finally could find no other way out but meekly to explain, to try to soothe, and to submit. An old woman, be she married or widowed, has generally more than one say in the family. And if a woman has been consecrated a shamaness while in her early childhood, then she commands the respect not only of the household but of her neighbors as well, or rather inspires them with a kind of reverential awe, especially if she is advanced in years.

To resume, both parties help each other in their own way: the husband has a woman to look after his daily needs, and the wife, although taking the lion's share of the work, does not lack compensation in the fact that from now on she has a ready listener whenever she wants to pronounce one of her philippics.

837 As has been amply shown in the preceding pages, and as will appear even more clearly from what will be said of divorce, there can be no question among the Isneg of allowing anybody access to one's wife or of exchanging wives with another man.

831 Do Isneg husbands and wives love each other? It has been said
593 about other tribes, here in the Mountain Province, that in their case marriage is nothing else but a juxtaposition of two people, a man and a woman, that the husband is more like a stranger to his wife, that mutual love between husband and wife is something completely unknown. This may perhaps be true with some of them, although I doubt very much if such sweeping statements are entirely consonant with the facts. But does it apply to the Isneg? It must be conceded that in the question of marital love, just as in that of gratitude, outward manifestations are exceedingly sparse among the Isneg. It is also a fact that husband and wife never or almost never work together, which after all is not exactly peculiar to primitive people. But can we truly say that mutual love is unknown between an Isneg husband and his wife? I should answer most emphatically in the negative: Isneg man and wife most certainly love each other. Nevertheless it

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find its abode to its taste, and may creep out stealthily, shake off with both hands the earth that clung to it while winding its way out, and roam around at night feeding on chickens and charcoal (*bergdú*). That it feeds on chickens proves that the *balañóbáñ* is really alive; that it feeds on charcoal shows that its life is not that of an ordinary human being. 775

These *balañóbáñ* are also supposed to be very fond of annoying the women who go to work in the field: which seems but natural, as the women are usually much more afraid of ghosts than the men, and consequently will imagine much more easily that they have to do with a phantom, whenever they see something more or less out of the ordinary. Nevertheless, all Isneg, whether men or women, believe in *balañóbáñ*, and I rarely met a man who did not positively assure me that he had seen one. Crossroads (*sisiníyán*) seem also to be a favorite haunt of these *balañóbáñ:* the Isneg state that a *sisiníyán* is the usual place where they can be encountered, so that anybody who is anxious to meet a ghost, should lie in wait at a *sisiníyán*, and he will rarely be disappointed. 775 562 775 778

In some places, in order to prevent a dead body from leaving its tomb, the Isneg sometimes put a heavy stone (only one) upon the lid of the coffin, inside the grave; in others stones were placed on top of the tomb, after it has been filled up: but I doubt very much if the latter practice is resorted to by the Isneg with the purpose of keeping the buried corpse at bay. The description of tombs and of all purely magical practices which are of use in Apayaw, either to cause a dead body to leave its tomb and annoy the neighbors, or to prevent it from doing so, will find its place further on. 764 775

What does a *balañóbáñ* look like? All Isneg agree that it has the shape of a man and that it is full of worms, but beyond this nothing definite can be gathered from native informants. When you ask people who live in more civilized areas and pretend to have seen ghosts, what the latter look like, you may get as many answers as there are informants, the one answer as vague as the other. The Isneg, like some weak-minded and credulous people among our own, see a ghost, especially at night, in every gnarled branch of a tree, in every disfigured shape, which they cannot clearly distinguish. The generality of the Isneg, if not all of them, will assure you most positively that they have seen real ghosts, and indeed they see ghosts at night in everything whose shape does not seem to correspond to something known to them, whether it be earth or stone, plant or animal, 775

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
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342
335 which protrudes beyond the ends of the house to pro-
192 tect the smoke holes in the gables.
824

The Isneg house not being square in plan, its op-
341 posite ends are quite different from one another. At
342 one end, just outside but a bit higher than the transverse
335 beam into which the upper ends of the wall-boards are
[824] rabbeted, is another transverse beam whose upper edge is grooved to receive a second tier of wall boards which close the upper section of the gable save for a few feet at the top which are left open as a smoke hole or only loosely covered with horizontal bamboo. The other end of the house terminates in a kind of transverse platform or annex with a lean-to roof up against the gable itself; at the outer two corners of this little annex, in line with the full width of the building, are two more *sinit*-posts under the wall itself, a circumstance which has led some observers to report with slightly dramatic exaggeration that the floor, walls and roof of the Isneg house are supported on three separate sets of posts. The floor of
[513] this annex is slightly higher than even the little side
[562] platforms of the house proper; Cole reported fifty years ago that it was a special sleeping area for men,[104] and H. Otley Beyer recalls that women were not even al-
342 lowed to set foot there.[105] In the long sides of the house three or four windows are produced simply by omitting some of the wall-boards; since the door opens into one of these sides, however, it might be more appropriate to refer to it as the "front" rather than "side".
[417] Entrance is gained by means of a permanent short flight of steps or ladder.

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[104] Cole, Fay-Cooper, "Distribution of the Non-Christian Tribes of Northwest Luzon," *American Anthropologist*, new series, Vol. XI, No. 3 (July-September 1909), p. 347.

[105] Personal statement during interview in Manila on Feb. 19, 1962.

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in the power of my drugs instead of following exclusively his own superstitions. At least I inferred from his conduct that this was his state of mind; and I believe I was not far from the truth. Similar cases are frequent also among the Isneg: doctors and sanitary inspectors know all too well about them.

"Be generous toward your friends. A miser is abhorred among us. If you bring down a wild boar or deer in the forest, share your good luck with your relatives and friends. These things were not worked for by you; fate brought them into your hands. If you have tobacco, share it with your friends; be a generous companion to every Isneg. When you offer a sacrifice be not stingy with the *bási*, and give everybody who happens to come along his share of rice and viands. Would you be happy if somebody prevented you from participating in a feast? Would you like to be excluded at the distribution of food and drink? Never cause your companions to say that you *umaxáwa* (or *iaxáwa*, "to put away dainties when a visitor is seen approaching the house, lest one should have to let him have a share in them") or *gumisád* (to close the doors at the appearance of a stranger while eating some delicious food, for the same reason): these are very opprobrious terms. With reference to the Ibanag, remember that those in authority have come here to help us, and more especially the white man: he has unbounded riches, and he has come here for the evident purpose of spending it upon us. Even though some of us are considered rich among ourselves, they are poor when compared with him. Let him pay double the price for whatever he needs. Is he not rich beyond anything you can imagine? Do not exclude him from your feasts, if he wants to participate in them, but expect him to be generous toward you in all transactions and business affairs."

Kadáw, who is considered the richest man in Apayaw, has come to my house more than once in order to sell articles which he could not get rid of elsewhere, and he usually charged us twice the regular price. When we told him that he is a rich man, which by the way he likes to hear very much, and that he at least should remember how we feed many of his people without remuneration, when we told him that he should help us in order to be merciful to the poor Isneg instead of taking advantage of our good will, he invariably retorted by saying that we have money galore, and what should we do with it except distribute it to the Isneg. Is this not the reason why we live among them? And *Kadáw* is not the only Isneg who entertains such an opinion.

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574 "Every Isneg should be renowned for his hospitality. Except in case of taboos, never close your gate to a wayfarer; give him a place at your hearth, give him a jar to cook his food in, allow him to sleep in your house; if you are eating, invite him to partake of your meal. Such is the rule. His ordinary needs should always be looked after, that is, all his wants which it does not cost you too much to supply. If your wife shows an inhospitable disposition, and you know facts that positively prove it, then you have a sufficient reason for divorcing her. No woman who refuses a guest the ordinary courtesy of receiving him hospitably should be allowed to share your home. A hospitable woman is an ornament to the house; an inhospitable Isneg is a disgrace to the race."

574 609 Nevertheless the Isneg are usually considered by outsiders as less hospitably disposed than most other inhabitants of northern Luzon. While among other tribes the best things they have are never too good for a guest, the Isneg are comparatively stingy in that respect: they rarely provide a guest with viands to eat with his rice, even though they have a sufficient amount of them at hand, except of course some kinds of vegetables and other eatables that can be found all around without the least exertion. Or is this due again to their evidently distinct way of treating members of other tribes, especially Kagayan? It has been told me indeed very plainly by several Isneg that with the Ibanag, you could do almost no wrong, and that almost everything was allowed with them. I myself have generally been received very kindly by all Isneg, but usually more so by natives who had travelled around and come in contact with other people. At Madatag an old man once called me in and killed a chicken for me: "This is the way", he said, "an honorable guest should be received; I know it, as I have traveled very extensively; those other Isneg, benighted people, they do not know how to treat a guest decently". And so the apparently less hospitable mind of the Isneg may perhaps be ascribed simply to invincible ignorance, instead of to stinginess or to lack of love for the Ibanag.

577 628 [672] "Revenge is sweet to every Isneg. Never let an injury pass by unrevenged. Much has been heard from the Ibanag about forgiveness; that term does not belong to our vocabulary. An Isneg who fails to exact full satisfaction for every misdeed is a coward. If somebody who belongs to an enemy village does you some harm, you have the right to revenge yourself upon anyone belonging to the same village: in such cases we recognize solidarity of guilt. A male-

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have happened in the glorious times before the arrival of the soldiery. They quickly retorted that it would have been a case of killing the thief without more ado, from which of course an interminable series of blood feuds would have ensued. I then asked them what they thought the best way to settle such differences, the old or the new one. Both agreed that the actual way of deciding the matter was far superior to the other one. Then, I said this, seemingly as an afterthought: "But among us, to tell the truth, the old days were happy ones, weren't they?" "Of course they were", both exclaimed at once, "see how things would have been done formerly", and both of them picked up a shield and a headax, and started a mock fight. They were so enthusiastic about it that we, the onlookers, had to make room for our two warriors, in order to escape getting a cut from the axes they were brandishing: the old Isneg spirit was seen to have been revived at once; and this was merely for show; there was nothing serious about it of course.

"Truthfulness is a virtue that an Isneg should never lack. You will never amount to anything if you are known as a liar; people will always distrust you. Is there anything more shameful than being known as a man whose word can never be relied upon? Especially when talking about a third person, beware of being a slanderer: this would lead to quarrels, and quarrels would lead to blows or worse, and you would be in the wrong all the time. A little lie in order to make mirth and bring joy to the company, never mind; but be careful to truthfully inform anybody who might take the thing seriously, lest harmful consequences follow. It is perfectly right of course to save yourself or your friend from a bad predicament, even through lying, if that is the surest way; but for the rest cling to truth, and you will be respected all your life. You know very well how much you would resent being told to your face: "*Busidmo* (you lie)"; so never give anybody an occasion to throw such an insult at your head. With your enemies of course, and especially with the Ibanag, it is different, you may do anything to them; and they know very well that they cannot rely upon you. Why should you have any duties toward these people? They have no rights among us, not even that of being told the truth. A friendly Ibanag may be helped, no doubt about that, but then it will be done, not because you are obliged to tell him the truth, but because you want to be faithful to a friend. Do not mislead a wayfarer though, except in case you have the intention of securing his head or taking some

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lawful revenge for a former injury: a traveler who passes your village is a guest more than anything else, so show him the way with truth and exactitude, whenever you are questioned about it. In a word, be truthful, whenever you have no grave reason to act otherwise; and, with reference to your enemies and the Ibanag, deceit is usually lawful: only special circumstances might oblige you to stick to truth even in their case."

Isneg know little of what we understand by courtesy: they rarely come out of their house, for instance, to show you the way. If you ask them for information, they usually give it to you, truthfully indeed, but without taking the trouble to appear and show the direction by gestures, which would ordinarily be much clearer, at least to a complete stranger, than mere oral indications. Under this respect a Negrito is generally much more correct, at least according to our own point of view.

Now let us consider a few vices and crimes more in particular.

"Never kill or wound a friend: this is a crime that calls for vengeance. Perhaps he was far from right in sustaining the quarrel, but you inevitably put yourself in the wrong by resorting to bloodshed. A homicide or any kind of severe wounding among friends brings in its wake at least the customary looting of the house of the culprit. So beware, control yourself in time, before it is too late to repent. When you are engaged in some dangerous business,—for instance, when hunting,—always be prudent and see that no harm befalls any person. Death by violence is a terrible thing; bloodshed is never allowed among people who are not at enmity with one another".

Two examples will show very clearly how little the Isneg care about intention or purpose; the result of your act is the only thing they consider: if you killed a person, it is wholly immaterial whether you did it intentionally or not, whether it was premeditated or done by accident, whether you could have prevented it or not, whether there was culpable negligence on your part or not.

Last year an Isneg soldier from Musimut went to hunt at night with some friends and relatives. He handed his gun to one of his kinsmen living at Nagbabalayan, gave him the necessary instructions, and then went the other way to drive the game in the direction of the man with the gun. When the latter fired at the deer that ran toward him, he killed the soldier instead: the poor fellow must have lost all sense of direction or forgotten about the place where he left his gun; anyhow he died after a few moments. No sooner was the

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you commit regrettable deeds. Gluttony is contemned by everybody; never keep all the best viands for yourself alone, and be careful not to eat to excess.

"Beware of talking about your neighbor's defects in his absence (*maglibá-*; in Ilоko, *aglibák* means "to hide, to conceal, not to confess, not to manifest"); it may come to his ears; and in such a case, just imagine how he will feel about it. Do you expect him to forgive you without more ado, and to continue his friendly relations with you?

"Do not be a talebearer; such men are the curse of the community: most quarrels take their origin in this vice. Anyone who is known to be addicted to it, at once loses all consideration among decent men, and his company is avoided as much as possible.

"Never boast about your virtues, your possessions, your actions, except on the occasion of a *sày-ám* sacrifice, when every brave Isneg should recount his glorious deeds for the edification of youth. A man who is puffed up with self-conceit and vainglory is despised by all. The ignorant may perhaps respect him or rather be afraid of him, but the general public scorns him. You know what it means to be called *makiddáyaw* (proud) or *napaúláw* (braggart); so never give occasion to anybody to fling such an epithet at your head.

"Beware of being jealous of your neighbor's prosperity or good luck. If fate or the spirits have been less generous to you, that is no reason for being envious of others who are more fortunate than yourself. Ambition is good, jealousy is bad".

2. *Motives Proposed to Young*

Now I shall discard my rôle of Isneg moralist, and say a few words about the motives that are proposed to the youngsters. A good many points have already been hinted at in the preceding treatment of the Isneg moral code, so here I shall merely resume and complete or elucidate my former statements.

It should be said in general that, except when referring to religious, magical or superstitious practices as such, and to the duty of head-hunting, no religious or supernatural motives are proposed to the children in order to get them to obey the moral law, nor are the children ever taught to expect rewards or punishments from supernatural beings. One might perhaps be inclined to accept a few other cases as possible exceptions, for instance that of scoffers referred to above; but it should be remembered that even in such cases, the Isneg never mention directly the intervention of any supernatural beings.

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628 is rarely abandoned, whether in small matters among youngsters, or
183 in graver matters among adults; but in the latter case nowadays it
178 mostly takes the form of a lawsuit entered at court. One exception, however is to be noticed: the practice of sacking the houses of special offenders is still faithfully adhered to all over Apayaw. Revenge is exceedingly sweet to an Isneg and it is not easily superseded by the law of charity: indeed the Isneg sucks it in with his mother's milk and his whole life is still intimately pervaded by the fragrance of old and glorious traditions. And so also the Isneg in general, whether small children or grown-up persons, rarely abandon a quarrel in which the right is on their side, for fear of having the epithet of coward thrown at their head. Peace continues to be an unknown entity as long as an Isneg thinks it his duty to leave it in the background.

578 Nevertheless when two Isneg have become estranged from one an-
183 other, one or both of them will occasionally try to adjust the matter amicably, but in such a way as to preclude all possible risk of being shamed or of being considered as acting through fear or cowardice. *Anagalukkáp* (a kind of herb or grass), kept in the palm of one of your hands when you are likely to meet your opponent, is an infallible means to allay his wrath and to change his hate into amity.
[431] Once reconciled to your enemy, the best way to settle the matter definitively and to render the ensuing friendship durable is to make him some present: a jar, a headax, or anything you suppose will prove acceptable to him. Such a gift is called *palatád*.

577 The practice of gratitude, generosity and hospitality is generally
576 fairly concordant with Isneg theory, but, as has been stated repeat-
574 edly, the Isneg code does not seem to impose any of these social
183 virtues in a very marked degree. It is very hard, for instance, to translate the expression "thank you" in Isneg, as they possess no term that might be considered as more or less its equivalent.

183 Here I shall cite a case in which at first sight practice flagrantly
574 contradicts Isneg theory in every respect. The incident happened
577 in March 1927, when a captain of the Constabulary, several soldiers and a few civilians, including myself, were on their way to Abra. We had finished ascending the Dagara river and were dropping into Abra, when night overtook us at the settlement of Anayan. Foreseeing that our provisions would not last until the end of the journey, the captain requested the Anayan men, who entirely depend on Apayaw for their daily sustenance, to sell us a small quantity of

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rice, or if they so preferred, to give it to us with the condition that a similar amount would be given back to them on our return a few days later. The Anayan men denied, however, that they had any rice at all, and even after the soldiers had made our identity known to them, they still persevered in their denial and evidently were lying to us, as several receptacles, in the house of one of them, were found by the soldiers to be full of the requested cereal. This looked to everybody like a tremendous breach of hospitality and an enormous lack of generosity and gratitude, since the Anayan people are practically fed by Apayaw, the more so that on the next day we would have to do without our midday meal, after a march of six hours climbing and descending precipitous mountain sides, completely devoid of all vegetation, with a tropical sun burning over our heads.

Now let us look at this case the other way. At first all of us were complete strangers to the Anayan people (the captain did not wear any of the insignia of his rank); they were Isneg, we were Ibanag: and the latter are not renowned for honesty when dealing with the Isneg. What the Anayan people undoubtedly were thinking about the whole affair was something like this: "They will take our rice and say good-bye, and we shall never see them again", which would indeed very often have been the case under similar circumstances. Add to this that Anayan is a barren country; the people have to get their rice from Dagara, in Apayaw, at the cost of almost superhuman exertions: indeed they have to carry pitch pine and some other heavy commodities of little value over a long and hard mountain path, in order to trade them for that all-important cereal; consequently they rightly believe that rice is not something to be left at the mercy of the first adventurer who happens to come along.

But then, it may be asked, why did they persevere in their denial, even after they had learned about our identity, the more so that they also must have heard about the soldiers' detective work? Well, for no other reason than that they were ashamed: they were ashamed to acknowledge that they had told us a lie. And that this shame was a real excuse for them was afterwards acknowledged even by my companions. If it had been possible for them to find the means of presenting us with rice, without having to admit the deception they had been practising, for instance by going to borrow it from a neighboring settlement, they would most probably have done so. Shame is worse than anything to our people, as everybody here knows by practical experience. And so, after all, the Anayan Isneg did not

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183 act against their own code: they had no duty of hospitality, generosity
514 or gratitude toward the Ibanag; they lied, because to tell the truth
152 would have redounded to their disadvantage, nay, to exceeding hard-
577 ship, which they were completely right, at least in their own eyes, to try to avoid by all possible means; they were excused from acknowledging their deception, even after it had become patent and after they had learned about the identity of their visitors, on account of the shame which such an acknowledgment would have entailed.

171 This proves that it is sometimes very hard to understand the native's
577 position, and that one has to be careful not to judge him rashly. His code is occasionally very different from ours; and so both his and
181 our point of view, although entirely opposite one to the other, may sometimes be perfectly consistent. In the whole statement of this case and in its explanation, I have not been trying to propound theories; I have merely stated the facts and told the truth as it is, not theoretically, but practically.

461 Isneg teaching with reference to diligence and love of work is
183 usually accepted in its completeness by the fair sex. One meets with few downright lazy women in all Apayaw. But the males? As long as they are children, all right, the parents are there to look after that; but once they have grown up, especially once they are married, I think that even the few duties imposed upon them by their own code, are not always and universally complied with. The tropical climate, prevalent malarial fevers, usual years of plenty, a most fertile soil, forests abounding with deer, wild boars, bees, etc., besides timber, rattan, edible fruits, and other vegetable products, the lack of means of transportation, and so on, are not exactly inducements toward activity and industriousness. Nevertheless the duties are, I repeat it, so few, that it would be dangerous to qualify too great a number of
[171] men as transgressors of their own rules. Isneg adult men are usually lazy, it is undeniable, but they appear so more especially when we compare their behavior with that of other inhabitants of the Mountain Province, who are either living in densely populated areas or leading a precarious existence among rocks and cliffs. And so, even in this, Isneg teaching might perhaps be said to be fairly successful.

[152] The apathetic character of the generality of the Isneg renders
183 compliance with several points of their moral code comparatively easy; and so fits of anger and of jealousy, and boasting are not very
577 common. Talking about other people's defects in their absence is
626 almost as common among the Isneg as among other races: it breaks

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583 and, if they consider them to be as valuable as that, it is their own
435 business after all. The same may be said with reference to the beads:
422 a single one, if very valuable in the eyes of the natives, may command the price of a carabao or water buffalo, from thirty to fifty dollars, while other ones may be had almost for the asking.

583 All these jars are earthenware of Chinese make, imported from
435 China long before the arrival of the Spaniards; consequently an-
422 tiquity is an important item in the estimation of their value. Jars
353 that have been imported recently usually command a much lower
415 price. A great many of the beads also antedate the coming of the
178 Spaniards and were also originally imported from China. Actually,
523 however, beads of all kinds have been put on the market and their origin is very often shrouded in mystery. Isneg plates are all made of coarse earthenware and have mostly been introduced from China; but, although most of them date from comparatively recent times, they are still of the same kind, shape, color and composition as those
[291 they have replaced, as may be proved by fragments occasionally
286 unearthed in places formerly inhabited by Isneg. These people cer-
439] tainly hold fast to their old ways and customs; modern crockery is not to their taste. As the Isneg do not weave their own clothes, the latter have of necessity to be bought from outsiders.

584 During the *amómān* it is also decided whether the boy has to stay
583 with his parents-in-law or not, and for how long in case he has to
591 do so, which is the customary way. The number of years varies very much, as some stay three years, others from five to ten, and even in a few cases the husband never goes back to the house of his own parents.

574 No really important business can be transacted, of course, among
584 the Isneg, without remembering the cravings of the stomach. In the
262 ordinary course of events one or more pigs are slaughtered according to the social standing of the girl's parents. If they are too poor to indulge in such prodigality, a chicken will do. In both cases a dog may complete the menu, although this is not absolutely required. No special name is given to the killing and consuming of the chicken; but if one or more pigs enter the lists, the whole ceremony is called *pildáp*. Nevertheless in a few isolated cases, when the people are much too poor, the banquet is completely left out, and the deliberations are conducted on empty stomachs.

584 All during the *amómān* the men conduct everything that is con-
574 nected with the *pildáp*. The *dorarákit* or shamaness does not inter-
562 fere in the least.

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fere in the least: consequently she does not *maxanito* or impersonate the spirits of the dead, and remains completely in the background, if indeed she happens to be present. And the same is true with reference to the *ákit* or marriage ceremony: here also there is a feast and a killing of animals, but no *maxanito*. The Isneg probably believe that spirits and ghosts have nothing to do with something that is exclusively the business of living human beings, as an *amómān* or betrothal and an *ákit* or marriage undoubtedly are.

Nevertheless it may happen that the *amómān* takes place at the time a *sāy-ám* sacrifice is in progress at the house of the girl, and then of course the *maxanito* will be performed as usual, as no ceremonies connected with the customary *sāy-ám* are ever omitted; but this *maxanito* will generally be performed before the arrival of the *patúgān*, and in any case it has nothing to do with the *amómān*. The only reason why an *amómān* slightly interferes with the ceremonies of the *sāy-ám* is the fact that on such coincidences the female spirit *Sisina* has to be especially remembered. Two coconut shells, one partly filled with *básІ* (a beverage obtained from sugar cane) and another one partially filled with dog's blood, have to be put down in her honor somewhere along the path that leads to the spot where the women draw water for drinking purposes. This is done in order to induce *Sisina* to look after the young couple and to see to it that both are of one mind and avoid all disputes and altercations.

The *amómān*, at least if it has resulted to the satisfaction of everybody, does not interfere in the least with the usual nocturnal visits of the groom to the house of the bride. He continues to *maxal-allây* as before, that is, to sleep with her, and even to have coitus if they so desire. Actually in several districts they even translate the term *maxamómān* by that of *maxatáwa*, "to marry"; and in this case, of course, the subsequent ceremony of the *ákit*, after which the two young people are allowed to live together, must in their minds have lost most of its significance.

B. WEDDING RITES AND CUSTOMS

A certain period of time always elapses between the *amómān* and the real marriage or *ákit*, but it is impossible to determine exactly its length. In some cases a month is sufficient for all interested parties to prepare themselves properly for this most important ceremony; in others, even a whole year may pass by before the marriage finally takes place.

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allowed to mount the ladder, either by herself or on the back of the *mañlakkát*.

Once inside she has to go immediately toward the place where a *balandán* blanket, the property of the boy's parents, has been spread on the floor, and to sit down upon it. The *balandán* consists of three rectangular pieces of cloth, sewn together at the sides, not at the edges; the two sutures are provided with large ornamental stitches of purple thread. The bride, however, is not to stay there very long, as she has barely squatted down on the *balandán* when her mother pulls it away from under her, and takes possession of the same. Here also the *mañlakkát* dons her customary attire, — jacket, headband and the rest, — as her rôle is finished by this time.

The parents of the boy usually prepare a banquet for all present; chickens or pigs and dogs are slaughtered, according to the social standing of the owners of the house, but, as previously noted, no shaman performs the *maxanito*. Should the *bálat* be killed on this occasion, which is not absolutely necessary, as the boy's parents may prefer to keep it alive, neither bride nor groom, nor any of the girl's relatives, is allowed to partake of it. If any of them should infringe this taboo and eat the meat of the *bálat* pig, his or her children, whether born already or to be born in the future, would die a certain death. The same prohibition obtains with reference to the cakes. It is certainly a great sacrifice for an Isneg not to partake of a meal of pork and rice, and only the fear of some dire punishment such as that of death for his children could effectively check his appetite in that direction. But in nearly all cases the boy's parents slaughter some other animal, which all present are allowed to partake. It goes without saying that a copious flow of *básІ* keeps the whole company in merriment, otherwise you could not very well call it a marriage feast.

The principal ceremony, however, consists in the distribution of gifts, of which there are two classes:

1. The *ákit* (from which the whole marriage ceremony takes its name, *mañakit:* to perform a marriage ceremony): these are gifts of beads, clothes, etc., offered by the boy's relatives and outsiders to the women of the girl's party in exchange for a certain amount of cakes, or some part of the *bálat*, in case the latter is slaughtered.

2. The *tugnúl:* gifts of spears, headaxes, *xúsi* jars, etc., also offered by the boy's relatives and outsiders, but this time to the men of the girl's party, again in exchange for cakes or portions of the *bálat*.

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sides, the most cogent social reason for an Isneg to enter the state of matrimony, is an economic one, as recorded at the beginning of this chapter: he wants his wife to feed him and to relieve him of most all solicitude and anxiety with reference to his daily sustenance and that of his children. Now if he happens to be frustrated in his expectations, there is no reason why he should not turn his eyes elsewhere and try to make a better choice, abandoning his old love and embarking on a new matrimonial venture.

3. Lack of hospitality. This is another reason why an Isneg man may abandon his wife. He will not suffer the shame of having his house shunned by strangers because his partner does not show the customary courtesy to a guest. This certainly lays a strong curb upon the habitual crabbedness of many Isneg women, who are not renowned for sweetness of temper. Their irritability is understandable, however, as the habitual drudgery, which is their common lot, is far from conducive to softening of temper.

By the wife:

1. Adultery of the man. An Isneg husband is allowed much more freedom in this respect than his wife, but things may come to such a pass that even the most patient woman is unable to stand it. Besides, a certain incompatibility may have been present from the beginning, and then of course a husband's mistakes, which under ordinary circumstances are regarded as petty faults, may become a sufficient reason for breaking the tie altogether.

2. Habitual laziness. An Isneg wife rarely expects too much with reference to her husband's activity. But if he regularly fails to comply with the few duties that fall to his share, and does not give his wife the necessary help without which she cannot reasonably comply with her own part of the work, then of course the easiest way for her is to try her luck elsewhere, or to wait for a better opportunity, in the meantime leaving her former husband to his own devices.

Needless to say, divorce happens much more often in the case of couples who have been forced into matrimony by their parents, than in that of young people who have arranged everything on their own initiative.

Again divorce rarely happens late in life, when husband and wife have been living together for many years, and have perhaps married not a few of their children. Indeed, a woman who has proved faith-

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586 ful for many years, rarely becomes an adulteress in her old age, and, on the other hand, a young wife is much more jealous of the exclusive love of her husband than an older one; and people who were industrious during the first years of their married life, rarely give their partner a reason for divorce on that score later in life, when several children may perhaps be helping them to lighten the burden. 586 With reference to lack of hospitality on the part of the woman, this 574 also will rarely be a reason for permanent separation after many years of cohabitation; because the woman does not as a rule change with years in her habitual politeness toward guests of the house, or, if she does, her husband will in all probability have become more lenient in that respect and forgive her more easily any breach of hospitality that may happen at a time when the former good reputation of the house will hardly be impaired by a little grumbling on the part of a woman advanced in years.

586 To separate (*maxadi*) is usually a very easy matter, as regards 684 husband and wife. A few hard words may occasionally accompany the ultimate breaking of the marriage tie, but in general both of them merely go their own way. The woman goes back to her parents and the husband stays where he is, or, in case the latter is still living at the house of his parents-in-law, he leaves and she stays: and there the matter rests as far as they are concerned. With reference to the children, the little ones follow the mother, and the others are free to do as they please: they may take sides with either their father or their mother according to their own wishes. If the *tádug*, or price paid for the bride, is to be returned to the parents of the groom, these have to look out for it by themselves, and to agree about the matter with the parents of their former daughter-in-law. The divorced couple had no hand in the whole affair at the time of their marriage, and they never obtained any advantages on that account, so why should they bother about it at this stage and enter into discussions which could bring them only trouble without the smallest prospect of any emolument?

Isneg law is very simple in this respect. If the husband is at fault, nothing is returned, and besides the culprit is often heavily fined (*xúsi* jars, beads, etc.) by the angered relatives of the girl. If the wife is the guilty party, everything has to be given back. But in practice it is sometimes very hard to decide whether the blame is or is not all on one side. Except in a few cases, as in that of flagrant adultery on the part of the woman and so on, everything may have

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After the death of one of their relatives, the Isneg also *lapatân* or taboo some of the coconut trees that belonged to the deceased. Such trees are easily recognizable, as one always finds a certain quantity of strips of bamboo or of thorny branches or of both, tied all around the tree, at the height of one's shoulders. I know of a couple of Iloko teachers who, knowing nothing about this custom, climbed a tabooed coconut tree, in order to drop down some of the fruits and eat them; unfortunately they were caught by the owners and got free only after the payment of a heavy fine. If they had been natives of the district, they would not have escaped so easily, although I doubt very much if an Isneg would ever dare break such a taboo.

Coconuts that have been gathered at the time of the owner's death are also declared taboo, and nobody is allowed to partake of them until the time of the *obóbāt;* if no such ceremony takes place (which must be a rare contingency) the fruits are left to decay. At the time of the *obóbāt*, however, they are declared *inúkas* or free, and everybody is allowed to consume them.

The following are the *lapāt* or taboos that have to do with fishing:

1. It is usually forbidden to catch fish in that part of the river or brook that passes near the settlement in which a person died. This taboo is lifted only at the time of the *obóbāt.* The tabooed section, which is said to be *mabalsiyán*, is marked off at both ends by green leafy canes of bamboo grass (Miscanthus sinensis) stuck in the bottom of the river or brook.

2. If the relatives of the deceased claim the exclusive right of fishing in a certain part of a river or brook, this section or *anáwań* remains tabooed until the *obóbāt* or completion of the mourning period.

It is forbidden to work on two days, namely on the second day after the funeral, the *taribukáy*, and on the day following the *obóbāt* ceremony. This obligatory rest is called *úlin*, and any work done on [illegible] is considered useless and inevitably subject to being completely spoiled.

A widow or widower is forbidden to visit the relatives of the deceased husband or wife for the whole period that elapses between burial and *obóbāt.* Infringement of this taboo would cause the whole body of the culprit to swell up. The same punishment would be inflicted on a widow or widower who would dare eat mushrooms (*óoń*) or *úbud* (young shoots of some palm trees, as the *aníboń* or fishtail palm, etc.).

yaos after the principal river in their country. Some say the word Apayao was originated in their fierce battle cry *"Ma-ap-ay-ao."* During this call the hand is clapped rapidly over the mouth so that the cry sounds much like the American Indian war-whoop. This cry is also used at a feast: when a new visitor comes, when the basi is brought in, and when a pig is killed.

I will endeavor to describe, from personal observation of its still numerous cultural remains, something of the life of the Apayaos as it no doubt existed little changed during the long centuries during which their folktales were formed.

The life of these people has much to do with the streams of the country along which most of them live. They do not live on the river flats, but on the mountain sides for safety. Many of their communities are named after the streams near which they are located. A considerable part of the food is obtained from the streams; and they are used for washing, bathing and swimming, as well as for scenery. Much of the transportation is on the streams, and the men are expert boatma nand raftsmen. During the heavy rainy season transportation on swollen rivers is perilous; but it is carried on somewhat. The result is that many a banca has over-turned in the roaring rapids; much valuable merchandidse still lies in the deep pools at the feet of those rapids; and many of family mourns the loss of a loved one. Therefore stories of the streams often occur in the legends of the people.

The people on each stream were isolated from each other for many centuries so that there has come to be quite a difference in their customs and dialects.

They have a feast: rice
basi, and the greater part of a pig or dog are served. 584
Then business begins. The parents and relatives of 583
the youth, arrange the amount of the dowry, *todog*. [574]
If it is of less value, the youth must stay in the house 262]
of the girl. When the contract is agreed upon, it is strictly adhered to; and the youth and girl are said to be married.

The real ceremony, *aqueb*, then follows. The pa- 585
rents of the girl bring pigs and baskets of rice-cakes to the house of the youth. The girl comes in company with several old women. They all stop about one hundred yards from the house of the youth. There they are met by the parents or mother of the youth, bearing valuable gifts for the parents of the girl. The youth's mother then requests the girl from her parents. Upon approval, the whole company moves to the house, where the mother presents her gifts to the parents of the girl. The rice cakes are sold to the re- [435]
latives of the youth, the nominal price being P1.00 per basket. Then the merry-making starts and continues through the night. The youth and girl must [784]
not eat the sweets, as one of them would die. In the morning final payments of the dowry are made and distributed. Then the young couple are considered to be properly married, but still controlled by their parents.

When the young woman feels that she is about to 844
give birth, either the husband or the mother-in-law will twist a piece of cloth, light one end, and place it, the *pungan*, at the door. With it is the coconut shred- [W2]
der, *igad*. These guard the woman while delivering so that no *anito* can come into the house to annoy the

776 [824] The *Danag* live in trees and act like fairies. If a tree is cut down and it does not fall, a *Danag* inhabits that tree. *Danags* enjoy playing practical jokes. If something awkard happens on the way, a *Danag* did it. Or sometimes, when some priestess is calling her *anito*, a *Danag* will show up instead.

782 The usual method used to gain the favor or help of an anito is to give him a feast. This may vary in name, size, details, and extent, according to the occa- 796 sion and wealth of the party who gives the feast. The 574 general procedure; however, at a feast is about as follows:

[791] The relatives and family giving the feast gather in the house one evening while the priestess, *durarakit*, performs a ceremony in which she calls the suitable *anito* and invites it to enjoy the feast. She spreads a mat near the door, places on it a bundle of unthreshed rice, some *buyo*, with possibly other articles, and ties a small chicken near by. The priestess stands on the mat and, to the cadence of the drum and bronze gongs, side shuffles her feet and waves her extended arms, at the same time calling in an old chant for the *anito* to come to the feast. In a few minutes her eyes dilate and she begins to tremble in a trance. The *anito* has come. She continues talking to it, telling it to be happy and to please help as desired. After a while she comes out of her trance and starts placing *buyo* with leaves and lime, together with grass bundles, on the jars of *basi* and on the animals which are to be killed. (Dogs and pigs are eaten only at feasts.) The *durarakit* performs this that there may be peace at the feast.

In the morning the family prepares the food for the guests. The men butcher the dog, chickens, and pigs. They might go out and get a wild pig or two. The women cook the rice, vegetables and meat. Boys carry invitations to the houses of the guests, who begin to arrive about noon, all dressed up in their best clothes. 796 574 252 462 202

When a guest arrives, he is given a drink of *basi* and also food, if he is hungry. Individual servings of rice, together with some meat and vegetables, are wrapped up in sections of bamboo leaf and passed around. One package of food is placed for the family *anito* under the sacred big tree or bamboo clump where it lives, and where it is the custom to hang the heads taken by the family warriors. As the various animals are killed, a little of the blood and liver are placed in a coconut shell or a section of bamboo and hung up for the *anito* of the feast. That is his share. The people eat the rest for him. Also *runo* leaves are hung from a rafter above the stove, one for each pig killed. 796 574 264 782 [778]

Dancing, *talip*, in the house starts early in the afternoon. The intriguing music is supplied by the women, who beat a staccato rhythm on three instruments: the *ludog*, a drum fashioned of a hollowed log with a skin secured over one end; a large, shallow curved-bottomed kettle-shaped bronze gong; and the *ganza*, a smaller, flat-bottomed bronze gong. Each has its own tone (base, soprano, alto) and beat; while the notes are short: quarter, eighth, and sixteenth. Thus the rhythm is fast and intricate: hard to follow. One couple dances at a time. One of the family hands a special cloth to an honored guest. He starts walk- 535 796 534 574 [533] 535 796 574

535 ing in the clear space and is joined by a woman, per-
796 chance of his own choice. Occasionally a highly hon-
574 ored guest has two partners. They raise and wave their arms and hands resembling the wings of a bird in flight. The man gestures with his outspread cloth and goes in a circle somewhat reminiscent of a youth courting a girl. Their feet begin to shuffle and then stamp in cadence to the music. In the middle of the dance one of the family brings *basi* for the dancers and musicians to drink. The music rapidly becomes faster and louder so that the dancers must stamp harder and faster and raise their knees higher. This is such hard exercise that one of the couple soon gives up and goes and sits down. His partner follows suit and the music stops. The man hands his cloth to a friend, who starts the next dance. This dance is difficult to learn, and only long experience makes one
[531] proficient in it. Sometimes, if some famous old warrior does not choose to dance, the people shout, and he recounts his noble deeds in the characteristic chant, *oggayam*.

Meanwhile the people are talking and joking.[1] The (1)
is happy. Dancing and talking become more excit- (4)
and once in awhile drinks pass around: so everybody (3)
basi has been dug up from underneath the granary (2)
[537] ing. Sometimes two men contest in a long debate (5)
over some such matter as the quality of the feast. They talk in the characteristic chant, *palawag*. If one of the men cannot chant, he shouts. The party is be-
796 coming noisy. There is some enjoyable antiphonal
574 singing. A group of boys sing and a group of girls
533 answer: sometimes using well-known songs with a
786

1 [The numbers to the right of the text indicate the proper sequence of lines.--Analyst]

pleasing lilt or perchance composing words in honor of some guest or circumstance. The tune used is called the *salecdomey*. Somewhere a boy may be openly courting the girl of his choice in a characteristic chant *adkaling*, but often composing his own words. Food and sweets may be served two or three times in the night, and the party goes on with increasing excitement, as more and more *basi* is consumed. Drunken quarrels may break out, leading to blows. Killings are not infrequent. One must have had quite a few drinks in order to really enjoy this party.

Along towards morning the music stops and the tired people lie down to sleep—either in that or adjacent houses. If, perchance, a boy has been successful in his courtship, he may follow his girl to where she lies down. After some further discussion, she probably accepts him.

The feast may continue the next day and next, according to the wishes and wealth of the family, and how long the *basi* and food lasts. At the end of the feast, the priestess again calls the *anito*: she tells it that they hope that it is pleased with its feast and will now grant their requests. Then the guests start for home. The relatives are each given some meat to take with them, and soon all is quiet again.

Probably the most popular feast is the *say-am*, given for the *anito*, Pilay, after the harvest. The *dildap* is a small, short feast given for the *anito Kaybacan*, sometimes for the health or welfare of the family, or to clinch some agreement. There is no dancing. The *magboto* is given before, and the *boda* after a head hunting expedition as described elsewhere. The

628 ed a jar of *basi* and invited all the people to drink with the brothers. When they were gathered, he asked them all to come into the house. After they were all in, he fastened them in. Then he offered a cup of *basi* to the *maingel*. Instead of letting him take it, Ewagan dashed the *basi* on the head of the *maingel* and killed him. Then the brothers killed all the people and flew with their blood to the river. All the possessions of those people wer collected; and Ewagan, by his magic powers, flew them to Pindayan, his home.

582 Then the brothers went to the house of Himbanganan in Dudongan, bringing her all the heads of the people of Dombilan. Himbanganan was afraid in the presence of all the brothers, and promptly agreed to marry Hinadolan without the necessity of a dowry. She followed the brothers to Pindayan, where she and Hinadolan were married and lived thereafter.

THE ORPHANS

789 Long ago there lived three orphans; two boys and a girl. These orphans were the sons and daughter of a rich family. These brothers and the sister were expert magicians. They did not suffer any hardships. When they became hungry, they just prayed to an *anito* for their needs and their wants would all be [577] provided for. They were very religious. They were humane and helpful to those who were in need.

789 574 One day they wanted to have a feast. So they invited all their relatives, their friends, and all their neighbors. They only prepared one chupa of rice, one

jar of *basi*, a small pig, and a small dog. When all their visitors had arrived, their house was not able to accommodate all the people. Their sister, whose name was Hinalingan, came out from their house and said. "Oh, *anito*, I pray to you that my house will become big so that it can accommodate all my visitors." After uttering this wish, the visitors could see the house becoming bigger and bigger until all of them were accommodated.

The older brother, by the name of Hinadolan, went near the stove and said, "I pray to *anito* that all our food will be prepared." Not long after that all the food were prepared. Then they distributed the rice and other food.

After eating, the dance started. It was led by a young brother, named Imlang. Imlang took his sister, Hinalingan, and began the dance. While Imlang, and his sister were dancing, their visitors were surprised to see that they were like birds flying in the air. It was because their feet did not touch the floor; but they were dancing in the air. After the dance, they ate again. Then after all had eaten, it was found that not even half of the food prepared was consumed by the people. Now the feast was over and their visitors returned to their homes.

Three nights after the feast, one of the men from among their visitors came with his father. After they arrived, they were entertained by the brothers and sister who asked what was the purpose of their visit. The man replied that he loved Hinalingan and wished to marry her. Courtship was followed by the marriage ceremony. The couple lived happily with the brothers after that.

thought that, as they were very few and the people of Alisit were many, the trip would be very dangerous. There were only seven men and three women. So instead of going by the way of Alisit, they went by the way of Langnao to Sulsuna. They reached Sulsuna all right, and on their return trip reached Baliwan; but one man was injured in the foot. The other people wanted to carry him; but he did not like them to as they might meet an enemy, who would kill him as he lay in the sling. So he said that he would walk along slowly. The people of Baliwan were holding a peace-pact feast and wanted the people of Kumao to stay; but they did not want to spend the time or be to the expense. So they went on and came to a field. Some went to get sugar cane and others went to the river. The lame man, Subugay, went on ahead and came into an ambush of Alisit warriors. But they waited until the others came up, and then the many warriors of Alisit attacked. Subugay was wounded in his hand by a spear: but escaped. Two of his companions were killed and three wounded. The Kumao people were all surrounded by the Alisit people; but they managed to get away and hide in the forest. They reassembled, and the Baliwan people helped them to carry their killed and wounded home to Kumao, which they reached about night time.

Then the people of Kumao went to attack the Alisit people. There were many warriors, as they wanted to revenge their relatives. When they reached Bangcarao, they stopped there to wait for anybody who might be passing. Finally two Alisit men came

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for you if you can show the girls an *andôri* tattooed on your arm; will they not be eager to get the attentions of such a warrior? Will they not vie with one another in making themselves attractive and pleasing to him? Such a man will be renowned all over the country, and at every public *sây-âm* sacrifice he will recount his brave deeds. Even when he is tottering with old age, people will respect him as they will nobody else, and after he has long been dead, his name will still be pronounced with reverence and given to children as a remembrance of his great deeds, so that his spirit will continue to live on earth in the members of the younger generation who are called by his name. In the realm of the dead his soul will live encircled by the same aureole of a glorious and immortal fame. It is true that actually you can hardly aspire to such great glory: strangers have taken possession of the land, people who know nothing about Isneg heroism and justice, people who would punish you for such an act of courage, people who do not understand that an enemy has no rights, that his head is acceptable to the spirits. But we of the older generation, we at least should not abandon our glorious traditions; and if it might please the spirits or an all-powerful fate to return to us our lost freedom and rid us of constabulary and judges, then, yes, you should not forget that you are an Isneg, that a head is the most precious offering that you can make to the spirits, that taking the head of an enemy, whoever he be, whether dead or alive, will give you a crown not to be equalled by anything else. You know how often these last years we have been visited by locusts and famine. Whose fault is it? Nobody else's but the cursed Ibanags': they forbid us to propitiate the spirits who are craving for human heads, and what can the *anito* do but punish us for our negligence?"

A couple of years ago, a poor Negrito, Kalisto by name, who had just escaped from jail, from which he would have been released very soon as he was innocent of the crime imputed to him, was killed at Tawit by an Isneg, who gave the pygmy's threatening attitude as a pretext for killing him. But after the body had been disinterred and examined, it was found out that a part of the skull was lacking and that it had been severed from the rest by a cutting instrument: this proved to everybody's satisfaction that the case was a headhunting affair and nothing else.

"Every Isneg child should be obedient to its parents. As long as you are unmarried, you have the bounden duty to comply with the wishes of your parents, and not only with those of your parents, but

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593 also with those of your grandparents, of your elder brothers and sisters,
577 and so forth; in short, you should obey any relative of yours who
576 happens to be older than you are. Have you ever heard of a dutiful
Isneg child disregarding even the smallest wishes of his parents and elder relatives? Would it not be utter presumption on your part to prefer your own will to that of your elders? If you have relatives around that are younger than you are, brothers, sisters, nephews, nieces, cousins, and so on, then you also have a right to tell them what you want, and you are perfectly right in shifting the heaviest burdens upon their shoulders; but your own elders, listen to them. Obey your elders, and make younger people obey you, that is the Isneg law."

593 When going from Butaw to Ilocos in 1926, I personally assisted at
577 such a shifting of the burden to a younger one's shoulders, which was
576 a practical fulfilment of Isneg law and a very literal one at that. It
888 happened in the case of old *Balúkat*, who together with his son, already a married man, accompanied me on that journey and carried my baggage. Before we started, I had divided the whole load into two almost equal parts, in order to avoid all altercations and lest we suffer any unnecessary delay. But, before we left Butaw, *Balúkat* took away a generous portion of his own share and shifted it to that of his son. Later on, probably convinced that his own package was still a little heavy, he again took off a few articles and solemnly transferred them to the load of his son. On both occasions *Balúkat* gave us the reason for his conduct: the other man was his son and was still young and strong, while he himself was fast becoming old; and again, on both occasions, the younger man complied with the utmost submission and without showing the smallest sign of vexation, taking everything for granted and never losing the smile on his face.

"You should not only obey your parents, but also respect them. Now, with reference to this latter duty, remember that its scope is much wider than that of simple obedience. Everybody who is older than you deserves your respect, and so you owe it not only to your own relatives, but also to all persons who may be considered as your elders, even though they be not in the least related to you. Would it not be brazen effrontery on your part to be at all disrespectful to an old man or an old woman? It is true that sometimes they have certain whims that may perhaps look ridiculous to you, but although you should be inclined to laugh at their ravings, never appear to be doing so. If an older man or woman scold you, be careful never to raise your voice against him, but keep quiet, or if possible excuse

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yourself as best you can. Any kind of excuse will do in order to escape a thrashing or a severe scolding, provided it proves acceptable; but take care not to be caught lying: this could but add to the latter's resentment. To get out of a bad predicament a little deceit is not forbidden, but not everybody can use it with good results; so be careful about it".

Lately, when paying a visit to *Basílig* at Pansian, his daughters set the table (in the Isneg way, of course) for him, and partook of the food only after their father had finished his own meal, although this is not required by custom.

In general the Isneg have a high regard for their parents and elders, although in our eyes their conduct may sometimes seem to be lacking in outward signs of respect. Their standard of etiquette and politeness is not exactly the same as our own. An Isneg child calls its parents "father" and "mother", and a usual title of respect for aged people is *kakáy*, but for the rest it is not very demonstrative.

So, when an Isneg mother recently came to visit her son at my house, the other boys repeatedly told him that his mother was there, but he did not move in the least: the old woman had to go and look for him herself somewhere around the house. Nevertheless that boy had asked me on a former occasion to be allowed to stop going to school in order to help his widowed mother with the wages he would be able to earn that way.

To be convinced that Isneg children respect their elders, although most all outward signs common to our own code are usually absent, it is sufficient to observe their behavior and that of their elders, whenever something untoward has happened. Isneg children look like angels, if you compare their attitude and whole demeanor with that of older men and women, who shout and gesticulate and allow the whole neighborhood to know what happened, without having to go out of its way to listen to the conversation. Boys and girls usually keep quiet when their parents are angry, while in the case of older people it is a question of proving who has the loudest voice, the one that carries the farthest: among the Isneg, the biggest shouter usually gains the victory.

An unmannerly person is called *toxároń*; this epithet, however, is only applied as far as I know, to a person who drinks directly from the *uród*, a bamboo that is used for fetching water, instead of using a cup.

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576 When approaching a house he wants to enter, the Isneg usually says something aloud to the inmates of the house, just to let them know that he is there and indirectly to tell them to keep their dogs at bay; but for the rest he enters without more ado: the ladder being in place will show him that somebody is at home, and if there are no signs of taboos of any kind, things he very well knows and understands, he has free access to the house. On taking leave, he says: "*Mawčyâin*, I go now (*mawčkamiyin*, we go now)" or "*Mapánnâin*, I go away [276] now (*mapánkamiyin*, we go away now)". When meeting people on the road or at some other place outside the house, a polite Isneg says: "*Awán xawádmo*? (Have you no betel pepper?)" or something similar with reference to chewing betel; in some cases he asks for it, in others he proffers it. Such is the usual salutation all over Apayaw.

576 858 Among the Isneg the code of etiquette is indeed reduced almost to its most simple expression; their respect is mostly of the rough kind: general principles, few details. Youngsters are usually allowed to mix freely in the conversation of older people, without having the semblance of being at all forward, and they will rarely be rebuked for doing so. The old fellows will answer them most of the time just as earnestly as if they were of their own age. Nevertheless a certain respect, which may seem a very vague thing to define, is always required and rarely absent.

577 609 But let us go back to our Isneg code of morals.

"If you want to be considered as a really good Isneg, be loyal to your friends. Love your friends, hate your enemies: that is our golden rule. Help all Isneg who are not an enmity with your settlement whenever you can. For instance, if two of you have to cross a river and your companion cannot swim, see to it that you save him from drowning, if necessary. Whenever there is question of taking revenge, stand by your own people; their quarrels should be yours. If they need you as a witness in their defense, do not fail them. Ibanag justice has been imposed upon us, but never mind, save your friends from jail by all possible means: lying before an Ibanag judge is no sin, provided it redounds to your own good or to that of your friends. Rather share the punishment of a companion than save yourself by furnishing state's evidence. We have our own ways of administering justice, the Ibanag do not understand them; why should we submit to their ways imposed upon us by force? Outwardly of course you should comply lest worse befall you; but never forget that you have to put your own people above everybody else. If you

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577 lawful revenge for a former injury: a traveler who passes your
609 village is a guest more than anything else, so show him the way with
683 truth and exactitude, whenever you are questioned about it. In a
574 word, be truthful, whenever you have no grave reason to act otherwise; and, with reference to your enemies and the Ibanag, deceit is usually lawful: only special circumstances might oblige you to stick to truth even in their case."

576 Isneg know little of what we understand by courtesy: they rarely
201 come out of their house, for instance, to show you the way. If you ask them for information, they usually give it to you, truthfully indeed, but without taking the trouble to appear and show the direction by gestures, which would ordinarily be much clearer, at least to a complete stranger, than mere oral indications. Under this respect a Negrito is generally much more correct, at least according to our own point of view.

Now let us consider a few vices and crimes more in particular.

682 "Never kill or wound a friend: this is a crime that calls for venge-
577 ance. Perhaps he was far from right in sustaining the quarrel, but you inevitably put yourself in the wrong by resorting to bloodshed. A homicide or any kind of severe wounding among friends brings in its wake at least the customary looting of the house of the culprit. So beware, control yourself in time, before it is too late to repent. When you are engaged in some dangerous business,—for instance, when hunting,—always be prudent and see that no harm befalls any person. Death by violence is a terrible thing; bloodshed is never allowed among people who are not at enmity with one another".

672 Two examples will show very clearly how little the Isneg care about intention or purpose; the result of your act is the only thing they consider: if you killed a person, it is wholly immaterial whether you did it intentionally or not, whether it was premeditated or done by accident, whether you could have prevented it or not, whether there was culpable negligence on your part or not.

682 Last year an Isneg soldier from Musimut went to hunt at night
672 with some friends and relatives. He handed his gun to one of his kinsmen living at Nagbabalayan, gave him the necessary instructions, and then went the other way to drive the game in the direction of the man with the gun. When the latter fired at the deer that ran toward him, he killed the soldier instead: the poor fellow must have lost all sense of direction or forgotten about the place where he left his gun; anyhow he died after a few moments. No sooner was the

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867 Loyalty to friends and generosity are also made the subject of special teaching on the part of Isneg parents. Occasions do not fail in which the latter explain to their offspring the ugliness of avariciousness and of lack of open-handedness.

867 576 Gratitude, however, is rarely mentioned. Does an Isneg perhaps consider this virtue as a necessary sequel of one's duty of being loyal to a friend in need? Whatever goes on in their mind, the Isneg are certainly not very demonstrative about it. They seem to take a kindness among friends as a matter of course, and they are perhaps not very far from the truth. I am thoroughly convinced though that gratitude is very well known and also practised among our Isneg, but a white man would sometimes prefer to see or hear a little more about it. I repeat it, the Isneg are over-stingy in their expressions of gratitude, and formulas such as "thank you" and so on are unknown to them.

On the other hand the duty of hospitality is very expressly taught to every Isneg boy and girl, and the consequences that are liable to result from lack of hospitality on the part of an Isneg married woman are known to everybody: such a misdemeanor may be a sufficient reason for an Isneg husband to divorce his wife.

867 577 558 To take revenge and to sustain a quarrel are signs of courage in the eyes of an Isneg, and the latter virtue is esteemed and highly praised by all. In his eyes nobody deserves more ridicule than a coward, and such a person usually gets an ample share of the same. Although quarreling and anger as such are considered as bad, everything depends on the reason why, so that rightful anger and maintaining one's rights despite everything are absolutely required in a man who does not want to be called timid. Control of one's temper in many instances would be synonymous with cowardice. All this is so firmly ingrained in the Isneg mind that no formal teaching is necessary. A youngster will ever be applauded for his courage and will be encouraged to go ahead, if he takes revenge after having sustained some injury, if he leaves nothing undone to keep the right on his side while engaged in a dispute, and if he is angry without going into extremes any time that he is firmly convinced that he is not wrong.

867 577 Laziness does not need any special reproof, as every young man and every girl know through daily experience the necessity of forestalling any bad reputation on the subject, lest marriage be either postponed indefinitely or, if already contracted, broken asunder without mercy. With reference to the smaller children, the necessity of

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obedience forcibly impresses upon their minds at the same time their duty of being diligent at work, as the parents do not fail to take them along when attending to their daily tasks, as soon as the youngsters are able to lend a helping hand.

Modesty, chastity, conjugal fidelity and temperance are virtues that are frequently subjects of very special teaching. Just as obedience is an ordinary topic of conversation when talking with the little ones, so the aforementioned virtues are often mentioned when young people receive some admonition or warning on the part of their parents. Besides, the knowledge of the consequences of immorality with unfortunate results and the punishment it entails helps not a little to deter Isneg youth from indulging in such excesses. After all this, it would be superfluous to tell young people of both sexes to sleep apart: the girls mostly attend to that without any special warning. In Bontok there are common dormitories for girls as well as for boys, and in many other places in the Mountain Province every village has its boys' dormitories. These institutions, which probably were originally planned as a safeguard to the morals of the young on account of the smallness of the huts of the natives, have since degenerated into haunts of vice. Among the Isneg the houses are fortunately large enough to keep the whole family together, so that the parents can watch the youngsters at leisure, if they choose to do so. Nevertheless the absence of rooms renders complete control very difficult. Although the Isneg have not to contend with the Bontok brothels, if I may call these girls' dormitories by such an ugly name, which in my opinion and experience they amply deserve, still they have not yet attained to perfection under this respect on account of the absence of separate rooms in their comparatively large and commodious dwellings.

Temperance in eating and drinking, although perhaps not so frequently inculcated as modesty, chastity and the rest, are nevertheless very clearly taught, especially to the boys; while the teaching of chastity as we understand it is, in the case of the Isneg, reduced to that of decent relations between the sexes. Sins against nature are never mentioned. Self-pollution is probably practised occasionally by some members of the male sex. Of other sins in that line I have never heard anything; by which of course I do not want to deny their existence, but simply to state that they are certainly not indulged in frequently and less so openly, as otherwise they would certainly have come to my notice.

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628 is rarely abandoned, whether in small matters among youngsters, or
183 in graver matters among adults; but in the latter case nowadays it
178 mostly takes the form of a lawsuit entered at court. One exception, however is to be noticed: the practice of sacking the houses of special offenders is still faithfully adhered to all over Apayaw. Revenge is exceedingly sweet to an Isneg and it is not easily superseded by the law of charity: indeed the Isneg sucks it in with his mother's milk and his whole life is still intimately pervaded by the fragrance of old and glorious traditions. And so also the Isneg in general, whether small children or grown-up persons, rarely abandon a quarrel in which the right is on their side, for fear of having the epithet of coward thrown at their head. Peace continues to be an unknown entity as long as an Isneg thinks it his duty to leave it in the background.

578 Nevertheless when two Isneg have become estranged from one an-
183 other, one or both of them will occasionally try to adjust the matter amicably, but in such a way as to preclude all possible risk of being shamed or of being considered as acting through fear or cowardice. *Anagalukkáp* (a kind of herb or grass), kept in the palm of one of your hands when you are likely to meet your opponent, is an infallible means to allay his wrath and to change his hate into amity. [431] Once reconciled to your enemy, the best way to settle the matter definitively and to render the ensuing friendship durable is to make him some present: a jar, a headax, or anything you suppose will prove acceptable to him. Such a gift is called *palatád*.

577 The practice of gratitude, generosity and hospitality is generally
576 fairly concordant with Isneg theory, but, as has been stated repeat-
574 edly, the Isneg code does not seem to impose any of these social
183 virtues in a very marked degree. It is very hard, for instance, to translate the expression "thank you" in Isneg, as they possess no term that might be considered as more or less its equivalent.

183 Here I shall cite a case in which at first sight practice flagrantly
574 contradicts Isneg theory in every respect. The incident happened
577 in March 1927, when a captain of the Constabulary, several soldiers and a few civilians, including myself, were on their way to Abra. We had finished ascending the Dagara river and were dropping into Abra, when night overtook us at the settlement of Anayan. Foreseeing that our provisions would not last until the end of the journey, the captain requested the Anayan men, who entirely depend on Apayaw for their daily sustenance, to sell us a small quantity of

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my bananas, hoping in this way to catch him unaware, but as quick as lightning he retorted: "*Kinalbáw nāyá áto* (the dog ate them)". Now the poor boy never thought of the impossibility of that press being opened by a dog, and even in case it could have been done, of the improbability of a dog leaving the meat aside and choosing the bananas instead.

On another occasion I had observed that a kind Iloko lady had missed Mass on two consecutive Sundays; and so at our first meeting I made a little remark about the matter, but she was as quick as my Isneg boy in retorting: "I had my menses". This I merely answered with another question: "Twice a month?"

It may be hard indeed for any innocent person not to defend himself when he has been accused unjustly, but for an Isneg I think it would be simply heroic to keep silent after a reproof, even though it be slight and most amply deserved. And even when the unreasonableness of his excuse has been demonstrated to him, he must be a very dull fellow indeed if he will not immediately try another one, without even stopping to think whether it may not be as little acceptable as the one just rejected.

Another custom which very often makes abstraction of truth or error as we understand it is their manner of answering a question. No conscientious inquirer should ever forget that these people are in the habit of answering a question, not according to truth, but according to what they believe you except to hear from them. I would be the last to accuse them of wilful lying under the circumstances, and would much prefer to put the blame on their inborn desire to please you. This goes to show that one has to be very careful in proffering judgment on our Isneg, not only with reference to questions that may have been answered the wrong way, but also with reference to obedience in general to those precepts of their moral code that have to do with truthfulness and lying. The blame of the whole affair is very often to be laid, either on the inquirer himself who should know something about the mentality of this people, or on the courtesy of the latter: in this case they should be credited, not with the vice of lying, but with the social virtue of politeness.

A few Isneg expressions with a direct or indirect bearing on the education and home life of the child may here be appended:

Áyáyam: Toy.

Lullupítan: Said of a child who cries for the smallest reason.

Dumdúm: Dull, unhandy at work. Also: dull at learning.

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fast is over,—or, if none of the above-named tubers are to be had, which is by far the most usual case, as soon as all limbs have been duly stretched out,—everyone turns to his occupations: the women mostly repair to their fields, and the men either go fishing or attend to some other kind of work that devolves upon them; a good many times, however, they simply do nothing.

About ten or eleven o'clock a. m., the Isneg take their first substantial meal: this has been prepared by the women, who usually come back a little earlier than the men, in case the latter have been out, and it is generally taken in common, the whole family squatting around the plates that are set out on some particular spot on the floor, not too far from the hearth. After that the men act in the same way as in the morning, while women either go back to the field or attend to the pounding of rice, the feeding of the pigs and other chores.

In the evening the second principal meal is cooked, and it is partaken of very often by the light of the flickering flames of the hearth, but never at a very late hour, as the Isneg goes to sleep almost with the chickens. When I say "goes to sleep", I do not of course mean "sleeps", as a comparatively long interval of time generally separates the two actions: this gap is filled in by story-telling and so on, while the young men roam around to see their sweethearts or to court the girls. When there is moonlight, the youngsters usually pass the first part of the night in romping and playing.

In a few families the first substantial meal is cooked and eaten in the morning, before the inmates of the house leave for their respective occupations; and then, cooked yams or sweet potatoes are occasionally partaken of at or about noon. Others again, instead of eating their first meal at home, take along some cooked provisions (*kupíl*; never *bálon*, "provisions of uncooked food"), and eat them at the place of their work.

Such is the Isneg daily life under ordinary circumstances. At the time of the year devoted to the preparation of the fields (clearing the forest and burning the grasses), the men very often start early in the morning, after breakfast, and come back only in the evening, when they partake of their last meal. The women rarely fail to come back more or less early in the afternoon in order to attend to their ordinary household duties.

Whenever the men intend to leave the house very early, whether to go to the field, or to start on a journey that will last for several days, the women arise long before daybreak, at the first crowing of the

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832 [435] (*kaddát*), which are bought from the shaman and remain her own secret. A jacket or something of equal value is the usual price paid by a lover to the old woman who furnishes him with the much-coveted [278] charm. These herbs are either ground into powder or otherwise pressed and crumpled until they are unrecognizable, and then mixed with coconut oil (*dĕwa*), lest an uninitiated person get to know them, and their virtues disappear: indeed, a love charm whose ingredients, the oil excepted, have been called by name, be it by the shaman herself or anybody else, is completely valueless. This is certainly a wise precaution, otherwise the shaman would not receive many presents of jackets and so on: Isneg youngsters would be able to find the herbs without anybody's help, as they are undoubtedly very common plants, although I am ignorant of their identity; they also probably differ from shaman to shaman. Anyhow if this supposed loss of virtue through the pronunciation of the name of the herbs in question is not a shaman's trick, it certainly serves the latter's interests perfectly well.

[293] Once the boy has obtained his love charm, which he places in some small receptacle, usually a small bottle, he generally carries it along at least when he goes to court the girl of his choice, and he usually keeps it all the time either in his *túput* (belongings rolled up in an *amakattán* kerchief and carried on the back at the waist) or in his *kĕláy*, lest he lose it or somebody else lay hands on it. Whenever an Isneg lover goes to see his girl in the evening, he does not fail to pour some of this precious ointment on the palms of both hands and pass the latter over his hair, so that the girl may be forced to love him,—at least if he can do so unobserved, that is if there is no light to betray his actions. This, however, might be called only a measure of precaution or something to be done by all means, lest perchance a better and surer way be wanting. And indeed the love charm is considered as almost irresistible if it comes in mediate or immediate contact with the girl's body.

832 276 576 The inveterate custom of chewing betel nut, betel pepper and lime is not confined to the older people among the Isneg: youngsters very soon learn to imitate their elders in that respect. The asking and giving of the necessary ingredients is, if not the only, at least one of the most usual forms of salutation, and no polite Isneg will forego either to ask or to proffer these precious chewing materials, whenever he happens to meet somebody, and more especially when he is conversing with somebody who is more or less familiar with him, for instance, a relative, a partner in some kind of work, etc.

The Common Law enjoins that man must not: steal, tell false stories of others, court the wife of another, nor make trouble at a feast. It further enjoins that a man must respect the rights of individuals, give food to visitors, give aid to neighbors, and that parents shall teach children the old customs and legends, as well as correct them in order that they may grow up properly. 685 683 684 689 867

The Apayaos have a very complete system of social etiquette which might be characteristic of a high culture. It displays a nice sense of fitness and an innate kindliness of nature. Hispitable customs make the visitor's stay a happy one. There is even no embarrassing sense of indebtedness for gifts of service or materials to be expressed: for the people have no word meaning "thank you" in their dialect. When one goes on a journey, there is no word meaning "goodbye": no sad word of farewell. One just walks away as if he were going down to the river to take a bath. When he returns, even after a long absence there is no word of greeting. He is treated just as if he had only come back from taking his bath. As a matter of fact he may have; for it is the custom to take a bath in the last river crossed before reaching home. 576 192 515

The people keep their houses and surrounding grounds clean and neat. Clothing is kept washed, and daily baths in the river are taken. The bark of the *taplet* tree is used for cleansing purpose. 356 515 824

The Apayaos are remarkedly modest about their persons. A woman must not allow her legs to spread when squatting to a sitting position nor allow her tapis to go above her knees. Even when there are no 516 834 834

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869 to be able to do so; and the same story may be repeated several times
538 all over again on different occasions without the young people losing any interest in the matter.

869 The cry "*udŏdit*" (a story) is heard very often when the young
517 people have placed themselves in a position for slumber, and the ex-
538 clamation "*udŏditko*" (I have a story; literally: my story), emitted by an uninvited story-teller, is usually sufficient to gain him the
[273] attention of all present. Consequently Isneg tales are mostly bedtime stories; nevertheless it also happens that they are recited, this time mostly by men, at the opening of a jar of *bási* (alcoholic beverage obtained from the juice of the sugar cane), or rather during the absorption of its contents. On such occasions, whenever an old man begins to tell a story, the youngsters have no sooner got wind of the affair but they leave everything in order to come near and to listen all ears to these wonderful happenings of times gone by or of a world
[602] alien to their own. It may sometimes happen also that parents or
855 grandparents call their children or grandchildren together at the time of going to sleep in order to relate to them some traditional myth or legend: in this case, of course, the teaching should be called entirely formal.

869 How to look for omens and auguries and how to distinguish between
787 good and bad ones are both the subject of almost exclusively direct instruction. Parents and older brothers and sisters are the accepted
[602 purveyors of this knowledge, which to the Isneg is absolutely indis-
855] pensable if he wants to live in peace and beyond the power of malevolent imps and spirits.

E. MORAL EDUCATION

577 When reading books of travel, especially old ones, written by men
121 who spent a few days at the home of some primitive people, one usually meets with the statement that the latter seem to have no concept of truth and honesty, and one almost always meets with several concrete instances, which apparently prove the truth of that assertion. Not to go too far out of my way, I shall cite as an example a book that has to do almost immediately with the Philippine Islands. We read in the account of Magellan's travels written by Pigafetta that on a certain day, during his famous voyage which led to the discovery of our archipelago, the expedition landed at a place among a group of islands, the inhabitants of which boarded the vessels, laid hands on whatever took their fancy and ran away to hide among the bushes;

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for this reason Magellan gave that group of islands the name of Ladrones (Spanish, "thieves"), and to this day the name of Ladrone Islands may be found on the map. According to the same authority, cases of treachery and deceit were also very frequent among the inhabitants of the Philippines.

Now in my opinion, and probably in that of most other men who have resided for a sufficiently long time among more or less primitive peoples, all these concrete instances (and they may be increased by a thousand similar ones) do not shed any light on that part of the moral code of these peoples which refers to their relations with one another, strictly among themselves. They merely prove that they thought or think it quite consonant with right behavior to steal from the white man and to deceive him whenever the occasion presents itself. But this is far from meaning that stealing and lying in general are permitted by their own standard of morality.

In order to proceed with order and clearness, I shall try in the following paragraphs, first to give an idea of the moral code of the Isneg, and then to consider more in particular the motives that are proposed to the child and the methods of training in vogue among them; after that a few comparisons between theory and practice will show in how far such training is usually successful.

1. *The Moral Code*

I shall begin by making a preliminary remark which I deem to be of supreme importance: the Isneg moral code does not exactly coincide with the Christian one, and so, what is considered good by the Isneg may very often be very bad according to our own principles. Now, in the next few pages, I shall try to see good and bad through Isneg eyes, and I hope that on that account the reader will not credit me, a Catholic missionary, with a pagan standard of morality. I shall put on the garb of an Isneg moralist for a few moments merely to give a better perspective to the whole treatment of this very important subject.

My first talk will be about virtues and acts of virtue and their opposites; afterwards I shall consider some vices and sins more in detail.

"In order to be a good and decent Isneg you should be faithful in complying with all injunctions of the shamans, in offering the regular sacrifices according to tradition and custom, in observing all taboos, in looking for omens and auguries before starting on anything im-

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portant and whenever it is customary to do so; in a word, you should lead a good religious life. Indeed what can you expect from a man who does not live according to his convictions, or rather to the convictions of the generality of his tribesmen? Do you think that the spirits will leave you at rest if you do not do what is necessary, either to propitiate them or to put them to flight? Do you think you will be fortunate in your enterprises if you fail to observe, either the usual signs that will prevent you from entering upon dangerous enterprises, or the taboos which custom has told you not to transgress? It would be considered as the acme of bad behavior to live as a free-thinker in matters religious. You may say you do so to a stranger, you may appear not to believe our laws any more, when in the presence of an Ibanag,[2] otherwise he might laugh at you; but among us these things are very serious and they should be observed by all means. If you are a true Isneg, believe as an Isneg and practise your religion".

The Isneg, however, seem to be much less fanatical in matters religious than the Kankanay, the Bontok Igorot, and others. I have known Kankanay men to whip their Christian children for refusing to attend heathen sacrifices; such things would rarely, if ever, happen here. I shall come back to this again when comparing theory with practice.

"Headhunting is a glorious practice. If you are a real Isneg, you should take a few heads during your lifetime or at least help your companions in doing so. Never forego the occasion of participating in a raid planned by your friends, whether into the lowlands among Christian Iloko and Kagayan, or among Negritos, Kalinga and other Isneg at enmity with your people. If you have the opportunity to take the head of an enemy unawares, be it that of a woman or child, there you have a splendid occasion of becoming a *mĕñol*, a brave, without too much trouble and with very little danger. Not everybody has that chance, not everybody will become a brave, but you should at least try your very best to be one. What a glory

[2] Ibanag is the language of the Kagayan, but in an Isneg mouth the term means "anybody who is not an Isneg". What we express by saying "to become a Christian" is translated by the Isneg as "to become an Ibanag". It is almost impossible to convince them that an Isneg can become a Christian and remain an Isneg. Similar ideas obtain among the Christian tribes: they call themselves *Christiano* whatever tribe they belong to, and all pagans in their eyes are Igorot, Kalinga, Itneg or Isneg; once baptized the latter have ceased to be anything like that; they have become Christians pure and simple.

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for you if you can show the girls an *andôri* tattooed on your arm; will they not be eager to get the attentions of such a warrior? Will they not vie with one another in making themselves attractive and pleasing to him? Such a man will be renowned all over the country, and at every public *sây-âm* sacrifice he will recount his brave deeds. Even when he is tottering with old age, people will respect him as they will nobody else, and after he has long been dead, his name will still be pronounced with reverence and given to children as a remembrance of his great deeds, so that his spirit will continue to live on earth in the members of the younger generation who are called by his name. In the realm of the dead his soul will live encircled by the same aureole of a glorious and immortal fame. It is true that actually you can hardly aspire to such great glory: strangers have taken possession of the land, people who know nothing about Isneg heroism and justice, people who would punish you for such an act of courage, people who do not understand that an enemy has no rights, that his head is acceptable to the spirits. But we of the older generation, we at least should not abandon our glorious traditions; and if it might please the spirits or an all-powerful fate to return to us our lost freedom and rid us of constabulary and judges, then, yes, you should not forget that you are an Isneg, that a head is the most precious offering that you can make to the spirits, that taking the head of an enemy, whoever he be, whether dead or alive, will give you a crown not to be equalled by anything else. You know how often these last years we have been visited by locusts and famine. Whose fault is it? Nobody else's but the cursed Ibanags': they forbid us to propitiate the spirits who are craving for human heads, and what can the *anito* do but punish us for our negligence?"

A couple of years ago, a poor Negrito, Kalisto by name, who had just escaped from jail, from which he would have been released very soon as he was innocent of the crime imputed to him, was killed at Tawit by an Isneg, who gave the pygmy's threatening attitude as a pretext for killing him. But after the body had been disinterred and examined, it was found out that a part of the skull was lacking and that it had been severed from the rest by a cutting instrument: this proved to everybody's satisfaction that the case was a headhunting affair and nothing else.

"Every Isneg child should be obedient to its parents. As long as you are unmarried, you have the bounden duty to comply with the wishes of your parents, and not only with those of your parents, but

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593 also with those of your grandparents, of your elder brothers and sisters,
and so forth; in short, you should obey any relative of yours who
577 happens to be older than you are. Have you ever heard of a dutiful
576 Isneg child disregarding even the smallest wishes of his parents and elder relatives? Would it not be utter presumption on your part to prefer your own will to that of your elders? If you have relatives around that are younger than you are, brothers, sisters, nephews, nieces, cousins, and so on, then you also have a right to tell them what you want, and you are perfectly right in shifting the heaviest burdens upon their shoulders; but your own elders, listen to them. Obey your elders, and make younger people obey you, that is the Isneg law."

593 When going from Butaw to Ilocos in 1926, I personally assisted at
577 such a shifting of the burden to a younger one's shoulders, which was
576 a practical fulfilment of Isneg law and a very literal one at that. It
888 happened in the case of old *Balúkat*, who together with his son, already a married man, accompanied me on that journey and carried my baggage. Before we started, I had divided the whole load into two almost equal parts, in order to avoid all altercations and lest we suffer any unnecessary delay. But, before we left Butaw, *Balúkat* took away a generous portion of his own share and shifted it to that of his son. Later on, probably convinced that his own package was still a little heavy, he again took off a few articles and solemnly transferred them to the load of his son. On both occasions *Balúkat* gave us the reason for his conduct: the other man was his son and was still young and strong, while he himself was fast becoming old; and again, on both occasions, the younger man complied with the utmost submission and without showing the smallest sign of vexation, taking everything for granted and never losing the smile on his face.

"You should not only obey your parents, but also respect them. Now, with reference to this latter duty, remember that its scope is much wider than that of simple obedience. Everybody who is older than you deserves your respect, and so you owe it not only to your own relatives, but also to all persons who may be considered as your elders, even though they be not in the least related to you. Would it not be brazen effrontery on your part to be at all disrespectful to an old man or an old woman? It is true that sometimes they have certain whims that may perhaps look ridiculous to you, but although you should be inclined to laugh at their ravings, never appear to be doing so. If an older man or woman scold you, be careful never to raise your voice against him, but keep quiet, or if possible excuse

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yourself as best you can. Any kind of excuse will do in order to escape a thrashing or a severe scolding, provided it proves acceptable; but take care not to be caught lying: this could but add to the latter's resentment. To get out of a bad predicament a little deceit is not forbidden, but not everybody can use it with good results; so be careful about it".

Lately, when paying a visit to *Basílig* at Pansian, his daughters set the table (in the Isneg way, of course) for him, and partook of the food only after their father had finished his own meal, although this is not required by custom.

In general the Isneg have a high regard for their parents and elders, although in our eyes their conduct may sometimes seem to be lacking in outward signs of respect. Their standard of etiquette and politeness is not exactly the same as our own. An Isneg child calls its parents "father" and "mother", and a usual title of respect for aged people is *kakáy*, but for the rest it is not very demonstrative.

So, when an Isneg mother recently came to visit her son at my house, the other boys repeatedly told him that his mother was there, but he did not move in the least: the old woman had to go and look for him herself somewhere around the house. Nevertheless that boy had asked me on a former occasion to be allowed to stop going to school in order to help his widowed mother with the wages he would be able to earn that way.

To be convinced that Isneg children respect their elders, although most all outward signs common to our own code are usually absent, it is sufficient to observe their behavior and that of their elders, whenever something untoward has happened. Isneg children look like angels, if you compare their attitude and whole demeanor with that of older men and women, who shout and gesticulate and allow the whole neighborhood to know what happened, without having to go out of its way to listen to the conversation. Boys and girls usually keep quiet when their parents are angry, while in the case of older people it is a question of proving who has the loudest voice, the one that carries the farthest: among the Isneg, the biggest shouter usually gains the victory.

An unmannerly person is called *toxároñ*; this epithet, however, is only applied as far as I know, to a person who drinks directly from the *urúd*, a bamboo that is used for fetching water, instead of using a cup.

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576 When approaching a house he wants to enter, the Isneg usually says something aloud to the inmates of the house, just to let them know that he is there and indirectly to tell them to keep their dogs at bay; but for the rest he enters without more ado: the ladder being in place will show him that somebody is at home, and if there are no signs of taboos of any kind, things he very well knows and understands, he has free access to the house. On taking leave, he says: "*Mawlydin*, I go now (*mawlkamiyin*, we go now)" or "*Mapánadin*, I go away [276] now (*mapánkamiyin*, we go away now)". When meeting people on the road or at some other place outside the house, a polite Isneg says: "*Awán xawádmo?* (Have you no betel pepper?)" or something similar with reference to chewing betel; in some cases he asks for it, in others he proffers it. Such is the usual salutation all over Apayaw.

576 858 Among the Isneg the code of etiquette is indeed reduced almost to its most simple expression; their respect is mostly of the rough kind: general principles, few details. Youngsters are usually allowed to mix freely in the conversation of older people, without having the semblance of being at all forward, and they will rarely be rebuked for doing so. The old fellows will answer them most of the time just as earnestly as if they were of their own age. Nevertheless a certain respect, which may seem a very vague thing to define, is always required and rarely absent.

577 609 But let us go back to our Isneg code of morals.

"If you want to be considered as a really good Isneg, be loyal to your friends. Love your friends, hate your enemies: that is our golden rule. Help all Isneg who are not an enmity with your settlement whenever you can. For instance, if two of you have to cross a river and your companion cannot swim, see to it that you save him from drowning, if necessary. Whenever there is question of taking revenge, stand by your own people; their quarrels should be yours. If they need you as a witness in their defense, do not fail them. Ibanag justice has been imposed upon us, but never mind, save your friends from jail by all possible means: lying before an Ibanag judge is no sin, provided it redounds to your own good or to that of your friends. Rather share the punishment of a companion than save yourself by furnishing state's evidence. We have our own ways of administering justice, the Ibanag do not understand them; why should we submit to their ways imposed upon us by force? Outwardly of course you should comply lest worse befall you; but never forget that you have to put your own people above everybody else. If you

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want to do a favor to an Ibanag, you are allowed to do so of course; but in this you are entirely free. What right might he possibly have to it? Is he not an outsider?"

Judges all over the Mountain Province could cite hundreds of examples of how little the natives can be relied upon to tell the truth, whenever there is question of one of their own. Once a Kankanay (and the case would be as typical here in Apayaw as it was there), a good friend of mine, asked me to lend him a peso: he would go to the neighboring town for me and carry whatever I wanted, paying his debt in that way. As I had heard his testimony only a few days before in the court of first instance, where he had told the brazenest lies without flinching, in order to save one of his townsmen, I told him that I little relied on his promises, because I had heard how nicely he had told the truth some days before. At once he retorted: "Oh, yes, but that was in court; I should never lie to you though".

It has often been said that a native of this province would let you die rather than help you when you are in difficulties, unless he is compelled to do so; and I know of many instances that would go to support the truth of that statement, but as far as I know, he acts that way only toward other people, not toward his own. Many years ago a Christian Visayan was dying in a town almost exclusively inhabited by Kankanay; he could easily have been saved by being brought to a neighboring hospital, but no people were found who were willing to carry the poor man. If no compulsion had been used in order to force them to bring him to the doctor, they would have let him die without mercy. Nevertheless one should not lose sight of the fact that in this case the means necessary for the recovery of the sick man were quite extraordinary and had perhaps never been heard of, or at least were not believed to be efficient by any ordinary Kankanay, so that it may be doubted if they always would render such a service even to one of their own people. As far as I know the Isneg, such an occurrence would be attended by the same circumstances among them too.

"A man should be grateful for a service done to him. After all this is only a case of loyalty to friends. If somebody has helped you out when you were in difficulties, do not forget it, but do him a good turn at the first opportunity. Never omit repaying anybody who may have done good to you. Whenever the people bring you gifts according to custom, be sure to notice the amount given by each person, and remember it, so that you may give him something equal

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577 431 on a similar occasion. Gifts as such do not exist, a gift is something akin to a loan: what is given to-day should be returned some future day. Nevertheless there is a difference which you will understand presently. If a person is ungrateful to you and, instead of showing his appreciation of your help, repays you with ingratitude and does what is harmful to you, this may be a sufficient reason for revenging yourself, but do not remind him of your past kindness toward him: this would not only be very disagreeable to him, but it might give him a pretext for thinking himself in the right when he is quarreling with you. If you remind somebody of his debt of gratitude toward you, you make him ashamed and so exasperate him; he knows it all right or should know it anyhow; it is not for you to tell him about it. Do not say that in such a case you are simply doing what any creditor does, when he asks for the payment of a debt; no, this is quite different: to the return of what you lent, you have full right; but to gratitude, none. You helped him freely; let him remember his duty about it without the need of being told. Among us a loan is supposed to be asked back; nobody borrows anything without the tacit agreement that he will be requested to return it at some future time; this cannot be compared with the question of helping somebody in need and reminding him of the fact afterwards. Gratitude is never obligatory toward the Ibanag, especially toward those in authority. Is it not rather the reverse that is true? Is it not rather for them to be thankful to us for allowing them to rule us undisturbed? Is it not rather the Ibanag who have to be grateful to us for accepting their ministrations?"

577 609

602 577 A native Isneg has recently been appointed teacher in an agglomeration belonging to the municipal district of Kabugaw. He rarely has anything out of his monthly salary left for himself, as the bulk of it goes to his relatives, helping them in their studies, paying their taxes, etc. The reason is that he wants to repay them now for the sacrifices they imposed upon themselves when he needed money while at school. And such cases are far from rare.

609 577 [276] On the other hand, while I was living among the Kankanay, at a place where no sanitary inspectors were residing and where the Government furnished me with medicines for free distribution among the natives, more than once after I had bandaged a poor fellow's arm or else had poured medicine on some wound or sore, the patient would simply ask me for a few leaves of tobacco. Gratitude? Well, this had to be on my side, because the poor fellow showed his belief

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in the power of my drugs instead of following exclusively his own superstitions. At least I inferred from his conduct that this was his state of mind; and I believe I was not far from the truth. Similar cases are frequent also among the Isneg: doctors and sanitary inspectors know all too well about them.

"Be generous toward your friends. A miser is abhorred among us. If you bring down a wild boar or deer in the forest, share your good luck with your relatives and friends. These things were not worked for by you; fate brought them into your hands. If you have tobacco, share it with your friends; be a generous companion to every Isneg. When you offer a sacrifice be not stingy with the *bási*, and give everybody who happens to come along his share of rice and viands. Would you be happy if somebody prevented you from participating in a feast? Would you like to be excluded at the distribution of food and drink? Never cause your companions to say that you *umaxáwa* (or *iaxáwa*, "to put away dainties when a visitor is seen approaching the house, lest one should have to let him have a share in them") or *gumisdd* (to close the doors at the appearance of a stranger while eating some delicious food, for the same reason): these are very opprobrious terms. With reference to the Ibanag, remember that those in authority have come here to help us, and more especially the white man: he has unbounded riches, and he has come here for the evident purpose of spending it upon us. Even though some of us are considered rich among ourselves, they are poor when compared with him. Let him pay double the price for whatever he needs. Is he not rich beyond anything you can imagine? Do not exclude him from your feasts, if he wants to participate in them, but expect him to be generous toward you in all transactions and business affairs."

Kadáw, who is considered the richest man in Apayaw, has come to my house more than once in order to sell articles which he could not get rid of elsewhere, and he usually charged us twice the regular price. When we told him that he is a rich man, which by the way he likes to hear very much, and that he at least should remember how we feed many of his people without remuneration, when we told him that he should help us in order to be merciful to the poor Isneg instead of taking advantage of our good will, he invariably retorted by saying that we have money galore, and what should we do with it except distribute it to the Isneg. Is this not the reason why we live among them? And *Kadáw* is not the only Isneg who entertains such an opinion.

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574 "Every Isneg should be renowned for his hospitality. Except in case of taboos, never close your gate to a wayfarer; give him a place at your hearth, give him a jar to cook his food in, allow him to sleep in your house; if you are eating, invite him to partake of your meal. Such is the rule. His ordinary needs should always be looked after, that is, all his wants which it does not cost you too much to supply. If your wife shows an inhospitable disposition, and you know facts that positively prove it, then you have a sufficient reason for divorcing her. No woman who refuses a guest the ordinary courtesy of receiving him hospitably should be allowed to share your home. A hospitable woman is an ornament to the house; an inhospitable Isneg is a disgrace to the race."

574 609 Nevertheless the Isneg are usually considered by outsiders as less hospitably disposed than most other inhabitants of northern Luzon. While among other tribes the best things they have are never too good for a guest, the Isneg are comparatively stingy in that respect: they rarely provide a guest with viands to eat with his rice, even though they have a sufficient amount of them at hand, except of course some kinds of vegetables and other eatables that can be found all around without the least exertion. Or is this due again to their evidently distinct way of treating members of other tribes, especially Kagayan? It has been told me indeed very plainly by several Isneg that with the Ibanag, you could do almost no wrong, and that almost everything was allowed with them. I myself have generally been received very kindly by all Isneg, but usually more so by natives who had travelled around and come in contact with other people. At Madatag an old man once called me in and killed a chicken for me: "This is the way", he said, "an honorable guest should be received; I know it, as I have traveled very extensively; those other Isneg, benighted people, they do not know how to treat a guest decently". And so the apparently less hospitable mind of the Isneg may perhaps be ascribed simply to invincible ignorance, instead of to stinginess or to lack of love for the Ibanag.

577 628 [672] "Revenge is sweet to every Isneg. Never let an injury pass by unrevenged. Much has been heard from the Ibanag about forgiveness; that term does not belong to our vocabulary. An Isneg who fails to exact full satisfaction for every misdeed is a coward. If somebody who belongs to an enemy village does you some harm, you have the right to revenge yourself upon anyone belonging to the same village: in such cases we recognize solidarity of guilt. A male-

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factor should never remain unpunished, even though he be of your own kindred; although in the latter case the sacking of his house and properties will usually be sufficient, without having to resort to bloodshed; and then also there will necessarily be no solidarity, except perhaps in the case of his near relatives. An Isneg who allows an injury to pass unpunished has not the blood of the *méñal* (brave) flowing in his veins. Actually of course we cannot always take the law in our own hands, and so we have to resort to the tribunal of the Ibanag. Now you should never fail to do so, whenever there are no other means available for revenging yourself with impunity".

A couple of years ago, an Isneg from Tawit, whose father was supposed to have been killed at Ripang years ago, murdered a Ripang woman at Kabugaw, under the eyes of the constabulary, on the occasion of a garden day celebration. The murder occurred in the evening, when the woman,—who even then was still too young to have had any knowledge of the murder of the Tawit man's father except perhaps from hearsay, and who consequently could not have had the least participation in it,—was sitting as a guest in the house of one of her people, a policeman, who at the time resided at Kabugaw. She was leaning with her back against the wall of the house, when the Tawit man, who stood outside in the dark, pushed a sharpened bamboo rod through the interstices and pierced the woman's side, with the inevitable result that the victim died after a few hours.

Not so long ago our friend *Kadáw* of Lettuakan, who had been badly injured by *Kinagúrān* of Talifugu in the heroic times now seemingly gone forever, one of his hands having been almost totally disabled, came to pay me a visit. He had a few eatables for sale and wanted to get a comparatively large share of the white man's money. At a certain moment our conversation ran in the following vein:

I: *Kinagúrān* is your friend, is he not?

Kadáw: Yes, indeed, we are good friends now.

I: But suppose the soldiers would leave the district.

I had barely finished my sentence when the old headhunter sprang up, his face beaming, his eyes radiant with a fiendish joy, and, swinging his arms, his hands fingering invisible weapons, he exclaimed: "Oh, then you would see some fighting indeed".

"Never pick a quarrel with a friend: such things should be avoided; but in case of somebody wanting to quarrel with you, go ahead. Nobody will keep his peace if he thinks he is right. Would it not be utter cowardice to keep quiet and let the thing go by? No, shut the

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577 slanderer's mouth at all price. 'Keep quiet for the sake of peace',
578 the Ibanag will say. For the sake of peace! What kind of an Isneg
558 is he who knows anything about peace under the circumstances?
Keep quiet, if you cannot do otherwise, all right; but there is more than one day in a year: try to find an occasion to settle your quarrels, do not dismiss the matter from your mind until your right has been recognized. Did you ever meet a coward who became rich or influential? And he is a coward who would keep silent in a quarrel when the right is on his side. A few people will continue the fight, although evidently in the wrong: this should not be; if wrong, let go; but if right, go ahead. Nevertheless be careful not to use your headax indiscriminately. The best thing to do is to keep it out of the way, lest you do rashly what you would have to repent of afterwards.
[628] Indeed, you might kill or injure one of your friends and in this way start a series of blood feuds. Remember that the right remains on your side only as long as no blood flows; but when killing or wounding results from your quarrel, the offended party gets the right on its side and will not fail to revenge the offense, and with reason."

578 Last year *Kaddw*'s son divorced one of his wives, a relative of
558 *Pa-rdy*, the "presidente" or mayor of Tawit. The woman married
556 another man, and her parents failed to give back to *Kaddw* all the articles given them at the time of her first marriage; a few of them
627 were kept: hence a terrible quarrel. *Pa-rdy* and *Kaddw*, both influential among their people, met at Kabugaw at the invitation of the lieutenant-governor. For days the square resounded with the shouts of *Kaddw*, who being perhaps the richer and certainly the older of the two, hoped to gain the victory by showing the greatest daring. He even went so far as to challenge the other party to wage war for a year in order to see in whose favor the dispute would be settled. *Pa-rdy*, however, kept to his rights, he did not move an inch from his evidently strong position, and after several days of angry words and much ostentation of bravery on both sides, the quarrel was finally settled by the lieutenant-governor himself in favor of *Pa-rdy*.

Kaddw at the time made himself ridiculous all over the district for trying to defend a cause that was lost from the beginning. Nevertheless very few would have dared to tell him so to his face: *Kaddw* is very much feared, he is a rich man, and the whims of such people should not be openly ridiculed; but everybody was more than con-
578 vinced that *Kaddw's* behavior was not what it should be. He clearly
558 offended against the recognized Isneg code, and *Pa-rdy*, besides getting
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"An Isneg boy must be active and diligent; no girl likes a lazy boy, and a wife will run away from her husband if he is a sluggard. Do your part of the ordinary work, as required by Isneg custom, and besides try to earn some money now and then in order to be able to buy garments for yourself, and a piece of cloth or a trinket for the girl you love or the wife you married. In this, however, you are not obliged to choose the hardest way: for instance, if you have a good amount of rice in your granary, you may have either two girls or your wife pound it, so that you can go to sell it to the Ibanag; that is an easy means of earning money. Do heavy work only when there is no other way out, but the work you have to do, attend to it and do it well; except of course when you have to work for wages somewhere for the Ibanag or when you have to furnish free labor to the Government. In such cases you must not unduly tire yourself; it will be time enough for you to move when they are coming to watch you. They will rarely fail to do so anyhow. So why should you make unnecessary exertions when unobserved? For the rest do not give your own people a pretext for calling you an idler. After all your duties are not so manifold; the greatest part of the year you have almost nothing to do except loiter around and amuse yourself. But then, you are men, and why should there be women in the world if they did not take the lion's share whenever there is question of routine work? The woman is the recognized breadwinner; a woman may practically rule the home, impose her will and dominate everything with her tongue, but the husband is the real king, his wife is his servant, she it is who has to provide him with food. A woman will ever be inferior to a man in all respects: her duty is to work, his to exact service. It should never be said about an Isneg girl or wife that she is not active and industrious, no boy will marry a lazy girl, and a husband will divorce a slothful wife. The woman is made for work: when she comes home, after having passed the whole morning laboring in the field, she will have to cook her husband's food, feed the pigs, pound the rice, clean the house, and so on, even though her husband may have been doing nothing for the whole day: he is a man, that is his right. When still young, you of the female sex have your hours of leisure, you are allowed to play occasionally and to amuse yourself; but once you are married, you have to work, you will be a wife and a mother, and for this reason obliged to work for your husband and for your children, and to provide them with their livelihood"

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"As soon as an Isneg boy knows the meaning of shame, he should wear a G-string. From then on never go around stark naked, at least under ordinary circumstances. But if there is danger of your clothes getting wet, you can take them off of course: for instance, when mounting a raft, and sometimes also when riding a canoe, more especially when you have to tow the latter and enter the water at every turn, or when you have to cross rivers and brooks that are comparatively deep. You should not even take the trouble to put your G-string off and on at every step, provided of course you are alone or among your own people, and in the latter case provided you are circumcised, otherwise your companions would laugh at you. It is not shameful for a circumcised man to expose his genitalia and to walk along in a state of complete nudity, when there is a reason for doing so; nobody will be scandalized at that. Be very careful though never to appear naked when women may be espying you; there is no excuse for any man to expose his naked body to the gaze of women. That should be avoided by all means: would not these chatterboxes go around and tell everybody about it and make you the laughing stock of all the girls of the neighborhood?

"A girl should be modest. Do not fail to wear your G-string under your tapis as soon as you have attained a certain development: indeed, it might happen that your outer garment gets loose, and even in your ordinary movements it might sometimes be hard not to bare your body indecently, if no G-string is worn. A woman should always wear all her lower garments, except of course when she has to cross a deep stream or to take a bath, but then she should put them on again immediately afterwards. However, if men, her husband excepted, or strangers are around, she should prefer to wear wet clothes rather than take them off even for a single moment. Grown-up girls should always wear their jacket; they should never expose their breasts to the gaze of anybody. If you are a married woman, you need not be so meticulous; but cover yourself though when leaving the house, at least when strangers are around. Exposing the breasts from under the jacket is always allowed when giving a baby the breast; nor is it usually shameful to leave the breasts partially uncovered, when you are carrying a child or when a little one is otherwise present. Take this as a rule: except in the case of water sports and so on, and in the exclusive presence of persons of your own sex, never expose your genitalia, and, if you are as yet unmarried, your breasts. For the rest, you need not be very

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577 834 291 particular, although it would certainly be utterly immodest for any grown-up woman purposelessly to take off her tapis completely, even though seen only from behind; and going around half-naked is not to be recommended, even to a married woman, when in the presence of outsiders."

In 1927, while on my way to Karagawan, I followed the course of the river which I had to cross at every turn; so my Isneg carrier took off his G-string at the first crossing and did not put it on again, except on a certain occasion, when we were approaching a house. "Wait a moment", he said, "I shall put on my G-string, as who knows but there may be some women at home there espying me".

At the teachers' house I had a talk with the mother of one of the Iloko teachers, and, in the course of the conversation, she related to me how astonished the Isneg women of that place had been, when she had told them that she wore no G-string. "But suppose your saya came off, would not your genitalia be exposed to view?" they had exclaimed, with horror painted all over their faces. The Isneg have a special qualifying term for an Isneg woman who wears no G-string: she is called *pañńáw*.

577 834 291 177 Several years ago, there came an order, I believe from the Bureau of Education, that all school children should pass a physical examination before the physician of the district; but very soon the order had to be revoked, as otherwise it was feared that an uprising would occur among our Mountain people. The Isneg in particular could find no plausible reason for any man causing a girl to take off her garments in his presence.

836 577 684 "All Isneg boys should be careful not to render a girl pregnant: this is one of the delinquencies that are abhorred more than anything else among the Isneg. You may be inclined to sow your wild oats; that is but natural, but here you have to look out. You should never under any pretext impregnate a girl whom you could not marry afterwards, and even though you could make her your wife, it would still be a dangerous thing to do; suppose some obstacle comes in the way, you know the consequences; you know very well that the relatives of the offended girl will get the *awát*: they will raid your house and carry away your precious jars, your beads and all that is valuable. There is no mercy for a boy who has committed a crime like that; so do not be rash: fornication is a dangerous thing. When you go to court the girls (*mamabáy*) in the evening, use love charms and try to win the girl you love; to force her against

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her consent would be utter recklessness or, rather, out of the question: you would never escape unscathed from the place of your crime. For the rest be careful; even if the girl consents, always remember what pregnancy brings in its wake; so the surest way is to keep oneself free from such entanglements.

"Girls should never be very familiar with young men. Boys will tempt you with fine words and beautiful promises, they will bring you clothes and trinkets as gifts, but beware. Never give yourself over to any boy at night, never allow him to touch you indecently when he comes to talk to you in the evening. Do not even allow him to finger your breasts: all this is dangerous play. Just think what it would mean to have a child before marriage; would that not be an eternal shame? And just imagine the scolding you would get from your parents, the turmoil in which the whole settlement would be thrown, and the difficulty you would encounter from now on in looking for a husband. You are allowed to marry young, so let everything take its usual course. Boys will aways be boys; besides they are men, and so they are allowed a certain freedom; but you are a girl, you are a woman, and in your case nothing is allowed. An Isneg girl should never be a flirt. The boys will try to play with you; it is not for you to allow them to do so. Always show your resentment, when they have touched you the wrong way or been otherwise too familiar with you"

To touch a girl's breasts is *magkabbôl* in Isneg, and it is said only of men. The existence of a special term like that serves to show that this must be something like a favorite sport among the Isneg. The following anecdote will help to prove the truth of that statement. On a certain occasion an Isneg boy was explaining to me a native term whose meaning was "purpose, intention", and as he could hardly do so without illustrating it by an example, he told me what follows: "Suppose you touch a girl's breasts and she is angry at you, then you say: 'I did not do it intentionally' ", and here he used the term in question.

Chastity is certainly very strictly imposed upon unmarried people, or rather upon people who are not yet engaged, but from the Isneg point of view and with reference to young men, it should rather be defined: not to do anything that might render a girl pregnant. Not that the Isneg know any contraceptive measures, but that the pregnancy of a girl is considered as the thing to be avoided, not fornication as such. Both are very nearly related to one another of

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tunate if it stopped at that, as the whole affair usually became a *casus belli*.

This whole state of affairs tends very much to make one believe that solitary vice is considered as lawful and not at all forbidden to young men. One day while listening to a conversation among Isneg boys, I heard them talk about flashlights, which at the time had a very great vogue and were very much sought after. The youngsters in question wanted such a light in order to find their way when going to have sexual intercourse with girls in the evening: this was literally what they said. But would they really dare do it so often as they seemed to imply? In many cases would it not be rather to indulge themselves in company with the girls, without always taking the risk of making them pregnant?

[177] [833]

On a similar occasion I saw a young man stretch himself out upon a heap of sand and mimick the conjugal act in the presence of several other young men who merely smiled at his behavior.

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Would it be possible for young men to live chastely on such a principle namely, that the only crime in that line is making a girl pregnant? And this seems to be the Isneg view about the matter. With girls, I repeat it, the code is much stricter: they are allowed nothing. They should conserve their body pure and undefiled, even from the mere contact of young men. It is true that the only punishment, in case of pregnancy, would be a severe scolding, but their conduct is censured whenever something untoward happens, and besides the ultimate result, that of being rejected as a prospective bride by any decent young man, must certainly serve as a powerful deterrent.

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"Honesty is an imperative virtue for every Isneg. 'Stealing should be loathed by all right-minded people. Never touch the property of others, do not take what does not belong to you. Why should you covet your neighbor's goods? Did you work in order to obtain them? Would you like others to rob you of the fruit of your labor? Another man's property should always be safe in your hands. Never allow anybody to suspect you of being dishonest; a thief is branded with an indelible mark that will make people distrust him at his mere approach. Never destroy the property of your neighbor; you have no right to do so: revenge would quickly follow your rash deed. If you find something that does not belong to you, give it back to the owner, it is still his, unless of course you know positively that it has been abandoned. Should the owner find his lost goods hidden in your

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577 possession. he will rightfully suppose you to be a thief. Anything
421 that can be found in the forest is the property of the first man who
685 can lay hands upon it: so if you locate bees on a tree and see that the latter has been marked, leave them, they are not yours to take any more, the person who marked the tree will sooner or later come to claim
577 his property. Pay your debts faithfully, never forget about them.
426 The heirs of a deceased person inherit his debts as well as his property, and the creditor will appear some day to ask payment from their
686 hands. In case of a raid upon the house of a culprit,—for instance, when a girl has been made pregnant, or when a married woman has returned to her parents whether against the will of her husband or because the latter rightfully divorced her for adultery, etc., and her parents refuse to give back to the offended husband what he gave them at the time of his marriage, or when somebody has been killed among people who are on friendly terms with one another,—then of course, if you are a relative of the offended party, you are free to rob the house of all its valuables: this is not stealing, it is simple justice.

577 "You should not be so strict, however, with reference to the Ibanag:
609 almost anything is allowed when you deal with them. Plain stealing
421 of course should be avoided, but for the rest it would be hard to qualify anything by the name of injustice, when the Ibanag are in ques-
426 tion. Here, nevertheless, you should make a distinction: you may have good friends among them or they may be your guests, and then
437 of course strictly respect them and keep away from their property.
686 But, deceit in transactions, escaping the payment of a debt, and so on, which would be downright dishonesty if done among ourselves,
685 are just a sign of cleverness on your part, when the Ibanag are concerned. A good Isneg is strictly just with all his friends, with all the people of every village at peace with his own; enemies have no rights in the eyes of an Isneg, and the rights of the Ibanag are far from having the same sacredness as those of your own people".

685 Two years ago a Tubungan (near Abbil) man had been robbed of
628 a few of his valuables, while he was away on a trading expedition into Ilocos. After much investigating and lying in wait near the
[694] house of the suspected thief, the owner had become convinced of the latter's guilt, and immediately brought in a complaint, as the ac-
177 cused denied any participation in the theft. I met the plaintiff and his father, on their way to Kabugaw, in the municipal building of Namaltugan. Talking about the matter, I asked them what would

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have happened in the glorious times before the arrival of the soldiery. They quickly retorted that it would have been a case of killing the thief without more ado, from which of course an interminable series of blood feuds would have ensued. I then asked them what they thought the best way to settle such differences, the old or the new one. Both agreed that the actual way of deciding the matter was far superior to the other one. Then, I said this, seemingly as an afterthought: "But among us, to tell the truth, the old days were happy ones, weren't they?" "Of course they were", both exclaimed at once, "see how things would have been done formerly", and both of them picked up a shield and a headax, and started a mock fight. They were so enthusiastic about it that we, the onlookers, had to make room for our two warriors, in order to escape getting a cut from the axes they were brandishing: the old Isneg spirit was seen to have been revived at once; and this was merely for show, there was nothing serious about it of course.

"Truthfulness is a virtue that an Isneg should never lack. You will never amount to anything if you are known as a liar; people will always distrust you. Is there anything more shameful than being known as a man whose word can never be relied upon? Especially when talking about a third person, beware of being a slanderer: this would lead to quarrels, and quarrels would lead to blows or worse, and you would be in the wrong all the time. A little lie in order to make mirth and bring joy to the company, never mind; but be careful to truthfully inform anybody who might take the thing seriously, lest harmful consequences follow. It is perfectly right of course to save yourself or your friend from a bad predicament, even through lying, if that is the surest way; but for the rest cling to truth, and you will be respected all your life. You know very well how much you would resent being told to your face: "*Busidmo* (you lie)"; so never give anybody an occasion to throw such an insult at your head. With your enemies of course, and especially with the Ibanag, it is different, you may do anything to them; and they know very well that they cannot rely upon you. Why should you have any duties toward these people? They have no rights among us, not even that of being told the truth. A friendly Ibanag may be helped, no doubt about that, but then it will be done, not because you are obliged to tell him the truth, but because you want to be faithful to a friend. Do not mislead a wayfarer though, except in case you have the intention of securing his head or taking some

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577 lawful revenge for a former injury: a traveler who passes your
609 village is a guest more than anything else, so show him the way with
truth and exactitude, whenever you are questioned about it. In a
683 word, be truthful, whenever you have no grave reason to act other-
574 wise; and, with reference to your enemies and the Ibanag, deceit is
usually lawful: only special circumstances might oblige you to stick
to truth even in their case."

576 Isneg know little of what we understand by courtesy: they rarely
come out of their house, for instance, to show you the way. If you
201 ask them for information, they usually give it to you, truthfully
indeed, but without taking the trouble to appear and show the
direction by gestures, which would ordinarily be much clearer, at
least to a complete stranger, than mere oral indications. Under
this respect a Negrito is generally much more correct, at least
according to our own point of view.

Now let us consider a few vices and crimes more in particular.

682 "Never kill or wound a friend: this is a crime that calls for venge-
ance. Perhaps he was far from right in sustaining the quarrel, but
577 you inevitably put yourself in the wrong by resorting to bloodshed.
A homicide or any kind of severe wounding among friends brings in
its wake at least the customary looting of the house of the culprit.
So beware, control yourself in time, before it is too late to repent.
When you are engaged in some dangerous business,—for instance,
when hunting,—always be prudent and see that no harm befalls any
person. Death by violence is a terrible thing; bloodshed is never
allowed among people who are not at enmity with one another".

672 Two examples will show very clearly how little the Isneg care
about intention or purpose; the result of your act is the only thing
they consider: if you killed a person, it is wholly immaterial whether
you did it intentionally or not, whether it was premeditated or done
by accident, whether you could have prevented it or not, whether
there was culpable negligence on your part or not.

682 Last year an Isneg soldier from Musimut went to hunt at night
with some friends and relatives. He handed his gun to one of his
672 kinsmen living at Nagbabalayan, gave him the necessary instructions,
and then went the other way to drive the game in the direction of
the man with the gun. When the latter fired at the deer that ran
toward him, he killed the soldier instead: the poor fellow must have
lost all sense of direction or forgotten about the place where he left
his gun; anyhow he died after a few moments. No sooner was the

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deed done but the relatives of the dead soldier mustered together, went to Nagbabalayan, entered the house of the poor involuntary killer and rifled whatever they found of value.

A few months ago at Nagilian (municipal district of Namaltugan), a man ascended a coconut tree in order to gather a few nuts. Unfortunately, while he was dropping them on the ground, a child came running along and received the thump of one of the huge nuts on its head: the child fell down of course and lay unconscious. So soon as the parents and relatives heard about the whole affair, all head-axes were unsheathed, and terrible things might have happened, if the sanitary inspector, who was present at the time, had not assured the people that the child would live.

According to the Christian code, God rewards or punishes thoughts as well as deeds. Ordinary human justice does not bother about mere intentions that are not followed by deeds, but it recognizes the act of a man as a human act, it distinguishes an act done intentionally from one done involuntarily, it differentiates between culpable negligence and unavoidable accident. The Isneg code knows no such distinctions: an act is an act; the result is the only thing taken into consideration. The Isneg language has terms for "doing purposely, intention", and so on; but in practice the fact that something was done unintentionally makes little difference: it is not the guilt of a person that is considered, but only the result of his act.

"Adultery is a shameful crime, especially in women. An Isneg man should content himself with the wife or wives who have been paid for: avoid mixing with other women, such habits bring only woe in their wake. Take care never to make a young girl pregnant; whether the person who commits such a mistake be a married man or a young unmarried man, the result is the same, so I have not to insist upon the matter. Be not less careful when the woman in question is married: to excite the anger of her husband may have dire consequences. If you are caught in the act, who will blame the offended man for killing you? The right will ever remain on his side.

"An unfaithful wife is a thorn in the flesh; keep to your husband, never allow any other man to share your affections. No true Isneg will stand an adulteress: your husband will divorce you and you will have no recourse, your parents will be in duty bound to give back the price they received for you. Who will respect a woman who respects neither herself nor her husband? No excuse will save you from infamy. Your husband may be inclined occasionally to have

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the fact that I had used his daughter. Can you beat it?" Needless to say, the conversation was practically a soliloquy on the part of the policeman. I do not believe though that his action was consonant with the Isneg code of morals; but this incident, and especially the answer of the girl's father, shows clearly how different is the state of man and woman among the Isneg, with reference to sex morality.

It should be added here that the father would probably have objected much more strongly to the man who took such liberties with his daughter, if he had not been a policeman. The latter are supposed to be more or less immune and may take liberties not accorded to others, probably on account of their position. Isneg in general resent that: I have heard them say so more than once; but they are afraid to object too strongly, and so policemen mostly do what they like: their reputation is far from clean all over the district, although I do not believe that they are all equally blamable. Later on I heard that, at the time of the above occurrence, the policeman had intended to make the girl his second wife, an engagement which had been broken off at a subsequent date.

It may be noted in this connection that among the Isneg a man, whether single or married, who commits adultery with a married woman (*manaládag*) is thought to be driven to his crime by some evil spirit. In such a case his guilt would be considerably lessened in our point of view; not so, however, in that of the Isneg: in his eyes, it is only the ultimate act that counts, as has been stated before.

"A fit of anger usually makes a man ridiculous in the eyes of the bystanders. It is true that when there is question of a rightful quarrel, you should never fail to sustain it; to be meek and patient under the circumstances would be mere cowardice. Nevertheless everybody is inclined to laugh at the behavior of an angry man: so, although you be strictly in your right, try to control your anger sufficiently not to cause others to laugh at you.

"You know our belief with reference to people who are wont to laugh at the defects of other persons (*magdóla*): if such people are married, they will be punished by having their children suffer the same defect; if they are still young, the children who will be born to them in the future will be misshapen (*pákaś*).

"A certain amount of *básí* is not to be despised, but drinking to excess is always bad. Who respects a drunken man? Besides, think about the consequences: quarrels, fights, bloodshed, revenges, etc. As soon as you feel that you have enough, go away and sleep it off, lest you commit regrettable deeds.

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577 574 261 you commit regrettable deeds. Gluttony is contemned by everybody; never keep all the best viands for yourself alone, and be careful not to eat to excess.

577 626 521 152 "Beware of talking about your neighbor's defects in his absence (*maglibá-*; in Iloko, *aglibák* means "to hide, to conceal, not to confess, not to manifest"); it may come to his ears; and in such a case, just imagine how he will feel about it. Do you expect him to forgive you without more ado, and to continue his friendly relations with you? "Do not be a talebearer; such men are the curse of the community: most quarrels take their origin in this vice. Anyone who is known to be addicted to it, at once loses all consideration among decent men, and his company is avoided as much as possible.

"Never boast about your virtues, your possessions, your actions, except on the occasion of a *sây-ám* sacrifice, when every brave Isneg should recount his glorious deeds for the edification of youth. A man who is puffed up with self-conceit and vainglory is despised by all. The ignorant may perhaps respect him or rather be afraid of him, but the general public scorns him. You know what it means to be called *mukiddyaw* (proud) or *napañláw* (braggart); so never give occasion to anybody to fling such an epithet at your head. [578]

"Beware of being jealous of your neighbor's prosperity or good luck. If fate or the spirits have been less generous to you, that is no reason for being envious of others who are more fortunate than yourself. Ambition is good, jealousy is bad".

2. Motives Proposed to Young

000 Now I shall discard my rôle of Isneg moralist, and say a few words about the motives that are proposed to the youngsters. A good many points have already been hinted at in the preceding treatment of the Isneg moral code, so here I shall merely resume and complete or elucidate my former statements.

626 It should be said in general that, except when referring to religious, magical or superstitious practices as such, and to the duty of head-hunting, no religious or supernatural motives are proposed to the children in order to get them to obey the moral law, nor are the children ever taught to expect rewards or punishments from supernatural beings. One might perhaps be inclined to accept a few other cases as possible exceptions, for instance that of scoffers referred to above; but it should be remembered that even in such cases, the Isneg never mention directly the intervention of any supernatural beings.

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867 Loyalty to friends and generosity are also made the subject of special teaching on the part of Isneg parents. Occasions do not fail in which the latter explain to their offspring the ugliness of avariciousness and of lack of open-handedness.

867 576 Gratitude, however, is rarely mentioned. Does an Isneg perhaps consider this virtue as a necessary sequel of one's duty of being loyal to a friend in need? Whatever goes on in their mind, the Isneg are certainly not very demonstrative about it. They seem to take a kindness among friends as a matter of course, and they are perhaps not very far from the truth. I am thoroughly convinced though that gratitude is very well known and also practised among our Isneg, but a white man would sometimes prefer to see or hear a little more about it. I repeat it, the Isneg are over-stingy in their expressions of gratitude, and formulas such as "thank you" and so on are unknown to them.

On the other hand the duty of hospitality is very expressly taught to every Isneg boy and girl, and the consequences that are liable to result from lack of hospitality on the part of an Isneg married woman are known to everybody: such a misdemeanor may be a sufficient reason for an Isneg husband to divorce his wife.

867 577 558 To take revenge and to sustain a quarrel are signs of courage in the eyes of an Isneg, and the latter virtue is esteemed and highly praised by all. In his eyes nobody deserves more ridicule than a coward, and such a person usually gets an ample share of the same. Although quarreling and anger as such are considered as bad, everything depends on the reason why, so that rightful anger and maintaining one's rights despite everything are absolutely required in a man who does not want to be called timid. Control of one's temper in many instances would be synonymous with cowardice. All this is so firmly ingrained in the Isneg mind that no formal teaching is necessary. A youngster will ever be applauded for his courage and will be encouraged to go ahead, if he takes revenge after having sustained some injury, if he leaves nothing undone to keep the right on his side while engaged in a dispute, and if he is angry without going into extremes any time that he is firmly convinced that he is not wrong.

867 577 Laziness does not need any special reproof, as every young man and every girl know through daily experience the necessity of forestalling any bad reputation on the subject, lest marriage be either postponed indefinitely or, if already contracted, broken asunder without mercy. With reference to the smaller children, the necessity of

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obedience forcibly impresses upon their minds at the same time their duty of being diligent at work, as the parents do not fail to take them along when attending to their daily tasks, as soon as the youngsters are able to lend a helping hand.

Modesty, chastity, conjugal fidelity and temperance are virtues that are frequently subjects of very special teaching. Just as obedience is an ordinary topic of conversation when talking with the little ones, so the aforementioned virtues are often mentioned when young people receive some admonition or warning on the part of their parents. Besides, the knowledge of the consequences of immorality with unfortunate results and the punishment it entails helps not a little to deter Isneg youth from indulging in such excesses. After all this, it would be superfluous to tell young people of both sexes to sleep apart: the girls mostly attend to that without any special warning. In Bontok there are common dormitories for girls as well as for boys, and in many other places in the Mountain Province every village has its boys' dormitories. These institutions, which probably were originally planned as a safeguard to the morals of the young on account of the smallness of the huts of the natives, have since degenerated into haunts of vice. Among the Isneg the houses are fortunately large enough to keep the whole family together, so that the parents can watch the youngsters at leisure, if they choose to do so. Nevertheless the absence of rooms renders complete control very difficult. Although the Isneg have not to contend with the Bontok brothels, if I may call these girls' dormitories by such an ugly name, which in my opinion and experience they amply deserve, still they have not yet attained to perfection under this respect on account of the absence of separate rooms in their comparatively large and commodious dwellings.

Temperance in eating and drinking, although perhaps not so frequently inculcated as modesty, chastity and the rest, are nevertheless very clearly taught, especially to the boys; while the teaching of chastity as we understand it is, in the case of the Isneg, reduced to that of decent relations between the sexes. Sins against nature are never mentioned. Self-pollution is probably practised occasionally by some members of the male sex. Of other sins in that line I have never heard anything; by which of course I do not want to deny their existence, but simply to state that they are certainly not indulged in frequently and less so openly, as otherwise they would certainly have come to my notice.

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867 577 Honesty and truthfulness are subjects of very frequent training, especially the latter. Rarely a day passes without hearing some denunciation of the vice of lying from the mouth of an Isneg, and children are really brought up in an atmosphere of honesty and truth: this cannot be denied, although a lie in their eyes has not exactly the same meaning as with us. A lie, as defined by an Isneg, would mean something like this: "uselessly to tell an untruth to a friend", in this way excluding from its definition the telling of an untruth in order to avoid difficulties or in order to save a friend, and the deception practised on the Ibanag and their kindred.

An Isneg child is deterred from boasting mostly through ridicule, while talebearing, which is called treason, and jealousy form less frequent subjects of teaching.

Youngsters have not to be taught *ex professo* that killing among friends is a terrible crime. Loyalty to friends and related subjects are sufficiently explained without the necessity of including such a hateful crime among the usual prohibitions: if you have to be loyal to your friends, your first duty of course is to respect their life.

861 867 626 I have been talking freely about Isneg training and teaching, but when and where is youth educated and instructed in the tenets of the moral code? Well, at any time. This is a very indefinite answer indeed, but the time and place of teaching is at least equally indefinite. An Isneg parent may instruct his offspring when at home, he may do so while at work in the field; Isneg know nothing about school periods, no bells are used among them in order to go over from one exercise to another, there are neither watches nor clocks in Isneg houses, and to an Isneg time is not money. Nevertheless formal training mostly coincides with some special happening; a breach of the moral code, whether committed by outsiders or by the children themselves, or some extraordinary act of virtue, are the most frequent occasions in which the precepts of Isneg morality are instilled into the minds of the young.

861 626 Scolding,—which in many cases is exceedingly severe and covers the culprit with shame in the face of the whole neighborhood,—and other punishments are frequently resorted to regulate the conduct of children. Corporal punishments take place only in the case of the smaller children, while the fear of being scolded is a frequent deterrent for boys and girls of every age. The former consist in slapping the head, the cheeks, the shoulders, the back or the buttocks, in whipping the buttocks or the legs, thighs and calves, in twisting

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In short, Isneg religious and magical practices are still firmly adhered to by the generality of old men and women, while with the younger set they tend to be considered as mere superstitions, that are observed more through fear than through conviction, just as among the Christian Iloko, many remnants of the old native religion are still to be found scattered all over the country in the form of superstitious practices. There can be no doubt about the fact that in Apayaw the way is open for the Christian religion to supplant the old native one: the former is considered as a step forward by almost every Isneg, and practically nobody objects to the young people embracing it; in fact, most of the old people themselves insist on having their children baptized and even instructed in the doctrine of the Christians.

The duty of headhunting has perforce to fall into desuetude, as the vigilance of the authorities prevents it from being practised, at least on a large scale. With reference to isolated cases, which do not fail at times to appear sporadically, the guilty parties rarely escape due punishment, as the Isneg live too much in very small scattered communities to be able to hide them successfully. The older people still foster the desire of freedom in their hearts of course, but the younger generation will little by little forget all about it, and the usual ceremonies, although persevering in the form of superstitions, will very soon have lost their significance. Enough already has been said about this, and it is needless to repeat it all over again.

In the question of obedience and respect due to parents and elders, the Isneg usually conform with their teaching on the subject, and the same may be said with reference to loyalty either to friends or to people who are not at enmity with them. Downright disobedience is really very rare, even in the case of grown-up boys and girls, and respect for older people perseveres all through life. A few isolated cases may be encountered occasionally, but they are certainly the exception. Actually of course the same loyalty cannot always be observed as before, namely participation in headhunting expeditions and so on, and now and then a few members of the younger generation will even stand by the Government against malefactors of their own people; but in general it may be said that respect for the law has not yet attained such an ascendency as to cause an Isneg to be a traitor to his friends.

The practice of revenge has also necessarily suffered an important transformation. The duty of revenge remains intact though, and it

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628 is rarely abandoned, whether in small matters among youngsters, or
183 in graver matters among adults; but in the latter case nowadays it
mostly takes the form of a lawsuit entered at court. One exception,
178 however is to be noticed: the practice of sacking the houses of special
offenders is still faithfully adhered to all over Apayaw. Revenge is
exceedingly sweet to an Isneg and it is not easily superseded by the
law of charity: indeed the Isneg sucks it in with his mother's milk
and his whole life is still intimately pervaded by the fragrance of
old and glorious traditions. And so also the Isneg in general, whether
small children or grown-up persons, rarely abandon a quarrel in
which the right is on their side, for fear of having the epithet of
coward thrown at their head. Peace continues to be an unknown
entity as long as an Isneg thinks it his duty to leave it in the back-
ground.

578 *Nevertheless* when two Isneg have become estranged from one an-
other, one or both of them will occasionally try to adjust the matter
183 amicably, but in such a way as to preclude all possible risk of being
shamed or of being considered as acting through fear or cowardice.
Anayalukkáp (a kind of herb or grass), kept in the palm of one of
your hands when you are likely to meet your opponent, is an in-
fallible means to allay his wrath and to change his hate into amity.
[431] Once reconciled to your enemy, the best way to settle the matter
definitively and to render the ensuing friendship durable is to make
him some present: a jar, a headax, or anything you suppose will
prove acceptable to him. Such a gift is called *palatód*.

577 The practice of gratitude, generosity and hospitality is generally
576 fairly concordant with Isneg theory, but, as has been stated repeat-
574 edly, the Isneg code does not seem to impose any of these social
183 virtues in a very marked degree. It is very hard, for instance, to
translate the expression "thank you" in Isneg, as they possess no
term that might be considered as more or less its equivalent.

183 Here I shall cite a case in which at first sight practice flagrantly
contradicts Isneg theory in every respect. The incident happened
574 in March 1927, when a captain of the Constabulary, several soldiers
and a few civilians, including myself, were on their way to Abra.
577 We had finished ascending the Dagara river and were dropping into
Abra, when night overtook us at the settlement of Anayan. Fore-
seeing that our provisions would not last until the end of the journey,
the captain requested the Anayan men, who entirely depend on
Apayaw for their daily sustenance, to sell us a small quantity of

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rice, or if they so preferred, to give it to us with the condition that a similar amount would be given back to them on our return a few days later. The Anayan men denied, however, that they had any rice at all, and even after the soldiers had made our identity known to them, they still persevered in their denial and evidently were lying to us, as several receptacles, in the house of one of them, were found by the soldiers to be full of the requested cereal. This looked to everybody like a tremendous breach of hospitality and an enormous lack of generosity and gratitude, since the Anayan people are practically fed by Apayaw, the more so that on the next day we would have to do without our midday meal, after a march of six hours climbing and descending precipitous mountain sides, completely devoid of all vegetation, with a tropical sun burning over our heads.

Now let us look at this case the other way. At first all of us were complete strangers to the Anayan people (the captain did not wear any of the insignia of his rank); they were Isneg, we were Ibanag: and the latter are not renowned for honesty when dealing with the Isneg. What the Anayan people undoubtedly were thinking about the whole affair was something like this: "They will take our rice and say good-bye, and we shall never see them again", which would indeed very often have been the case under similar circumstances. Add to this that Anayan is a barren country; the people have to get their rice from Dagara, in Apayaw, at the cost of almost superhuman exertions: indeed they have to carry pitch pine and some other heavy commodities of little value over a long and hard mountain path, in order to trade them for that all-important cereal; consequently they rightly believe that rice is not something to be left at the mercy of the first adventurer who happens to come along.

But then, it may be asked, why did they persevere in their denial, even after they had learned about our identity, the more so that they also must have heard about the soldiers' detective work? Well, for no other reason than that they were ashamed: they were ashamed to acknowledge that they had told us a lie. And that this shame was a real excuse for them was afterwards acknowledged even by my companions. If it had been possible for them to find the means of presenting us with rice, without having to admit the deception they had been practising, for instance by going to borrow it from a neighboring settlement, they would most probably have done so. Shame is worse than anything to our people, as everybody here knows by practical experience. And so, after all, the Anayan Isneg did not

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183 act against their own code: they had no duty of hospitality, generosity
574 or gratitude toward the Ibanag; they lied, because to tell the truth
152 would have redounded to their disadvantage, nay, to exceeding hardship, which they were completely right, at least in their own eyes,
577 to try to avoid by all possible means; they were excused from acknowledging their deception, even after it had become patent and after they had learned about the identity of their visitors, on account of the shame which such an acknowledgment would have entailed.

171 This proves that it is sometimes very hard to understand the native's
577 position, and that one has to be careful not to judge him rashly. His code is occasionally very different from ours; and so both his and
181 our point of view, although entirely opposite one to the other, may sometimes be perfectly consistent. In the whole statement of this case and in its explanation, I have not been trying to propound theories; I have merely stated the facts and told the truth as it is, not theoretically, but practically.

461 Isneg teaching with reference to diligence and love of work is
183 usually accepted in its completeness by the fair sex. One meets with few downright lazy women in all Apayaw. But the males? As long as they are children, all right, the parents are there to look after that; but once they have grown up, especially once they are married, I think that even the few duties imposed upon them by their own code, are not always and universally complied with. The tropical climate, prevalent malarial fevers, usual years of plenty, a most fertile soil, forests abounding with deer, wild boars, bees, etc., besides timber, rattan, edible fruits, and other vegetable products, the lack of means of transportation, and so on, are not exactly inducements toward activity and industriousness. Nevertheless the duties are, I repeat it, so few, that it would be dangerous to qualify too great a number of
[171] men as transgressors of their own rules. Isneg adult men are usually lazy, it is undeniable, but they appear so more especially when we compare their behavior with that of other inhabitants of the Mountain Province, who are either living in densely populated areas or leading a precarious existence among rocks and cliffs. And so, even in this, Isneg teaching might perhaps be said to be fairly successful.

[152] The apathetic character of the generality of the Isneg renders compliance with several points of their moral code comparatively
183 easy; and so fits of anger and of jealousy, and boasting are not very
577 common. Talking about other people's defects in their absence is almost as common among the Isneg as among other races: it breaks
626

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up a good many friendships, and it is the starting point of not a few quarrels among them. Voluntary talebearing, by which I mean here reporting to the interested person the gossip that somebody has spread about him, is, as far as I can judge about the matter, rather rare, at least among men.

Drunkenness is a vice that is mostly indulged in only at the time of some *sáy-im* or other sacrifice, and this mostly by old men. Comparing their use of intoxicating drinks with what I have seen in civilized countries, I should say that the Isneg is a temperate man. Nevertheless theory is stricter than practice, except in the case of youth.

Three points are still to be considered now, namely: chastity, honesty and truthfulness.

And first as to chastity and the virtues related to it. Complete nudity is habitual among youngsters under six years of age; the little coat usually worn even by small boys, is not sufficiently long to cover them decently. Such nakedness is not considered shameful as long as the children are small; nevertheless there is some ground for concluding that it may have an effect upon sex behavior. Indeed small children are very after tickled (*magkuriro-*, *kurirkán*) in order to cause them to laugh, and this tickling is very commonly practised on or near the genitals, not only by the parents, but also by young boys and girls; especially in the case of small boys, the principal use of their penis seems to be that of being fingered by every passer-by.

As soon as the child is able to lisp a few words, the pronunciation by the child of any obscene term that finds its way into the child's vocabulary is greeted with laughter; and if later on foul language is heard to proceed from the small boy's mouth, he is applauded for his cleverness instead of being chastised for his forwardness. Little girls are usually brought up in a less dirty atmosphere, as the mother takes care of them almost exclusively as soon as they are able to walk; but little or no separation of the sexes at night is insisted upon during the first years of the little Isneg's life.

Everything considered, the sight of nudity in both sexes, touching of one another's genitals without reproof, the early excitation of the boys' genitals through indecent handling by older children and adults, the use of dirty speech without the least restraint and almost with encouragement, all these combined can do nothing else but detract from the efficiency of subsequent teaching on sex morality. The existence of the term *kassár* seems to support my inference; *kassár*

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867 means "to suffer erection", and is used only of boys and girls who
831 have not yet attained the age of puberty; another term is in use for adults.

And so we have reached the period between the age at which the
867 little one wears lower garments for the first time and that of puberty.
834 Formal teaching about the first elements of sex morality usually starts
291 about this time, and so little girls of this age are generally very
858 modest, although boys are not so meticulous. Provided they are
183 circumcised, the latter do not mind very much exposing their naked body, and even when as yet uncircumcised, there is no comparison between their behavior and that of their modest little sisters. For the rest much freedom still exists, as my reference to the special term just explained seems to indicate, so that it might be called a miracle if the youngsters live a chaste life once they have attained the age
[835] of puberty. Recently a young man of some eighteen years old was arrested for having violated his little sister who is barely six years old; he said he wanted "to try".

836 Grown-up girls are of course much better in this respect than boys,
183 and both sexes usually observe the laws of modesty that have been taught them by their parents according to the Isneg code; but in general I think that the morals of young people are decidedly loose.
577 *Magdaldallów* (joking one another, boys and girls), *magkabbdl* (to
867 finger a girl's breasts; said only of boys), and similar terms, seem to indicate that the teaching of their elders is not very successful. Add to this that young men have free access at night to all houses where girls of marriageable age may be found, and it will not be wondered at that chastity is a rare flower among Isneg youth.

836 The fear of pregnancy and of its consequences is of course a great
183 deterrent to young people of both sexes, but, even leaving aside the question of self-pollution, simple fornication must not be so exceedingly rare after all. It is true that my informants usually assure
867 me that coitus is never practised among unengaged boys and girls of mature age; but this in my opinion cannot be accepted without a grain of salt. Indeed, the same men have also told me at first that continence is imposed upon engaged couples before their marriage, but I have learned since that the latter are free to sleep together as often as they wish even though none of the usual ceremonies has yet been performed,—and this I now know to be a universal custom all over Apayaw.

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vogue here now tends to retard marriage; but its introduction is still too recent and it is still too much the privilege of the few, to be able sensibly to affect the standard of morality among our Isneg.

As to conjugal fidelity, it may be said that an unfaithful wife is the exception among the Isneg; but with reference to the men, the situation is not so bright. Even polygyny is not always sufficient to put a curb to the husband's license: indeed only the rich can afford to take more than one wife, and these at the same time usually enjoy the greatest freedom on account of their wealth and social influence.

To sum up the situation, it may be said that open immorality and indecency is much less frequent among the Isneg than among several other Mountain tribes, but, although more or less well concealed, loose morals are rather the rule than the exception among young unmarried people, and among married people the state of affairs leaves much to be desired. "Doing that which may make a girl pregnant" is not what the Isneg abhors, but "making a girl actually pregnant".

With reference to honesty, the Isneg generally observes the rules laid down by his own code, and transgressions are rare. Isneg thieves are not at all common, and downright robbery, even from the Ibanag or the *idammán* (enemies of his own tribe), is a rare occurrence. This is true of children as well as of adults, although the former may occasionally try to pilfer fruits or other eatables, in which, nevertheless, they are never encouraged by their elders, who rarely fail to scold them and even to punish them.

Truthfulness also is quite ordinary among adult Isneg, but many youngsters need frequent correction on the subject. In this connection, however, we should bear in mind the existence of two inveterate habits not only among the Isneg, but also among the generality of Malays with whom I have come in contact. And first, whenever he is caught at something that might elicit from you even the smallest reprimand, he has always an excuse ready at the tip of his tongue, and any excuse will do, however preposterous it may be; he never reasons about it, the truth is not what he aims at, but the plain presentation of an excuse, be it real or imaginary. These people are certainly experts in that line.

Just to give a few examples. One day I was very much astonished to find that all my bananas had disappeared, although they were carefully stored away in a closed press, so I suspected, and not without reason, that one of my Isneg boys had found them to his taste. At the first occasion I bluntly asked the fellow what had happened to

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my bananas, hoping in this way to catch him unaware, but as quick as lightning he retorted: "*Kinalbáw nāyá áto* (the dog ate them)". Now the poor boy never thought of the impossibility of that press being opened by a dog, and even in case it could have been done, of the improbability of a dog leaving the meat aside and choosing the bananas instead.

On another occasion I had observed that a kind Iloko lady had missed Mass on two consecutive Sundays; and so at our first meeting I made a little remark about the matter, but she was as quick as my Isneg boy in retorting: "I had my menses". This I merely answered with another question: "Twice a month?"

It may be hard indeed for any innocent person not to defend himself when he has been accused unjustly, but for an Isneg I think it would be simply heroic to keep silent after a reproof, even though it be slight and most amply deserved. And even when the unreasonableness of his excuse has been demonstrated to him, he must be a very dull fellow indeed if he will not immediately try another one, without even stopping to think whether it may not be as little acceptable as the one just rejected.

Another custom which very often makes abstraction of truth or error as we understand it is their manner of answering a question. No conscientious inquirer should ever forget that these people are in the habit of answering a question, not according to truth, but according to what they believe you except to hear from them. I would be the last to accuse them of wilful lying under the circumstances, and would much prefer to put the blame on their inborn desire to please you. This goes to show that one has to be very careful in proffering judgment on our Isneg, not only with reference to questions that may have been answered the wrong way, but also with reference to obedience in general to those precepts of their moral code that have to do with truthfulness and lying. The blame of the whole affair is very often to be laid, either on the inquirer himself who should know something about the mentality of this people, or on the courtesy of the latter: in this case they should be credited, not with the vice of lying, but with the social virtue of politeness.

A few Isneg expressions with a direct or indirect bearing on the education and home life of the child may here be appended:

Aydyam: Toy.

Lullupitan: Said of a child who cries for the smallest reason.

Dumdúm: Dull, unhandy at work. Also: dull at learning.

APAYAO LIFE AND LEGENDS

THE PEOPLE OF APAYAO

WHEN you travel in the Philippines to the 131
northwesterly end of Luzon Island as far as Abulog; and then take a banca up the clear, warm waters of the Apayao River, as it meanders through dark tropical forests and amidst gorgeous mountains, you come into the lovely land of the Apayaos.

These virile people came here uncounted thou- 174
sands of years ago in two main migration waves; one- 144
the Indonesian-by way of Southeastern Asia; and the other-the Mongolian-by way of Central Asia. Here, in the northerly end of the Cordillera Central Mountains, these two waves converged, finding a new home with which they have ever since been well content. Their cultures amalgamated into a new one. Physically, the Indonesian strain dominated; but Mongoloid features of all the three short types are present, especially the short Mongol. According to the last cen- 161
sus they number 11,000.

You will like these people; for they are kindly, 181
hospitable, generous mountain lovers. They are high- 577
ly aesthetic in temperament, self-reliant, and honest. If perchance, you drop something, even money, on the trail, the finder will return it to you. They say that [586]
if a man steals, his wife will leave him: or, if they

181 or, if they
152 acquire money unfairly and buy rice with it, the rice,
157 when eaten, will give them no strength. As born psy-
[577 chologists, they enjoy working on you so that you will
827] think and act as they desire. They like a practical
[522] joke even when it is on themselves. In fact, even accidents are taken as jokes and the one who has been injured is the one who laughs the hardest. When going through hardship, they show real endurance. Their code is to laugh and joke near the end just as if they had only awakened from a good sleep.

181 The Apayaos are courageous and lovers of free-
175 dom. The Spaniards never did conquer them, and even we Americans had a difficult time establishing our benevolent government. It was necessary to continue the military control for many years; and only in 1923 was civil government established. During the first part of the Japanese occupation, Apayao was a place of refuge for fleeing Americans and, after the fall of Corregidor, Cabugao was made the headquarters of the USAFFE of Northern Luzon. The Japanese did not establish themselves here in these mountain fastnesses until March, 1943. They did not find the people at all willing to collaborate and left in August, 1944. When the Americans returned, the Apayaos volunteered, almost to a man, to assist in defeating the Japanese. Many acted as "bolo men" without pay, and served as cargados, messengers and laborers. Thus they neglected even their farming, so that this year their crops are small.

101 These people call themselves *Isnegs* and are so known by the neighboring *Ibanags*, whose language is related to theirs. Probably they are called Apa-

628 ed a jar of *basi* and invited all the people to drink with the brothers. When they were gathered, he asked them all to come into the house. After they were all in, he fastened them in. Then he offered a cup of *basi* to the *maingel*. Instead of letting him take it, Ewagan dashed the *basi* on the head of the *maingel* and killed him. Then the brothers killed all the people and flew with their blood to the river. All the possessions of those people wer collected; and Ewagan, by his magic powers, flew them to Pindayan, his home.

582 Then the brothers went to the house of Himbanganan in Dudongan, bringing her all the heads of the people of Dombilan. Himbanganan was afraid in the presence of all the brothers, and promptly agreed to marry Hinadolan without the necessity of a dowry. She followed the brothers to Pindayan, where she and Hinadolan were married and lived thereafter.

THE ORPHANS

789 Long ago there lived three orphans; two boys and a girl. These orphans were the sons and daughter of a rich family. Thes brothers and the sister were expert magicians. They did not suffer any hardships. When they became hungry, they just prayed to an *anito* for their needs and their wants would all be [577] provided for. They were very religious. They were humane and helpful to those who were in need.

789 574 One day they wanted to have a feast. So they invited all their relatives, their friends, and all their neighbors. They only prepared one chupa of rice, one

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yourself as best you can. Any kind of excuse will do in order to escape a thrashing or a severe scolding, provided it proves acceptable; but take care not to be caught lying: this could but add to the latter's resentment. To get out of a bad predicament a little deceit is not forbidden, but not everybody can use it with good results; so be careful about it". 576 593 577 888

Lately, when paying a visit to *Basilig* at Pansian, his daughters set the table (in the Isneg way, of course) for him, and partook of the food only after their father had finished his own meal, although this is not required by custom. [264]

In general the Isneg have a high regard for their parents and elders, although in our eyes their conduct may sometimes seem to be lacking in outward signs of respect. Their standard of etiquette and politeness is not exactly the same as our own. An Isneg child calls its parents "father" and "mother", and a usual title of respect for aged people is *kakdy*, but for the rest it is not very demonstrative. [554]

So, when an Isneg mother recently came to visit her son at my house, the other boys repeatedly told him that his mother was there, but he did not move in the least: the old woman had to go and look for him herself somewhere around the house. Nevertheless that boy had asked me on a former occasion to be allowed to stop going to school in order to help his widowed mother with the wages he would be able to earn that way.

To be convinced that Isneg children respect their elders, although most all outward signs common to our own code are usually absent, it is sufficient to observe their behavior and that of their elders, whenever something untoward has happened. Isneg children look like angels, if you compare their attitude and whole demeanor with that of older men and women, who shout and gesticulate and allow the whole neighborhood to know what happened, without having to go out of its way to listen to the conversation. Boys and girls usually keep quiet when their parents are angry, while in the case of older people it is a question of proving who has the loudest voice, the one that carries the farthest: among the Isneg, the biggest shouter usually gains the victory. 578 577 576 [201]

An unmannerly person is called *toxároń*; this epithet, however, is only applied as far as I know, to a person who drinks directly from the *uruđ*, a bamboo that is used for fetching water, instead of using a cup. 576 271

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factor should never remain unpunished, even though he be of your own kindred; although in the latter case the sacking of his house and properties will usually be sufficient, without having to resort to bloodshed; and then also there will necessarily be no solidarity, except perhaps in the case of his near relatives. An Isneg who allows an injury to pass unpunished has not the blood of the *méñal* (brave) flowing in his veins. Actually of course we cannot always take the law in our own hands, and so we have to resort to the tribunal of the Ibanag. Now you should never fail to do so, whenever there are no other means available for revenging yourself with impunity".

A couple of years ago, an Isneg from Tawit, whose father was supposed to have been killed at Ripang years ago, murdered a Ripang woman at Kabugaw, under the eyes of the constabulary, on the occasion of a garden day celebration. The murder occurred in the evening, when the woman,—who even then was still too young to have had any knowledge of the murder of the Tawit man's father except perhaps from hearsay, and who consequently could not have had the least participation in it,—was sitting as a guest in the house of one of her people, a policeman, who at the time resided at Kabugaw. She was leaning with her back against the wall of the house, when the Tawit man, who stood outside in the dark, pushed a sharpened bamboo rod through the interstices and pierced the woman's side, with the inevitable result that the victim died after a few hours.

Not so long ago our friend *Kadáw* of Lettuakan, who had been badly injured by *Kinagúrān* of Talifugu in the heroic times now seemingly gone forever, one of his hands having been almost totally disabled, came to pay me a visit. He had a few eatables for sale and wanted to get a comparatively large share of the white man's money. At a certain moment our conversation ran in the following vein:

I: *Kinagúrān* is your friend, is he not?

Kadáw: Yes, indeed, we are good friends now.

I: But suppose the soldiers would leave the district.

I had barely finished my sentence when the old headhunter sprang up, his face beaming, his eyes radiant with a fiendish joy, and, swinging his arms, his hands fingering invisible weapons, he exclaimed: "Oh, then you would see some fighting indeed".

"Never pick a quarrel with a friend: such things should be avoided; but in case of somebody wanting to quarrel with you, go ahead. Nobody will keep his peace if he thinks he is right. Would it not be utter cowardice to keep quiet and let the thing go by? No, shut the

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577 slanderer's mouth at all price. 'Keep quiet for the sake of peace',
578 the Ibanag will say. For the sake of peace! What kind of an Isneg
558 is he who knows anything about peace under the circumstances? Keep quiet, if you cannot do otherwise, all right; but there is more than one day in a year: try to find an occasion to settle your quarrels, do not dismiss the matter from your mind until your right has been recognized. Did you ever meet a coward who became rich or influential? And he is a coward who would keep silent in a quarrel when the right is on his side. A few people will continue the fight, although evidently in the wrong: this should not be; if wrong, let go; but if right, go ahead. Nevertheless be careful not to use your headax indiscriminately. The best thing to do is to keep it out of the way, lest you do rashly what you would have to repent of afterwards.
[628] Indeed, you might kill or injure one of your friends and in this way start a series of blood feuds. Remember that the right remains on your side only as long as no blood flows; but when killing or wounding results from your quarrel, the offended party gets the right on its side and will not fail to revenge the offense, and with reason."

578 Last year *Kadáw's* son divorced one of his wives, a relative of
558 *Pa-rdy*, the "presidente" or mayor of Tawit. The woman married
556 another man, and her parents failed to give back to *Kadáw* all the articles given them at the time of her first marriage; a few of them
627 were kept: hence a terrible quarrel. *Pa-rdy* and *Kadáw*, both influential among their people, met at Kabugaw at the invitation of the lieutenant-governor. For days the square resounded with the shouts of *Kadáw*, who being perhaps the richer and certainly the older of the two, hoped to gain the victory by showing the greatest daring. He even went so far as to challenge the other party to wage war for a year in order to see in whose favor the dispute would be settled. *Pa-rdy*, however, kept to his rights, he did not move an inch from his evidently strong position, and after several days of angry words and much ostentation of bravery on both sides, the quarrel was finally settled by the lieutenant-governor himself in favor of *Pa-rdy*.

Kadáw at the time made himself ridiculous all over the district for trying to defend a cause that was lost from the beginning. Nevertheless very few would have dared to tell him so to his face: *Kadáw* is very much feared, he is a rich man, and the whims of such people should not be openly ridiculed; but everybody was more than con-
578 vinced that *Kadáw's* behavior was not what it should be. He clearly
558 offended against the recognized Isneg code, and *Pa-rdy*, besides getting
627

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his rights, won the sympathy of every unbiased Isneg. He kept up the quarrel and finished it with a complete victory. If no constabulary soldiers had been in the province, the result would evidently not have been as bloodless as that, and a series of interminable feuds would have been the inevitable result. Right and wrong would gradually have been forgotten, and nothing would have been left but a series of revenges on both sides following one another in quick succession, revenges that would have come to be considered lawful in the eyes of every Isneg on account of the injuries that would have preceded them.

The above lines were written while I was away from Kabugaw. When on my way back thither, and before reaching the latter place, I heard that during my absence *Kadáw* had killed *Rukkadéi*, a policeman from Baliwanan and the latest husband (he was the third one) of the woman referred to in the previous paragraph. Instead of going straight to Kabugaw, I stopped for a while at Bolo and had a little conversation about the matter with *Káyábo*, a Bolo brave or *méñal*. Bolo is in sympathy with Lettuakan, *Kadáw's* place, and *Káyábo* did not fail to show that he held no brief for Baliwanan, nor for *Pa-rdy* either. At a certain moment the old fellow stopped his diatribe to ask for *Pa-rdy's* title, and a complacent companion told him that *Pa-rdy* was now "presidente". At this juncture *Káyábo* said: "*Desirénte, kawél* (president, dung)", which is the most forceful expression of contempt in the mouth of an Isneg.

On the same occasion I purposely referred to *Basílig* of Pansian who belongs to the *Pa-rdy* faction, saying that I had seen an *andóri* (a special tattoo on the arm of a man who has taken the head of an enemy; this *andóri* may sometimes be tattooed on the arm of one of his children) on the arm of his daughter, which I told *Káyábo* I supposed to be a proof of the valor of *Basílig*. But *Káyábo* could not bear to hear any praise of a man who belonged to a faction he despised, and he used a most vulgar expression in denying *Basílig's* rights to such honors: "*Óki náyá atáwana ya andórina* (the vulva of his wife is his *andóri*)". This again shows that in the eyes of an Isneg an enemy has no rights, that no consideration is due to him, that he is a complete nonentity, while a friend is to be supported by all means, even though by committing a most flagrant injustice. *Kadáw* is now in jail, but most all Isneg are firmly convinced that ere long he will get out of it, because he is supposed to be the richest man in Apayaw.

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have happened in the glorious times before the arrival of the soldiery. They quickly retorted that it would have been a case of killing the thief without more ado, from which of course an interminable series of blood feuds would have ensued. I then asked them what they thought the best way to settle such differences, the old or the new one. Both agreed that the actual way of deciding the matter was far superior to the other one. Then, I said this, seemingly as an afterthought: "But among us, to tell the truth, the old days were happy ones, weren't they?" "Of course they were", both exclaimed at once, "see how things would have been done formerly", and both of them picked up a shield and a headax, and started a mock fight. They were so enthusiastic about it that we, the onlookers, had to make room for our two warriors, in order to escape getting a cut from the axes they were brandishing: the old Isneg spirit was seen to have been revived at once; and this was merely for show, there was nothing serious about it of course.

"Truthfulness is a virtue that an Isneg should never lack. You will never amount to anything if you are known as a liar; people will always distrust you. Is there anything more shameful than being known as a man whose word can never be relied upon? Especially when talking about a third person, beware of being a slanderer: this would lead to quarrels, and quarrels would lead to blows or worse, and you would be in the wrong all the time. A little lie in order to make mirth and bring joy to the company, never mind; but be careful to truthfully inform anybody who might take the thing seriously, lest harmful consequences follow. It is perfectly right of course to save yourself or your friend from a bad predicament, even through lying, if that is the surest way; but for the rest cling to truth, and you will be respected all your life. You know very well how much you would resent being told to your face: "*Busídmo* (you lie)"; so never give anybody an occasion to throw such an insult at your head. With your enemies of course, and especially with the Ibanag, it is different, you may do anything to them; and they know very well that they cannot rely upon you. Why should you have any duties toward these people? They have no rights among us, not even that of being told the truth. A friendly Ibanag may be helped, no doubt about that, but then it will be done, not because you are obliged to tell him the truth, but because you want to be faithful to a friend. Do not mislead a wayfarer though, except in case you have the intention of securing his head or taking some

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the fact that I had used his daughter. Can you beat it?" Needless to say, the conversation was practically a soliloquy on the part of the policeman. I do not believe though that his action was consonant with the Isneg code of morals; but this incident, and especially the answer of the girl's father, shows clearly how different is the state of man and woman among the Isneg, with reference to sex morality.

It should be added here that the father would probably have objected much more strongly to the man who took such liberties with his daughter, if he had not been a policeman. The latter are supposed to be more or less immune and may take liberties not accorded to others, probably on account of their position. Isneg in general resent that: I have heard them say so more than once; but they are afraid to object too strongly, and so policemen mostly do what they like: their reputation is far from clean all over the district, although I do not believe that they are all equally blamable. Later on I heard that, at the time of the above occurrence, the policeman had intended to make the girl his second wife, an engagement which had been broken off at a subsequent date.

It may be noted in this connection that among the Isneg a man, whether single or married, who commits adultery with a married woman (*manaládag*) is thought to be driven to his crime by some evil spirit. In such a case his guilt would be considerably lessened in our point of view; not so, however, in that of the Isneg: in his eyes, it is only the ultimate act that counts, as has been stated before.

"A fit of anger usually makes a man ridiculous in the eyes of the bystanders. It is true that when there is question of a rightful quarrel, you should never fail to sustain it; to be meek and patient under the circumstances would be mere cowardice. Nevertheless everybody is inclined to laugh at the behavior of an angry man: so, although you be strictly in your right, try to control your anger sufficiently not to cause others to laugh at you.

"You know our belief with reference to people who are wont to laugh at the defects of other persons (*magdóla*): if such people are married, they will be punished by having their children suffer the same defect; if they are still young, the children who will be born to them in the future will be misshapen (*pákaṅ*).

"A certain amount of *básí* is not to be despised, but drinking to excess is always bad. Who respects a drunken man? Besides, think about the consequences: quarrels, fights, bloodshed, revenges, etc. As soon as you feel that you have enough, go away and sleep it off, lest you commit regrettable deeds.

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you commit regrettable deeds. Gluttony is contemned by everybody; never keep all the best viands for yourself alone, and be careful not to eat to excess.

"Beware of talking about your neighbor's defects in his absence (*maglibá-*; in Iloko, *aglibák* means "to hide, to conceal, not to confess, not to manifest"); it may come to his ears; and in such a case, just imagine how he will feel about it. Do you expect him to forgive you without more ado, and to continue his friendly relations with you?

"Do not be a talebearer; such men are the curse of the community: most quarrels take their origin in this vice. Anyone who is known to be addicted to it, at once loses all consideration among decent men, and his company is avoided as much as possible.

"Never boast about your virtues, your possessions, your actions, except on the occasion of a *sáy-ám* sacrifice, when every brave Isneg should recount his glorious deeds for the edification of youth. A man who is puffed up with self-conceit and vainglory is despised by all. The ignorant may perhaps respect him or rather be afraid of him, but the general public scorns him. You know what it means to be called *makiddyaw* (proud) or *napaññáw* (braggart); so never give occasion to anybody to fling such an epithet at your head.

"Beware of being jealous of your neighbor's prosperity or good luck. If fate or the spirits have been less generous to you, that is no reason for being envious of others who are more fortunate than yourself. Ambition is good, jealousy is bad".

2. *Motives Proposed to Young*

Now I shall discard my rôle of Isneg moralist, and say a few words about the motives that are proposed to the youngsters. A good many points have already been hinted at in the preceding treatment of the Isneg moral code, so here I shall merely resume and complete or elucidate my former statements.

It should be said in general that, except when referring to religious, magical or superstitious practices as such, and to the duty of head-hunting, no religious or supernatural motives are proposed to the children in order to get them to obey the moral law, nor are the children ever taught to expect rewards or punishments from supernatural beings. One might perhaps be inclined to accept a few other cases as possible exceptions, for instance that of scoffers referred to above; but it should be remembered that even in such cases, the Isneg never mention directly the intervention of any supernatural beings.

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The children are usually afraid of the spirits, who are legion, and some of whom might be called bugaboos of one kind or another, but threats of these beings or of ghosts are never resorted to in order to frighten the youngsters into good conduct, except again in the first two cases just mentioned.

To the Isneg future life is simply a continuation of the present one, except for a few differentiating details, as living in a silver house and so on. A man, whether good or bad, continues his daily life, like in a dream, at the other side of the tomb, just as if nothing had happened. The difference that exists between the interred body of a good man and that of a bad one, which will be explained in due time, can have only very little influence on the conduct of men here on earth; and besides, there also the question of shame is of paramount importance, no less than among the living, as will be seen later on.

Consequently practically every article of the socio-moral code gets its sanction from non-religious or natural motives. Shame is the most often resorted to, shame that results from the known violation of any point of the moral code, shame that affects not only the delinquent, but also his parents. "Do not do that lest your parents be shamed" is a phrase very commonly used in order to persuade the child to conduct itself well. The terms "shame (*aliyáw*)", "shameful (*nakal-aliyáw*)", "ashamed (*maliyáw*)", are almost continually on the Isneg's lips; they serve both as an excuse for negligence in complying with one's duties, and as a motive for good behavior. Nothing is more powerful than the fear of being shamed in order to cause an Isneg either to live honorably or to commit a dastardly crime. An Isneg is exceedingly sensitive to shameful and opprobrious epithets; he will do anything to avoid any of them being thrown at his head, and he resents it very much if he is accused undeservedly. Lest he be called a coward, an Isneg will sustain a quarrel indefinitely, whether he be on the right side or not. Shame is the biggest incentive for young people to behave and to keep themselves from indulging in all too flagrant transgressions of the moral code, especially with reference to sex morality. An Isneg child will be taught to be obedient and respectful toward its parents, lest the latter be shamed on account of its unruly conduct. Honesty and truthfulness have to be practised lest a man be branded as a thief or a liar, which are exceedingly opprobrious terms in the mouth of a native. In short, the fear of shame keeps the Isneg on the right path in a thousand instances, and any kind of privation or hardship will be suffered patiently, the

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626 hardest labor will be gladly accepted in order to avoid shame, which to an Isneg seems to be a kind of synthesis of all evils. That is also 558 the reason why ridicule is such a powerful weapon among the Isneg. ● 578 For fear of ridicule a man will cover himself modestly when appearing in the presence of women, and miscreants will resort to ridicule in order to induce a young man to commit the worst crimes. No Isneg can stand ridicule.

626 Among the Isneg pride and ambition are only second to shame as incentives for being virtuous and conducting oneself honorably; nevertheless they are far from having the same power as shame, and parents will use them in a much smaller degree than the latter motive. [461] The indolence of the Isneg has considerably lessened the power of ambition and pride as a motive for complying with the tenets of their moral code.

And so also praise and encouragement, although they rarely fail to help an Isneg youngster onward on the path of duty, are much less powerful than the all-feared ridicule. Isneg parents, however, are very well aware of the fact that a little occasional praise and a timely word of encouragement will rarely fail to be appreciated by the child, and that they will often do very much for the latter's betterment or the continuance of its right behavior.

Flattery is not so much in their line, and it is comparatively rarely resorted to in order to make a young man or woman behave decently. In the case of smaller children, however, it will often be used with the best of results.

The hope of a reward is not always as powerful as the fear of punishment, at least in the case of the little ones. But allow me to reserve the treatment of this subject for one of the following paragraphs.

3. Methods of Training

361 I shall not enter here into a large number of details with reference to the methods used in the training of children, as very much has 867 been said already in my lengthy treatment of the moral code. I shall [881] go over the whole matter rather quickly, the more so as there is no question of initiation or puberty rites among the Isneg.

[602] Although elders, whosoever they be, may occasionally take a hand in the training of children, nevertheless this task devolves principally on the parents, and to a certain extent also on the grandparents. The tribe or community as such has little or nothing to do with the moral upbringing of the younger members of any given settlement.

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628 is rarely abandoned, whether in small matters among youngsters, or
183 in graver matters among adults; but in the latter case nowadays it
mostly takes the form of a lawsuit entered at court. One exception,
178 however is to be noticed: the practice of sacking the houses of special offenders is still faithfully adhered to all over Apayaw. Revenge is exceedingly sweet to an Isneg and it is not easily superseded by the law of charity: indeed the Isneg sucks it in with his mother's milk and his whole life is still intimately pervaded by the fragrance of old and glorious traditions. And so also the Isneg in general, whether small children or grown-up persons, rarely abandon a quarrel in which the right is on their side, for fear of having the epithet of coward thrown at their head. Peace continues to be an unknown entity as long as an Isneg thinks it his duty to leave it in the background.

578 Nevertheless when two Isneg have become estranged from one an-
183 other, one or both of them will occasionally try to adjust the matter amicably, but in such a way as to preclude all possible risk of being shamed or of being considered as acting through fear or cowardice. *Anagalukkáp* (a kind of herb or grass), kept in the palm of one of your hands when you are likely to meet your opponent, is an infallible means to allay his wrath and to change his hate into amity.
[431] Once reconciled to your enemy, the best way to settle the matter definitively and to render the ensuing *friendship* durable is to make him some present: a jar, a headax, or anything you suppose will prove acceptable to him. Such a gift is called *palatád*.

577 The practice of gratitude, generosity and hospitality is generally
576 fairly concordant with Isneg theory, but, as has been stated repeat-
574 edly, the Isneg code does not seem to impose any of these social
183 virtues in a very marked degree. It is very hard, for instance, to translate the expression "thank you" in Isneg, as they possess no term that might be considered as more or less its equivalent.

183 Here I shall cite a case in which at first sight practice flagrantly
574 contradicts Isneg theory in every respect. The incident happened
577 in March 1927, when a captain of the Constabulary, several soldiers and a few civilians, including myself, were on their way to Abra. We had finished ascending the Dagara river and were dropping into Abra, when night overtook us at the settlement of Anayan. Foreseeing that our provisions would not last until the end of the journey, the captain requested the Anayan men, who entirely depend on Apayaw for their daily sustenance, to sell us a small quantity of

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592 wife. Especially when the women have attained a more or less ad-
562 vanced age, their tongue usually rules the household; and in this
578 they have a very sharp-cutting instrument indeed. The husband
[201] may occasionally vindicate his authority, but most of the time he shrinks from the women's displeasure. Besides, as a last resort, they always have their tears ready at hand; I have assisted more than once, although involuntarily, at family scenes in which the quarrel ended with a flow of tears on the part of the wife and subsequent awkwardness in the manner of the more or less aggressive husband, who finally could find no other way out but meekly to explain, to try to soothe, and to submit. An old woman, be she married or widowed, has generally more than one say in the family. And if a woman has been consecrated a shamaness while in her early childhood, then she commands the respect not only of the household but of her neighbors as well, or rather inspires them with a kind of reverential awe, especially if she is advanced in years.

To resume, both parties help each other in their own way: the husband has a woman to look after his daily needs, and the wife, although taking the lion's share of the work, does not lack compensation in the fact that from now on she has a ready listener whenever she wants to pronounce one of her philippics.

837 As has been amply shown in the preceding pages, and as will appear even more clearly from what will be said of divorce, there can be no question among the Isneg of allowing anybody access to one's wife or of exchanging wives with another man.

831 Do Isneg husbands and wives love each other? It has been said
593 about other tribes, here in the Mountain Province, that in their case marriage is nothing else but a juxtaposition of two people, a man and a woman, that the husband is more like a stranger to his wife, that mutual love between husband and wife is something completely unknown. This may perhaps be true with some of them, although I doubt very much if such sweeping statements are entirely consonant with the facts. But does it apply to the Isneg? It must be conceded that in the question of marital love, just as in that of gratitude, outward manifestations are exceedingly sparse among the Isneg. It is also a fact that husband and wife never or almost never work together, which after all is not exactly peculiar to primitive people. But can we truly say that mutual love is unknown between an Isneg husband and his wife? I should answer most emphatically in the negative: Isneg man and wife most certainly love each other. Nevertheless it

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taken its regular course, and the final crisis may have been reached before anybody was fully aware of it: small matters may have been combined into difficulties of huge proportions, disgust on both sides may have led to mistakes on both sides. And so it is usually not an easy matter to decide exactly what has to be done under the circumstances. Hence follow quarrels: the woman's people are loath to part with the *tádug* which, as a matter of course, they have come to consider as their own property, and the parents of the man are overanxious to get it back in order to use it for a future marriage that generally is very near in the offing, and lest they have to pay two *tádug* for one and the same boy.

This whole state of affairs is very well illustrated by what happened in the case of *Kadáw*, previously referred to (Publ. Cath. anthrop. conf., 3: 146). One of *Kadáw*'s sons divorced one of his three wives; the woman went home, married another man, left him again, and then married a third one, namely *Rukkadéń*, a Baliwanan married man. The *tádug* had been given back to *Kadáw*, except a certain number of jars, six if I remember well. Now *Kadáw*'s party claimed that everything had to be given back, because the woman was in fault: the fact of the woman's multitudinous marriages seemed indeed to lend some color to this. The other party, led by *Pa-rdy*, the municipal president of Tawit, claimed that the woman had been practically abandoned by her husband, who had failed to give her the customary attentions and to comply with his most elementary duties in her behalf: this was also the common rumor all over the district. The whole quarrel was settled by the authorities in favor of *Pa-rdy*, but the other party did not rest satisfied, and the whole affair culminated in the murder of the unfortunate *Rukkadéń* by old *Kadáw* himself. While in jail the latter swore to kill one of his sons, as soon as he got free, because they had shown that they had not the blood of the *máńal* (brave) flowing in their veins: they had forced their old father to take revenge in their stead. Incidentally it should be noted that *Kadáw* himself did not show much valor in the whole affair: after a few words of friendly salutation between *Kadáw* and *Rukkadéń*, both of them had gone in the same direction in the usual Indian file, *Kadáw* walking behind. The latter had administered a vicious blow of his headax on the neck of his intended victim, and when *Rukkadéń* had turned to face him, he had struck him a second blow in the forehead, after which he had run as fast as he could.

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586 When *Rukkadéń* ran homewards in order to fetch his gun, *Kadáw* 684 again had followed him hoping to give him the coup de grâce, but when the latter had got hold of his gun, *Kadáw* had fled a second 628 time and hid in the municipal building. *Rukkadéń* had shown at 703 least that he was not a coward: although wounded to death he had faced his adversary and tried to kill him; he died a couple of hours 578 later. The whole Isneg outfit of policemen and soldiers had not made a very brave stand either, as the last scene of the drama was enacted in the public square, and none of them dared approach old *Kadáw*, who had entrenched himself in the building just referred to and refused to lay down his headax reeking with blood. He finally surrendered at the summons of the lieutenant of the constabulary who threatened him with his revolver.

192 In concluding this account of marriage, the following Isneg ex-
585 pressions may be recorded:

Mańén: Menses.

837 *Maxatáwa:* To marry. Said of both men and women.

Mańatáwa: To marry. Said only of men.

104 *Makiatáwa:* To marry. Said only of women.

Meatáwa: To be married. Said only of women.

Mańaduwá: To live in bigamy. From the stem *duwá*, "two", and the complex prefix *mańa*, syncopated for *mań* and *ka*.

Mańa-ló: To have three wives. From the syncopated stem *talló*, "three", and the complex prefix *mańa*.

Dumaládag: To commit adultery, to be in love with another man. Said of married women.

Manaládag: To commit adultery with a married woman. Said of men, whether married or single.

192 *Sumibná:* To separate, to go and live in another house. This does
586 not always and necessarily mean divorce; it may also mean that somebody stops living with a certain family in order to go and live
104 somewhere else; for instance, a young married couple who have built themselves a new house, or who go to live in a house different from the one they have previously lived in, provided the latter was inhabited at the same time by another family, who continue to live there after their former companions went away.

A CHAPTER FROM THE STORY OF HATAN AND HIS FAMILY

152 Abbiawan went on an adventure to seek for re-
893 nown in brave deeds because he envied his brother
578 Ewagan for being a such a famous warrior. Abbia-
wan set forth to try to kill Ewagan. Then all the brothers, well armed with spears, accompanied Abbiawan, intending to kill their brother, Ewagan. A fight ensued between the brothers. Finding out that that their brother Ewagan could not be killed, they decided to challenge Ewagan one by one, with shield and spear.

578 Abbiawan and Ewagan first faced each other. While the fight was going on between these two brothers, Imlang joined in to help Abbiawan. At the first attack of Ewagan on his two brothers, the shield of Imlang was cut to pieces and Imlang called for help from his other brothers. When he called for help, Haowan volunteered to challenge Ewagan.

Another fight ensued. At the first attack of Ewagan, the shield of Haowan was also cut in pieces. Because Haowan could no longer withstand the attack, he withdrew and cried for help. Hinadolan came to his aid. They fought with spears.

In this fight Ewagan was a bit afraid of Hinadolan because his spear was very big and a shield would not stop it. So Ewagan retreated. All of a sudden, Ewagan fiercely renewed the attack in the

hope that his assailant would be scared. During the exchange of blows, Ewagan was able to disarm Hinadolan, whose spear flew to the nearby sea. Ewagan, upon seeing that Hinadolan was now disarmed, threw his spear at him. With the aid of the shield of Hinadolan the spear of Ewagan was deflected into the sea just beside the other. 578

When their spears were all gone, they fought with their *gaods*. In this fight with their *gaods*, both of their shields were cut to pieces and they lost their *gaods*. They grappled together, and because of the vigor of the struggle, nearby coconut trees were bent and there arose a great dust. The fight went on, reaching the place where *secal* grass was growing. All the grass was flattened and some of it flew into the air. When it was all gone, as the fighting continued, both brothers fell into the water, still fighting. The hair of Hinadolan became mysteriously wrapped around the body of Ewagan, which rendered him helpless. As they could no longer move, they sank into the deep water, down to the bottom beside a big stone. The struggle still went on. Just at that time Paliahan Danag, the helper of Ewagan, was fishing on the bank of the river when, to his surprise, he saw the spear of Ewagan. Upon seeing the two spears, he threw away his fish net and took up the two spears because he recognized them as belonging to Ewagan and Hinadolan. Paliahan started at once to look for Ewagan. He found all the other brothers there mourning because they could not rescue their two brothers in the water. Paliahan asked the brothers: "Where is Ewagan?" So the brothers pointed to him in the wa-

578 ter. Just as the place of Ewagan was being pointed out, all of a sudden, Ewagan was fire under the water. Paliahan, seeing the fire in the water, went at once to lift them up and found out that they still were holding each other tightly. After he had lifted them from the water, Paliahan unfastened the hair from the body of Ewagan and asked which of them was the first to make the attack. The brothers replied that Hinadolan was the first. Then Paliahan explained to them all that they should not fight: for they were all brothers, being sons of Hatan.

834 At this moment Ewagan and his sister Hinalingan suddenly disappeared from the group. After making a search, the brothers found only their bones. Later they discovered that Ewagan and Hinalingan were naked and had already joined their uncle Dalawigan. They had not approached their uncle at once because they were both naked. Dalawigan happened to go to the river where he found the two naked forms. Upon seeing their nakedness, he went back and brought them clothing. When they were clothed, he brought 000 them inside his house. They ate in the house of their uncle. After eating, Ewagan related to his uncle how his brothers had tried to kill him. After relating this, they hurriedly left in fear that their brothers would catch them. The pair promised their uncle that they would never show themselves to Hatan. The uncle insisted upon their remaining; but in spite of this, the pair went and joined their brother Dipparo, who was considered to be a Negrito by his brothers. So Ewagan and his sister flew on a spear through the sky to join Dipparo.

pleasing lilt or perchance composing words in honor of some guest or circumstance. The tune used is called the *salecdomey*. Somewhere a boy may be openly courting the girl of his choice in a characteristic chant *adkaling*, but often composing his own words. Food and sweets may be served two or three times in the night, and the party goes on with increasing excitement, as more and more *basi* is consumed. Drunken quarrels may break out, leading to blows. Killings are not infrequent. One must have had quite a few drinks in order to really enjoy this party.

Along towards morning the music stops and the tired people lie down to sleep—either in that or adjacent houses. If, perchance, a boy has been successful in his courtship, he may follow his girl to where she lies down. After some further discussion, she probably accepts him.

The feast may continue the next day and next, according to the wishes and wealth of the family, and how long the *basi* and food lasts. At the end of the feast, the priestess again calls the *anito*: she tells it that they hope that it is pleased with its feast and will now grant their requests. Then the guests start for home. The relatives are each given some meat to take with them, and soon all is quiet again.

Probably the most popular feast is the *say-am*, given for the *anito*, Pilay, after the harvest. The *dildap* is a small, short feast given for the *anito Kaybacan*, sometimes for the health or welfare of the family, or to clinch some agreement. There is no dancing. The *magboto* is given before, and the *boda* after a head hunting expedition as described elsewhere. The

Hatan and Dinawigan, his wife, mourned and 152
almost committed suicide because they could not find their son Ewagan and his sister. When Dipparo saw the pair, he told them to go to their mother, who was looking for them. But they had promised never to return. Instead, they stayed with Dipparo. The pa- [58]
rents and other brothers became beside themselves [57]
with grief because they could not find Ewagan and Hinalingan, and almost killed anyone whom they met in the way.

Dipparo intoxicated Ewagan with *basi* so that he would talk louder. Hinadolan rode on his horse in the sky. Hearing the voice of his brother, he came down immediately. In order that Ewagan should not be frightened, he hid in the grass and sent his horse ahead to meet Ewagan. Upon seeing the horse, Ewagan recognized at once that it was that of Hinadolan. He asked the horse why it was there. It answered that Hinadolan was fighting their enemies. Upon hearing this, Ewagan was very worried. The horse said that he would bring Hinadolan if Ewagan would promise to follow them. Ewagan agreed; so the horse went to bring Hinadolan to the house of Dipparo where Ewagan was living. When Ewagan saw his brother, he greatly pitied him as his brother had become very thin while looking for him.

Hinadolan persuaded Ewagan to go and visit his mother because she was pining away and nearly dying, longing for Ewagan. But Ewagan renewed his vow not to stay with him; but went on to his own house in Pindayan. Dipparo also followed them. 000
On their way they found Imlang almost dying because

726 584 weapons also; for it was the custom for a man always to carry his spear, shield and *gaod* with him.

He returned to the house of Bandiyang bringing his trophies with him. All the people joyfully came to celebrate the valor of Angyoban, and the marriage took place soon after.

THE FEUD BETWEEN THE PEOPLES OF ALISIT AND KUMAO

608 Many times the peoples of Alisit went to fight the Bulo people. They found no one at home. One time when on their way to Bulo, they became very hungry [476] and stopped in Kumao. It happened that at that time, the people of Kumao were gathering posts for a house. There were many people there to help. They had *basi* to drink. So they offered some to the Alisit people. [517] While sitting on the ground, they talked and had oratorical contests, each contestant telling of their cus- [579] toms. The *maingel of* Kumao was Lindo. They became drunk and got into an angry quarrel. Lindo said to Baliwan, "You are good only for hunting women [152] and not for hunting men." Baliwan became very angry and answered back and struck Lindo with his *gaod*. When Bayao, the son of Lindo, saw Baliwan strike his father, he snatched up his *gaod* to help his father. Then all the warriors were drawn into the fight, and five of the Alisit men were killed. None of the Kumao people were killed.

628 484 Later on, twelve Kumao people were taking a trip to Sulsuna in Ilocos for trading purposes. They

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THE ISNEG LIFE CYCLE. II. MARRIAGE, DEATH, AND BURIAL

By MORICE VANOVERBERGH, C.I.C.M.
Mountain Province, Philippine Islands

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IV. Marriage

A. Acquisition of Mates

589 548 581

Celibacy is unknown to the Isneg. It would probably be very hard to convince them of its possibility, at least in men: they certainly never think about it. And so also prostitution is non-existent. There may perhaps be found a few women of loose morals among the Isneg, but even these could never be called prostitutes. To marry is the ultimate aim of every Isneg young man and young woman, none of them knows of any other course to take; marriage is universal.

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If it should happen that a girl becomes old without having found a husband, she is said to have become the wife of the spirit *Taxindó*. But such cases must be exceedingly rare; I myself have never yet met any.

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1. *Incentives to Marriage*

And now let us inquire as to the reasons why Isneg young people want to marry. I shall leave out of consideration the mutual attraction of the sexes, which is certainly a potent inducement, if not the strongest of all, especially when one considers that according to the Isneg code men and women have no other legitimate way of gratifying themselves than by marrying. I shall confine myself to what I might call social reasons.

And first, with reference to the girls. Why does a girl want to marry? For one reason, it is the custom to do so. What is the use of a girl except to be at the disposition of a young man? Who would ever dream of refusing to comply with such a universal custom? Could it be possible for any girl not to enter the state of matrimony? Everybody does it, why not she? Another reason for her marrying is, I think, the craving for children, the desire of having a child of her own. Protection on the part of her husband may perhaps have been a strong factor in bygone times, when head-hunting was the rule, but at present such protection is hardly necessary and, I believe, rarely thought of. An Isneg girl marries because everybody does, because it is the custom, and I think this settles the matter as far as the fair sex is concerned. This state of mind is also well illustrated by the fact that many Isneg widows, at least if they are of a more or less advanced age, never remarry, especially when they have children of their own.

581
171

But with a man, the case is different. Indeed he has two very important reasons for wanting to take a wife, namely: the desire of begetting children, and the necessity of a woman to provide him with his livelihood. These two reasons, however, are not of equal weight, and besides, what is of paramount importance to the generality of the other tribes that inhabit the Mountain Province, as the Kankanay, the Bontok Igorot, and so on, takes only second rank among the Isneg. To these other peoples the longing for children is the strongest motive for obtaining a wife, while the Isneg marry first of all in order to get somebody to provide the necessities of life for them. Leaving aside the daily conversation with natives, which have forcibly convinced me of the truth of the above statement, there are two social institutions which in the manner of their existence in Apayaw and taken together clearly prove it: these are polygamy and divorce.

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Among the other tribes polygamy, in the form of polygyny of course, is very rare and almost entirely unknown, while among the Isneg it has become an integral part of their social organization. Although far from universal, it is still frequent enough to allow us to call it an institution, the more so that in the unwritten law of the Isneg we find actually a definite set of rules that govern the contracting of a subsequent marriage before the first one has been dissolved by death or divorce, the inheritance of children born to people living in polygamy, and so on. Expressions like the following, which may be heard very frequently all over Apayaw, go far to show that the Isneg wants the woman more than anything else: "We are poor . . . , we are to be pitied . . . , we are starving . . . , we have no food . . ." (and almost always) "because there are no women in the house . . . , because there is not a sufficient number of women around".

When at the same time we consider that the principal reason for divorce among the other Mountain tribes does not obtain in Apayaw, it becomes more patent that among the Isneg the question of children is only of secondary importance. Indeed among the Kankanay and others it is an almost universal custom for childless couples to separate and try their luck with somebody else, while among the Isneg the absence of children is no reason for divorce: this has been told me consistently by all my informants, and the facts are there to prove it. It is true that sterile marriages are comparatively few, but still they are numerous enough to allow us to see that the lack of children is not necessarily a sufficient reason for divorce. A Bolo man and his wife *Bannáw* have been married for over ten years and still no children are forthcoming. *Tabtábal* and his wife (also called *Bannáw*) at Lettuakan, *Tóriya* and his wife at Turatok, have been married for a long time without having had the pleasure of seeing children born to them. These places are all far apart from one another, and in no case is there even the hint of a possibility of divorce. The other Mountain tribes want the children first of all; to the Isneg, however, the women are more important than the offspring.

And so polygamy or rather polygyny has become an institution among the Isneg, not so much through the desire of the men to satisfy their sexual appetite, as through the absolute necessity of women in the household for economic reasons. As it is not my intention to make a survey of the whole subprovince of Apayaw, I shall

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584 me by the girl herself, and she did not seem to take the whole affair as at all serious; she did not look as if she was inclined to allow the boy to take possession of her heart, let alone of her whole body.

Marriages between grown-up boys and girls that are arranged by the parents without consulting the interested parties, or at least without the said youngsters having taken the first steps in that direction, are much more frequent, and in many cases the young people readily agree, either because they are not so particular about the qualities of their future partner, provided there be one, or because they are otherwise loath to go against the wishes of their elders. But as in the case of infant marriages, objections on the part of either of the two may be sufficient to prevent either the first proposal or all further developments.

The usual way, however, among our Isneg, is that the young man looks for the girl of his choice, wins her consent, and then informs his parents about the matter. After that the elders of both boy and girl take upon themselves the responsibility of all further transactions and ceremonies.

581 832 826 461 Now what qualities are supposed to make the perfect girl in the eyes of an Isneg boy, or at least what is the boy looking for in the girl to whom he will give his heart? She should be handsome (*napiyâ*) of course, which means that her skin should be clean, smooth and light-colored; the darker the uglier, the whiter the prettier, is a common Isneg criterion. If possible she should be fat and plump; in the eyes of an Isneg, lean girls are not the acme of beauty. But all this is only of secondary importance; she should be *nalagpát*, "diligent, active", and that is more necessary than anything else: all other qualities are subordinate to this one, and the most handsome flirt will be discarded at once for a diligent girl, be she ever so ugly and as thin as a bean stalk.

And so also in the eyes of a girl, a boy be he ever so handsome (*natáram*),—a quality which however is never despised, provided it goes together with the most important one,—will never make a desirable husband if he is not *nalagpét*. He must not necessarily be a *mĕñal*, a brave, but he should love work: that is what counts.

581 171 461 It might be wondered why the question of diligence is by far more important among the Isneg than among other tribes, to whom other qualities look much more valuable. Indeed in Bontok, for instance, at least formerly, a boy would rarely win a girl, if he had not yet shown some sign of courage, either by taking the head of an enemy

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or by some other brave deed. Why is love of work an almost necessary requisite in Apayaw, where the natives are renowned for their laziness? Or is this almost proverbial love of idleness the reason why future partners look for the contrary virtue in their mates? Is the boy perhaps convinced that he will never be able to earn a decent livelihood, if he is not assisted by a woman who is active and industrious? Does he perhaps know all too well that his hatred of exertion and hard work will never lead to anything, if the girl of his choice does not make up for his deficiencies? And does the Isneg girl perhaps look for an active husband as for a jewel of great price, knowing that the scarcer an object is, the costlier it becomes? I do not think so. The Isneg certainly lack all means of comparison between themselves and members of other tribes, and besides they rarely believe that they are lovers of leisure and idleness, as they usually resent very much hearing outsiders say so. I think that the whole question fits in with the social reason for marriage as given above. Boys marry in order to be helped by a woman, and so they necessarily look for an active one first of all; and girls know that they will carry a heavy burden, so they prefer somebody upon whom they can rely in time of need, somebody who will lend them a helping hand and do his full share as far as custom allows. This I believe to be the explanation of the whole situation.

As soon as a boy has attained the age at which marriage may be contemplated in the not too distant future, he passes most of his evenings at the house of marriageable girls, and he usually has little difficulty in knowing more or less intimately any girls that might possibly be conquered by him. He sees them at home, chats with them, sometimes plays with them, and, except when the parents of a girl definitely object to his suitability as a future partner for their daughter, even passes the night sleeping at their houses.

A few girls are real flirts (*aṅkár*); they are, as the Isneg puts it, fond of men, and if such a situation continues for a considerable time, without any prospect of marriage in the near future, they may become broken-hearted and even lose their minds. Nevertheless such cases are the exception, and active courtship (*mamabdy*, from the stem *babdy*, "woman") is generally the exclusive occupation of boys, while the girls, at least outwardly, usually seem to be very hard to please. But a boy has many ways of attracting the attention of the girls. Just to enumerate a few of them:

844 woman, making her delivery so hard that she will die. They are kept there until the woman is strong enough to go outdoors again.

846 As soon as she is able, the woman goes to the river to wash, accompanied by a male relative holding an *aliwa* on which is ginger. On the way he must always be in the rear, as the *aliwa* and ginger are guarding the woman from some *anito* which desires to cut off her head and cause her death. If the *anito* succeeds, she will die suddenly upon reaching home.

When they arrive home, the man places the ginger with the *pungan* and *igad* at the door. These are kept there until the woman is strong enough to go to work. During that time it is strictly prohibited that anyone outside of the family shall enter the house. It means death to do so. This strong taboo is observed until the woman says that she is ready to receive a visitor. The wife seldom leaves her home and work.

586 The marriage bond is permanent; but it may be
[461 broken by the man if he finds that his wife performs
684] very little farm labor. Even though they have children, he is entitled to divorce her upon giving her a
[587] small portion of the conjugal property. Both are
[58 then free to marry again. The woman must impli-
837] citly obey her husband and be absolutely true to him:
684 no little flirting with other men. If she is found guilty of any offence, her fine is heavy. If she commits adultery with another man, both should be killed: the man by the relatives of the wife, and the wife by the relatives of the husband. However, if there are extenuating circumstances and the death sentence is not imposed, both guilty parties are sentenced

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593 The family is a very important entity among the Isneg, and their family life is comparatively intense. There is no question of man and wife associating only for the duties incident to the procreation of children. All members of the household keep rather close together until the young people are able to form a new family, and even in this case the latter usually remain with their elders for a considerable period of their married life. To establish a family, if possible with plenty of children around, is the ultimate goal of every Isneg boy and [671] girl. In principle the rights of the individual are subordinate to those of the family, while state paternalism cannot be thought of.

177 It is true that actually the Government often interferes with the native customs of the Isneg, and in many cases it could not very well 593 do otherwise, but the latter consider it as alien and regard its ways as entirely contrary to their traditions; they would most certainly like to get rid of it at the first opportunity. The Isneg submit of course, as the constabulary is supposed to be mostly wide awake, but they generally do so very reluctantly and often under protest; occasionally they even disobey, and sometimes not without reason, especially in cases of interference with their traditional family life.

177 Just to give a couple of examples. The local authorities force the parents to send their children to school; anybody who disregards this 871 rule is punished by being obliged to furnish free labor to the Gov- 582 ernment. Now the wisdom of this regulation cannot always reason- 593 ably be doubted, because, if no strict measures were taken, nobody would go to school. But even children of marriageable age very often fall under this rule, as Apayaw is sparsely populated and the officials are anxious to present decent reports to their superiors; and so Isneg parents who allow their children to marry, face a very disagreeable dilemma: they have either to continue to send to school, in this way breaking up the home as they understand it, or to disobey and be liable to be taken into custody by policemen. It should be noted here that the law of the land recognizes such marriages as valid, but local officials sometimes have little regard for them. By this [797] time, however, the Isneg have found a way out, namely by becoming Christians and contracting marriage before the priest. Such marriages are always duly recorded of course, and so the young people escape forced attendance at school, and the parents avoid trouble with the Government. After all it is the Church that helps the Isneg to keep to his original traditions about the essentials of marriage and home life.

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Namaltugan); but this is certainly not an Isneg custom, and it would not even be true to say that polyandry is sporadic among the natives, as the above example is probably unique in Apayaw.

No Isneg is precluded from contracting marriage or regarded as incapable of the same, and so also there are no marriages that could be said to be enjoined by law or by custom to certain classes of people. The only marriage impediments that exist among the Isneg, besides lineal consanguinity, are collateral consanguinity in the first and in the second degree, and so marriage is forbidden between brothers and sisters, and between first cousins. Marriages between second cousins, although not prohibited, are comparatively rare; they seem to be shunned by the Isneg.

2. Courtship

And now we come to the description of how Isneg boys and girls enter the state of matrimony.

Whereas among the Kankanay and other tribes of the Mountain Province, the groom goes to work for a certain period of time in the house of the bride's parents, in Apayaw the Isneg boy merely buys his wife from her parents.

But first of all, who makes the choice? Are the children free and left to their own devices, or do the parents arrange the whole affair among themselves? Have the children anything to say in the matter, or have they merely to agree to their parents' wishes?

Infant marriages exist in Apayaw, but they are the exception. In such cases the parents arrange everything and perform all customary ceremonies that precede the actual marriage, while the bride and groom are still too young to know anything about the matter, and perhaps before they have ever seen each other. These marriages are never consummated and the final marriage ceremony never takes place before the regular age, which means usually not before the age of sixteen years for the boy and fourteen for the girl. But such marriages are as easily broken off as they are contracted; indeed, either of the two parties or both may have conscientious objections, because they have somebody else in sight or for some other reason, in which case the transactions never go any further. Whatever has been paid to the parents of the bride is returned to the original owners, and everything goes on as if nothing had happened. I know of one such case of infant marriage, or rather of agreement between the parents while bride and groom were still in their infancy: it was related to

727 ally the houses are burnt. The attacking warriors withdraw after a time and start for home with what heads they have secured.

If the warriors have secured some heads, they start shouting in triumph while still some distance from home. The women answer and come out to meet them. There is much victorious clamour. Each successful warrior hacks his heads in pieces and either places them on bamboos in front of his house, or else hangs them in the convenient large tree sacred to his especial *anito*. They are decorated with flowers. Then the people hold a feast, called *boda*, at which they eat and drink; but do not dance. The main event is the [537] triumphal shouting of the warriors. Each relates in a chant the mighty deeds which he has done.

MARRIAGE

● 582 A youth is free to select and woo the girl of his 584 choice—with his nose flute, *baling*, or a kind of jews- [534] harp, *oribao*, or by other means common to youth the [836] world over. If she is agreeable, the courtship becomes serious and they enter into an arrangement, *aluloy*, whereby the sleep together for a period of from three months to a year. They are in earnest in this affair, for they know that, if it does not result in marriage, they must pay a heavy fine. Their object is pregnancy.

583 When the youth decides to have the marriage, he 584 requests his parents to deliver several baskets of rice cakes to the house of the girl. All the relatives of both parties are notified and assemble in the house to arrange for the wedding. They have a feast: rice.

000 ing wife might vanish; but before the break of day, he discovered that his much beloved wife had gone out of sight. Since then she has never been located; even by the bird Bulaoitan, which was instructed to go to every nook and corner of the surrounding country. But that loss never weakened the morale of the six Pindayan warrior brothers.

Still, in spite of mishaps, they held firm their stand against all aggressive enemies with the aid of the great bees which roofed their house, the only house in Pindayan.

THE COURTSHIP OF HINADOLAN.

582 Hatan told Hinadolan to marry Himbangonan, who lived in Dudongan, and stay in her house. Indayo, the father of Himbangonan, told her that they could not be married unless Hinadolan presented him with the head of a freeman.

726 Hinadolan, accompanied by his brother Abbiwan, went to hunt the head. They started for Dombilan. When the people of Dombilan saw the two brothers coming, they knew at once that they were coming to fight. So the people sought shelter within their great, high iron stockade. But Hinadolan, using his magical powers, jumped high into the air over the stockade and landed in front of the enemy so that the fight began at once. Hinadolan killed many of the enemies
000 and started back with one head in his hands. Again he attempted to jump over the iron stockade; but he caught on top of it. He bawled and bawled and struggled to get away; but he could ont. So he told his

628 ed a jar of *basi* and invited all the people to drink with the brothers. When they were gathered, he asked them all to come into the house. After they were all in, he fastened them in. Then he offered a cup of *basi* to the *maingel*. Instead of letting him take it, Ewagan dashed the *basi* on the head of the *maingel* and killed him. Then the brothers killed all the people and flew with their blood to the river. All the possessions of those people wer collected; and Ewagan, by his magic powers, flew them to Pindayan, his home.

582 Then the brothers went to the house of Himbanganan in Dudongan, bringing her all the heads of the people of Dombilan. Himbanganan was afraid in the presence of all the brothers, and promptly agreed to marry Hinadolan without the necessity of a dowry. She followed the brothers to Pindayan, where she and Hinadolan were married and lived thereafter.

THE ORPHANS

789 Long ago there lived three orphans; two boys and a girl. These orphans were the sons and daughter of a rich family. These brothers and the sister were expert magicians. They did not suffer any hardships. When they became hungry, they just prayed to an *anito* for their needs and their wants would all be [577] provided for. They were very religious. They were humane and helpful to those who were in need.

789 One day they wanted to have a feast. So they 574 invited all their relatives, their friends, and all their neighbors. They only prepared one chupa of rice, one

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771 insurgents, the Hapaw people (Ifugaw) hid their priest in the forest
177 for a considerable time; and I am sure that our Negritos and Isneg
797 would do the same to us if necessary. They are supposed to be inferior to the Christians in many respects, they themselves believe so, and the Christians do not fail to impress it upon their mind through word and deed: an Iloko or Kagayan has not respect for an Isneg, and again Iloko, Kagayan and Isneg oppress the Negrito whenever they can.

Now comes along a man who sympathizes with these pariahs, a man who understands them, a man who, although teaching a different religion, never ridicules them, a man who always puts them on the same level with other human beings, a man who is willing to live with them, to share their food and their mat, a man who learns their language and their customs, a man who takes their side even against the Christians when the latter are wrong: what can they feel but respect and even love for such an extraordinary being? Then add to this, in the case of the Isneg, their frequent intercourse with Christians and the patent superiority of the latter's civilization, which excites the ambition of the former, and it will not be wondered at that the priest and his religion are respected, that Isneg mothers bring their children for baptism just as the Christians do, that the Isneg youth wants to be instructed in Christian doctrine, and that Christianity is considered as the ultimate goal of a great number of Isneg young men and women.

183 Here among the Isneg I have never yet met with that strong
788 opposition to baptism, which formerly was so very common among
171 pagan Kankanay fathers and mothers in several of their villages,
177 and if the inborn indolence of the Isneg could be done away with, all
797 youngsters would be Christians within a very short time. In the
771 case of old men and women, although they rarely object to Christian-
178 ity as such, still they usually hold rather tenaciously to their tradi-
184 tional practices, which, however, does not prevent them at the same time from giving complete freedom to their offspring.

585 Last year at Namaltugan, two Christian Isneg intended to get
583 married; when the groom firmly refused to have anything to do with
177 native pagan customs, the relatives on both sides agreed to everything,
178 except on the question of the payment that had to be given to the
183 parents of the bride: on this they strongly insisted; it had nothing to do with religion, and so it had to be observed.

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Namaltugan); but this is certainly not an Isneg custom, and it would not even be true to say that polyandry is sporadic among the natives, as the above example is probably unique in Apayaw.

582 835

No Isneg is precluded from contracting marriage or regarded as incapable of the same, and so also there are no marriages that could be said to be enjoined by law or by custom to certain classes of people. The only marriage impediments that exist among the Isneg, besides lineal consanguinity, are collateral consanguinity in the first and in the second degree, and so marriage is forbidden between brothers and sisters, and between first cousins. Marriages between second cousins, although not prohibited, are comparatively rare; they seem to be shunned by the Isneg.

2. Courtship

583 •

And now we come to the description of how Isneg boys and girls enter the state of matrimony.

Whereas among the Kankanay and other tribes of the Mountain Province, the groom goes to work for a certain period of time in the house of the bride's parents, in Apayaw the Isneg boy merely buys his wife from her parents.

584

But first of all, who makes the choice? Are the children free and left to their own devices, or do the parents arrange the whole affair among themselves? Have the children anything to say in the matter, or have they merely to agree to their parents' wishes?

[582]

Infant marriages exist in Apayaw, but they are the exception. In such cases the parents arrange everything and perform all customary ceremonies that precede the actual marriage, while the bride and groom are still too young to know anything about the matter, and perhaps before they have ever seen each other. These marriages are never consummated and the final marriage ceremony never takes place before the regular age, which means usually not before the age of sixteen years for the boy and fourteen for the girl. But such marriages are as easily broken off as they are contracted; indeed, either of the two parties or both may have conscientious objections, because they have somebody else in sight or for some other reason, in which case the transactions never go any further. Whatever has been paid to the parents of the bride is returned to the original owners, and everything goes on as if nothing had happened. I know of one such case of infant marriage, or rather of agreement between the parents while bride and groom were still in their infancy: it was related to

[585]

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This, however, does not necessarily imply that he has coitus with her, nor does it always signify that marriage will take place and that the engagement will not be broken. It simply means that he sleeps with her (*magkadorón*, "to sleep together"). All this goes to show that the parents of the bride generally know about the whole affair long before any steps have been taken on the part of the boy's relatives, so that they have ample time to put a stop to it, if they have any objections to the marriage in question. It is not rare even to hear the girl's parents tell the young couple, while they are together in the evening: "*Ará, manipatugnúlkayo no piyánnu ya maxatáwa*", "Hollo, have the *tugnúl* [which will be explained presently] performed if you want to marry".

No sooner has the young man obtained complete assurance of the fact that his love is being reciprocated by his sweetheart, than he informs his parents about the matter at the first opportunity. Should they object, he will of course insist as much as possible, at least if his desire to marry that particular girl is very serious. And if nevertheless his parents obstinately refuse to give their consent, then the boy will either break off all further relations with the girl and try his luck with somebody else, or the parties will elope and wait for better times to perform the customary ceremonies. And for some of them they will not have to wait long, as the parents of the girl will not fail to claim as soon as possible the payment which is their due.

3. Premarital Negotiations and Observances

In case the parents of the boy agree to his marriage with the girl he has chosen for his future wife, which of course is the general rule, they themselves from now on attend to further developments. And so there begins a whole series of transactions and ceremonies which I shall try now to describe as faithfully as possible.

Except where especially noted, everything is performed in the same way for any kind of marriage, whether the man be a widower or a divorcee, whether he be young or married already and attempting a second marriage. Nevertheless if the woman is a widow or a divorcee, marriage is very often contracted as in the case of an elopement, and the payment due to the parents of the bride is made after both husband and wife have been living together for some time.

And first, the *amómān*. *Maxamómān* in general means "to converse, to make a contract". In some districts, instead of *maxamómān*, the Isneg use the term *umuné-*, "to enter the house". In this con-

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584 583 nection *maxamómān* (or *umuné-*) means nothing else but "to go to the house of a prospective bride and ask the parents for the hand of their daughter", which is done by the relatives of the groom.

At my first visit to Namaltugan, one evening I was sitting on the porch of the municipal building, when a whole group of Isneg, men and women, old and young, all in festive attire and seemingly in very high spirits and full of glee, were seen passing along and directing their steps toward Aputan. When I inquired about the reason for this display, my companions told me that these Isneg were going to the house of a prospective bride in order to make arrangements for a possible marriage in the near future; they were intent on the *amómān*.

This gathering, which always takes place in the evening, and in which a large group of relatives of the future husband take part, is really a very important business meeting. Here, after the completion of the *sumpád* ceremony, they discuss the *tádug* or price that has to be paid to the parents of the girl, the number of years during which the young husband will have to stay in the house of his parents-in-law before returning to that of his own parents, and so on. The bride and groom, however, take absolutely no part in the deliberations. [824 789] In this connection the *sǎyó* herb should be mentioned for the powerful influence it may be able to exert here: indeed if one or more members of the *amómān* party take some *sǎyó* (a small creeping herb) with them, the girl will most certainly consent to go over to the boy's house immediately after the final ceremony, and the latter will not be obliged to stay even for a short time in the house of his parents-in-law.

584 583 The first part of the *amómān* is known by a special name: *sumpád*, and consists in the formal presentation of the boy's suit by three delegates called *patúgān*. Before dark the *patúgān* start on their way to the house of the girl: one of them is always a young woman, as yet unmarried, and she always carries one, and only one, basket full of native sweets of the variety called *binaladdibád* (*ininapát* in some districts). The *binaladdibád* or *ininapát* consists of *dékat* rice, a kind of very oily rice, sometimes known as "red" rice among Americans residing in the Philippines; the *dékat* is indeed very often red, although there are also several varieties of white *dékat*. The *dékat*, pounded into powder or not, is cooked with coconut milk (expressed from the meat of the coconut) and salt or sugar, and wound in woven

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584 strips of palm leaves, so as to form small, more or less brick-shaped
583 blocks.

Another member of the *patúgān* party is an elderly man, who occasionally carries one or more presents for the parents of the girl; these consist of one or more spears (*siñál*), headaxes (*aliwá*), etc. Sometimes clothes also are given on this occasion: jackets, headbands, blankets, etc.; these are then carried by the woman with the *simbá-*, who will be mentioned presently. These presents, however, are entirely supererogatory and are given only by well-to-do people.

584 The most important of the three is an elderly woman, whether
[789] married or widowed. In no case, however, may she be a *bálo* or widow in mourning, and the reason is not far to seek: such a woman could never bring happiness to the future husband and wife; on the contrary, she would merely serve as an ill-boding messenger and announce ahead of time the early demise of the man in whose behalf she asks for the hand of the girl: her recent bereavement would be a sure presage of the same contingency happening to the girl for
[602] whose hand she sues. This elderly woman is usually the mother of the boy; but in her default, another female near relative may do, for instance, an aunt, a first cousin, etc. If the prospective groom is a married man, his wife or, if he has more than one wife, one of
584 them, plays the role of the third member of the party. The latter
583 carries the *simbá-* (from *tabbá-*, "stringing beads"), which consists of one or more strings of beads. If the boy is of wealthy parentage, the *simbá-* is or are made of valuable beads. But this is not at all requisite: any beads will do, and even the most diminutive string of the smallest and most common variety of beads is sufficient for the purpose. With the exception of this last-mentioned woman, the *patúgān* are usually chosen among those relatives of the boy who are renowned for glibness of tongue, and with reason, as will be seen presently.

On the acceptance or non-acceptance of the *simbá-* by the parents of the girl depends the future of the two young people. Nevertheless a refusal is exceedingly rare, as the repeated nocturnal visits of the young man at the house of his future parents-in-law and his frequent staying overnight and sleeping with his girl, could hardly have escaped notice, and consequently the owners of the house could have notified him of their displeasure, long before such elaborate preparations, as entailed by the *amómān*, were completed on the part of the

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boy's relatives. Should the girl's parents refuse, however, the whole affair is nipped in the bud, and no further advances will be made by the scorned lady, the third member of the *patúgān* party. In this case the young people may take the law in their own hands and elope without further ado, or the boy may simply take the girl, in case the latter consents, into the house of his parents. This may happen even though a year has elapsed since the miscarriage of the *sumpád*. But just as in the case of refusal on the part of the parents of the boy at the time of the latter's engagement, with consequent elopement of the two interested parties, here also further developments will very soon have to take place, and a kind of *amómān* will not fail to be performed, because of the unwillingness of the girl's parents to forego the customary payment or *tádug*.

If the boy is wealthy, the other party is generally more or less exacting with reference to the value of the *simbá-* and its concomitant gifts. But the bearer of the *simbá-* is always prepared for such an emergency: she rarely proffers everything at once, and it may take much time and much talking before everything is finally considered as satisfactory by the relatives of the girl. In no case, however, do the *patúgān* hand over their gifts before their suit has been accepted: they merely show what they have, and the gifts change hands and become the property of the girl's parents only after a definite agreement has been reached.

After the *sumpád* has been brought to a happy conclusion and the *simbá-* accepted by the girl's party, the business meeting continues and other matters relating to the future marriage are discussed, the most important of which is of course the question of the *tádug* or price that will have to be paid by the boy's parents to those of the girl. It should be noted in this connection that the *tádug* goes to the parents of the girl and never to the married couple. This discussion is usually a heated one, especially when the *patúgān* have not been able to conclude the transaction before the arrival of the other members of the boy's party, which is the usual case. Indeed these generally arrive a couple of hours later than the *patúgān*, except when their residence is far from the meeting place, in which case both the *patúgān* and the other relatives of the groom may arrive simultaneously at the house of the bride's parents. Anyhow it rarely happens that the *patúgān* are able to finish this important business before the others take a hand in it.

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Whereas a banquet is almost always a part of the ceremony and *básí* usually flows freely, it is not to be wondered at that a few altercations and occasional hot words are interspersed in the conversation at regular intervals. Both parties of course look for their own interests: the one tries to get the largest possible amount of valuables, while the other is bent on reducing them to a minimum. Although the whole affair usually ends in a mutual agreement, nevertheless it may happen that at this juncture the meeting is broken up and that no further steps are taken toward the final marriage. Here, however, one has again to reckon with the two young people themselves, who may have set their minds very firmly on the attainment of their hearts' desire, and so an agreement may have to be reached, even though one of the parties is loath to conform. If nevertheless the *amómān* miscarries, the reason is usually to be found in the all too high price exacted by the parents of the girl, or on the all too low value at which the girl is esteemed by those of the boy. But here also the engaged couple may act on their own initiative, as has been explained when stating the case in which the girl's parents refused the *simbá-* beads during the *sumpád* ceremony.

It should be noted here that the relatives of the groom who take part in the *amómān* would hardly dare to start on this important expedition without having provided themselves with the customary amulets, lest some harm befall them. These amulets are called *talimúñáy*, and consist of certain herbs that remain the secret of the shaman.

Although by this time the Isneg know very well the use and value of currency, nevertheless in matrimonial contracts they stick to the old way of paying in kind, and so the *tádug* consists of what the Isneg prize above anything else, namely jars and beads. To these are sometimes added plates, clothes, etc., according to the agreement reached by both parties at the *amómān*. It would be very hard to say what is the regular price paid for an Isneg girl, as everything depends on the means at the disposal of the interested party, but one *xúsi* jar at least and a few beads should be considered as the very smallest amount that could be exacted by the girl's parents. It is not the place here to enumerate the numerous kinds of *xúsi* jars and beads, each with its own native name, that are known to the Isneg. Suffice it to say that not a few of these jars will be valued at fifty dollars, although from our viewpoint they may be worth less than one tenth of that amount; but our evaluation is not that of the Isneg,

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583 435 422 and, if they consider them to be as valuable as that, it is their own business after all. The same may be said with reference to the beads: a single one, if very valuable in the eyes of the natives, may command the price of a carabao or water buffalo, from thirty to fifty dollars, while other ones may be had almost for the asking.

583 435 422 353 415 178 523 All these jars are earthenware of Chinese make, imported from China long before the arrival of the Spaniards; consequently antiquity is an important item in the estimation of their value. Jars that have been imported recently usually command a much lower price. A great many of the beads also antedate the coming of the Spaniards and were also originally imported from China. Actually, however, beads of all kinds have been put on the market and their origin is very often shrouded in mystery. Isneg plates are all made of coarse earthenware and have mostly been introduced from China; but, although most of them date from comparatively recent times, they are still of the same kind, shape, color and composition as those they have replaced, as may be proved by fragments occasionally unearthed in places formerly inhabited by Isneg. These people certainly hold fast to their old ways and customs; modern crockery is not to their taste. As the Isneg do not weave their own clothes, the latter have of necessity to be bought from outsiders.

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584 583 591 During the *amómân* it is also decided whether the boy has to stay with his parents-in-law or not, and for how long in case he has to do so, which is the customary way. The number of years varies very much, as some stay three years, others from five to ten, and even in a few cases the husband never goes back to the house of his own parents.

574 584 262 No really important business can be transacted, of course, among the Isneg, without remembering the cravings of the stomach. In the ordinary course of events one or more pigs are slaughtered according to the social standing of the girl's parents. If they are too poor to indulge in such prodigality, a chicken will do. In both cases a dog may complete the menu, although this is not absolutely required. No special name is given to the killing and consuming of the chicken; but if one or more pigs enter the lists, the whole ceremony is called *pildáp*. Nevertheless in a few isolated cases, when the people are much too poor, the banquet is completely left out, and the deliberations are conducted on empty stomachs.

584 574 562 All during the *amómân* the men conduct everything that is connected with the *pildáp*. The *dorarákit* or shamaness does not interfere in the least.

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585 263 On the day fixed for the *ákit*, the relatives of the girl come together at the latter's house, where a large amount of native sweets has been prepared for the purpose. These sweets are of different kinds:

The *sinandilá: dékat* rice pounded into powder and cooked with coconut oil, coconut milk and salt or sugar, in a shape like that of our ordinary pancakes;

The *binaladdibád* or *ininapát*, as explained previously;

The *linazókog: dékat* rice pounded into powder, salted and cooked in lard, with neither sugar nor coconut products added to it; these cakes have more or less the form of our doughnuts, except that they are very flat; their diameter is usually from two to three inches, and there is a round hole in the center;

The *pinatará-: dékat* rice pounded into powder and cooked, after which it is cut into strips; in the meanwhile coconut milk is cooked in some other receptacle, and when the latter is boiling, first salt and then the *dékat* strips are added to it. The *pinatará-* take all kinds of shapes, but in general they are long and narrow, and look more or less like sections of a candle.

585 583 When everything is ready, the women take charge of the baskets (*la-bá*) full of cakes, and one or more men carry a pig, which is called the *bálat* (revenge, taking turns, etc.) on this occasion. All these are so-called presents that will be distributed to the relatives of the groom by those of the bride. Then the whole procession, in which the *mañlakkát* plays the most conspicuous rôle, proceeds on its way to the boy's house; this may be done in the daytime as well as in the evening: no special time is set for the ceremony. It should be noted once for all that, if the groom is a married man and has a house of his own, all ceremonies connected with the *ákit* and the ensuing *lablabág* are conducted at his own house, and not at that of his parents.

585 292 And now as to the *mañlakkát*. This is always a young girl as yet unmarried, and she is not allowed to wear any other body garment but the tapis or *akén*, and probably the *talút* or G-string, which after all remains invisible. A *saríkaw* hat, like the one worn by a woman after her delivery when she goes to take her first bath, completes her attire. Out of modesty, however, the *mañlakkát* does not wear her tapis in the customary way, that is, from the waist down, but she passes it over her breasts, so that the latter are covered, with the obvious result that her thighs are partially uncovered, as the lower end of the tapis barely reaches half-way down between the buttocks

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585 allowed to mount the ladder, either by herself or on the back of the *mañlakkát*.

Once inside she has to go immediately toward the place where a *balandán* blanket, the property of the boy's parents, has been spread on the floor, and to sit down upon it. The *balandán* consists of three rectangular pieces of cloth, sewn together at the sides, not at the edges; the two sutures are provided with large ornamental stitches of purple thread. The bride, however, is not to stay there very long, as she has barely squatted down on the *balandán* when her mother pulls it away from under her, and takes possession of the same. Here also the *mañlakkát* dons her customary attire, — jacket, headband and the rest, — as her rôle is finished by this time.

585 574 264 The parents of the boy usually prepare a banquet for all present; chickens or pigs and dogs are slaughtered, according to the social standing of the owners of the house, but, as previously noted, no shaman performs the *maxañito*. Should the *bálat* be killed on this occasion, which is not absolutely necessary, as the boy's parents may prefer to keep it alive, neither bride nor groom, nor any of the girl's relatives, is allowed to partake of it. If any of them should infringe this taboo and eat the meat of the *bálat* pig, his or her children, whether born already or to be born in the future, would die a certain death. The same prohibition obtains with reference to the cakes. It is certainly a great sacrifice for an Isneg not to partake of a meal of pork and rice, and only the fear of some dire punishment such as that of death for his children could effectively check his appetite in that direction. But in nearly all cases the boy's parents slaughter some other animal, which all present are allowed to partake. It goes without saying that a copious flow of *básí* keeps the whole company in merriment, otherwise you could not very well call it a marriage feast.

585 583 431 The principal ceremony, however, consists in the distribution of gifts, of which there are two classes:

1. The *ákit* (from which the whole marriage ceremony takes its name, *mañakit:* to perform a marriage ceremony): these are gifts of beads, clothes, etc., offered by the boy's relatives and outsiders to the women of the girl's party in exchange for a certain amount of cakes, or some part of the *bálat*, in case the latter is slaughtered.

2. The *tugnúl:* gifts of spears, headaxes, *xúsi* jars, etc., also offered by the boy's relatives and outsiders, but this time to the men of the girl's party, again in exchange for cakes or portions of the *bálat*.

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Accurate notice is always taken of all the items given, their nature and their value, and also of the person who gives each object. On a similar occasion in the future, the donor will be repaid according to his own generosity or closefistedness. An Isneg is a very practical man: a gift as such is barely known to him; "it is better to give than to receive", is not understood by him at all. To an Isneg "to give" always includes the notion of "with the hope of getting back something at least equal in value".

Those of the guests who proffer neither *ákit* nor *tugnúl* are not allowed to partake either of the sweets or of the *bálat* (which is said to be sold); but they can eat any other food that is prepared for this occasion.

And then comes the presentation of the *tádug* or price agreed upon at the *amómăn*. The *tádug*, which is paid by the boy's parents and becomes the exclusive property of the girl's parents, may be given entirely at this juncture, but it very often happens that only a partial payment is made at this time, and that the rest is paid later, either all at once or in instalments. The latter course very often gives rise to vehement quarrels, as the groom's parents are bent on protracting the payment as long as possible, while those of the bride are anxious to settle the matter without delay.

And all the time bride and groom remain almost completely excluded from all participation in these ceremonies. They do not receive even the smallest present on this occasion, and as far as *ákit*, *tugnúl* and *tádug* are concerned, they are mere lookers-on.

All this goes to show that a girl in the family is a precious asset to the Isneg. Besides the *tádug*, the exclusive property of her parents, there are all the objects that go to her relatives at the time of the *ákit;* and all this in exchange for a pig, the *bálat*, and a certain amount of cakes. All that the relatives of the boy get out of it is partaking of a feast a couple of times, at the *amómăn* and at the *ákit*, and eating a few cakes, which after all are not so very highly esteemed. But they will have their revenge in time, of course, as they also have marriageable girls among their relatives. And so, everything considered, nobody is the loser, and certainly not the young couple: although they have received no gifts, their share of the inheritance is handed to them at this time by their respective parents, and then they have one another. Happiness, I dare believe, is very real on both sides, except perhaps in a few instances where one of them or both married merely to comply with the wishes of their elders. But

000 in these jars, together with the beads. The[1] jars are
523 valued up to ₱200 and bead up to ₱150 each. They
[435] are usually inherited in the family as marriage dow-
[431] ries; but may be received as indemnity for injuries.
[425] Sometimes labels, in the ancient script, are chiseled
[583] on these jars. According to authorities, when the
[681] people came here, they had a high culture and read
212 and wrote fluently in the script; but this culture grad-
178 ually lessened from disuse until now there are only
523 a few treasured ancient manuscripts remaining.

415 One type of basket is used. The lip is circuar-
285 formed on rattan. The bottom is drawn out to four corners on which is secured a rattan base. Both wicker and twilled basket weaves are used, and the best ones are ornamented with colored lines and conventional designs. These baskets are woven in different sizes to fit various needs; so that a good housewife has a whole set of them which will nest together There are also some especially shaped baskets for particular uses.

415 At meal time the cooked rice is ladled out on new
264 banana leaves placed on the floor, and the other food may be placed in polished, half-coconut shells. These are also used as water cups, finger bowls, and general containers. The family squat around and help themselves to the food. Their fingers are washed and, being more convenient, are used in place of forks.

262 The rice has a pinkish hue, is sticky, has a good flavor, and is the basic food of the people. With this may be eaten portions of the flesh of fish, shrimp, snails, crabs, crocodiles, lizards, frogs, ants, chickens,
000 birds, or deer. The vegetables may be: tomatoes, egg-

[1] [ancient Chinese -- ANALYST] 8

727 ally the houses are burnt. The attacking warriors withdraw after a time and start for home with what heads they have secured.

If the warriors have secured some heads, they start shouting in triumph while still some distance from home. The women answer and come out to meet them. There is much victorious clamour. Each successful warrior hacks his heads in pieces and either places them on bamboos in front of his house, or else hangs them in the convenient large tree sacred to his especial *anito*. They are decorated with flowers. Then the people hold a feast, called *boda*, at which they eat and drink; but do not dance. The main event is the [537] triumphal shouting of the warriors. Each relates in a chant the mighty deeds which he has done.

MARRIAGE

582 A youth is free to select and woo the girl of his
584 choice—with his nose flute, *baling*, or a kind of jews-
[534] harp, *oribao*, or by other means common to youth the
[836] world over. If she is agreeable, the courtship becomes serious and they enter into an arrangement, *aluloy*, whereby the sleep together for a period of from three months to a year. They are in earnest in this affair, for they know that, if it does not result in marriage, they must pay a heavy fine. Their object is pregnancy.

583 When the youth decides to have the marriage, he
584 requests his parents to deliver several baskets of rice cakes to the house of the girl. All the relatives of both parties are notified and assemble in the house to arrange for the wedding. They have a feast: rice.

They have a feast: rice
basi, and the greater part of a pig or dog are served. 584
Then business begins. The parents and relatives of 583
the youth, arrange the amount of the dowry, *todog*. 574
If it is of less value, the youth must stay in the house 262
of the girl. When the contract is agreed upon, it is strictly adhered to; and the youth and girl are said to be married.

The real ceremony, *aqueb*, then follows. The pa- 585
rents of the girl bring pigs and baskets of rice-cakes to the house of the youth. The girl comes in company with several old women. They all stop about one hundred yards from the house of the youth. There they are met by the parents or mother of the youth, bearing valuable gifts for the parents of the girl. The youth's mother then requests the girl from her parents. Upon approval, the whole company moves to the house, where the mother presents her gifts to the parents of the girl. The rice cakes are sold to the re- 735
latives of the youth, the nominal price being P1.00 per basket. Then the merry-making starts and continues through the night. The youth and girl must 784
not eat the sweets, as one of them would die. In the morning final payments of the dowry are made and distributed. Then the young couple are considered to be properly married, but still controlled by their parents.

When the young woman feels that she is about to 844
give birth, either the husband or the mother-in-law will twist a piece of cloth, light one end, and place it, the *pungan*, at the door. With it is the coconut shred- 42
der, *igad*. These guard the woman while delivering so that no *anito* can come into the house to annoy the

Bowa has always been getting dead human beings from graves for his food. 776

WIR-WER TAKES A MATE

The *anito* Wir-wer goes everywhere spending his time looking for the dead. Wir-wer lives on dead bodies which he digs out of the ground, excavating the graves of dead people. Limbobia is his wife. If there is a dead person, the priests call this *anito*, placating him so that he will not eat the corpse. [764]

A long time ago in Marágat all the children were on the ground after supper playing hide and seek in the dark. One small girl was playing, holding a firebrand. Wir-wer swooped down, grabbed her, and took her into the air. The girl cried, "Mother! Help!!" Wir-wer went through the air very fast to his house in the air. The mother, almost crazy, followed below just as fast. Wir-wer's house was a big cave full of valuable properties taken from graves of dead persons. It was in the forest, in Mount Anag. The mother was there when Wir-wer said: "You must give me beads". "Why do you want my daughter", she scolded. "To stay in my house," Wirwer replied. It was arranged that Wirwer should give her many beads for her daughter. She returned home loaded with so many beads that she could hardly carry them. He also gave her the seedings of the rice called *dumalay;* which most of the people now raise. It ordinarily takes about three days for a person to go from home of Wirwer to Maragat; but the woman made it in only a few hours. 583 776

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Not so long ago I opened two dormitories for High School students, one for boys and one for girls. These young people came here directly from their villages, for the most part without having received as yet any serious Christian instruction. Since that time I have been inclined more than once to stop the whole affair; at any rate I shall certainly never again accept them indiscriminately. If I had to watch them strictly only on one side, it would not be so bad; but when even some of the girls have to be kept under close surveillance, the situation becomes almost intolerable. The dormitories had barely been started, when I had to expel one boy and one girl: it was not simply a matter of the boy writing love letters, with the girl answering them; but he openly proposed in writing to sleep with her, and the girl consented, also in writing, and gave a date for their future meeting.

Recently one of the girls from the girls' dormitory told me that, at the time she was still studying in her home village, a few of her classmates had absolutely refused to study the prayers (to prepare for baptism), and this for the following reason: "If we were Christians we should not be allowed any more to sleep with the boys at night [using each other's arm for a pillow; not: performing coitus], and this we cannot endure". The last part of this sentence is here put down textually, just as I heard it.

Coeducation which obtains in the public schools helps not a little to take away the small restraint that native Isneg teaching may have produced, and the example of persons who should show them better ways is sometimes far from being an aid to our frail young people on the arduous path of purity and chastity.

Nevertheless children born out of wedlock are the exception. How can we explain this? There is no question of contraceptive measures or voluntary abortion as far as I know, so the reason has to be found elsewhere. This state of affairs may be explained either by the practice of solitary vice or by marriage subsequent on the pregnancy of the girl in every case. Now the latter explanation is in my opinion more often concordant with the actual facts than the former. The boys go to *mamabdy* (court the girls) early in life, and they may have had sex relations very often before the dreaded result occurred. Besides Isneg boys and girls marry very early, and they are allowed to sleep together as soon as they are engaged, so that it is an easy matter to arrange everything in such a way as not to cause the child to be considered as born out of wedlock. Public education as it is in

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Namaltugan); but this is certainly not an Isneg custom, and it would not even be true to say that polyandry is sporadic among the natives, as the above example is probably unique in Apayaw. 595

No Isneg is precluded from contracting marriage or regarded as incapable of the same, and so also there are no marriages that could be said to be enjoined by law or by custom to certain classes of people. The only marriage impediments that exist among the Isneg, besides lineal consanguinity, are collateral consanguinity in the first and in the second degree, and so marriage is forbidden between brothers and sisters, and between first cousins. Marriages between second cousins, although not prohibited, are comparatively rare; they seem to be shunned by the Isneg. 582 835

2. *Courtship*

And now we come to the description of how Isneg boys and girls enter the state of matrimony. 583

Whereas among the Kankanay and other tribes of the Mountain Province, the groom goes to work for a certain period of time in the house of the bride's parents, in Apayaw the Isneg boy merely buys his wife from her parents.

But first of all, who makes the choice? Are the children free and left to their own devices, or do the parents arrange the whole affair among themselves? Have the children anything to say in the matter, or have they merely to agree to their parents' wishes? 584

Infant marriages exist in Apayaw, but they are the exception. In such cases the parents arrange everything and perform all customary ceremonies that precede the actual marriage, while the bride and groom are still too young to know anything about the matter, and perhaps before they have ever seen each other. These marriages are never consummated and the final marriage ceremony never takes place before the regular age, which means usually not before the age of sixteen years for the boy and fourteen for the girl. But such marriages are as easily broken off as they are contracted; indeed, either of the two parties or both may have conscientious objections, because they have somebody else in sight or for some other reason, in which case the transactions never go any further. Whatever has been paid to the parents of the bride is returned to the original owners, and everything goes on as if nothing had happened. I know of one such case of infant marriage, or rather of agreement between the parents while bride and groom were still in their infancy: it was related to [582] [585]

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584 me by the girl herself, and she did not seem to take the whole affair as at all serious; she did not look as if she was inclined to allow the boy to take possession of her heart, let alone of her whole body.

Marriages between grown-up boys and girls that are arranged by the parents without consulting the interested parties, or at least without the said youngsters having taken the first steps in that direction, are much more frequent, and in many cases the young people readily agree, either because they are not so particular about the qualities of their future partner, provided there be one, or because they are otherwise loath to go against the wishes of their elders. But as in the case of infant marriages, objections on the part of either of the two may be sufficient to prevent either the first proposal or all further developments.

The usual way, however, among our Isneg, is that the young man looks for the girl of his choice, wins her consent, and then informs his parents about the matter. After that the elders of both boy and girl take upon themselves the responsibility of all further transactions and ceremonies.

581 Now what qualities are supposed to make the perfect girl in the
832 eyes of an Isneg boy, or at least what is the boy looking for in the
826 girl to whom he will give his heart? She should be handsome (*napiyd*)
461 of course, which means that her skin should be clean, smooth and light-colored; the darker the uglier, the whiter the prettier, is a common Isneg criterion. If possible she should be fat and plump; in the eyes of an Isneg, lean girls are not the acme of beauty. But all this is only of secondary importance; she should be *nalaggát*, "diligent, active", and that is more necessary than anything else: all other qualities are subordinate to this one, and the most handsome flirt will be discarded at once for a diligent girl, be she ever so ugly and as thin as a bean stalk.

And so also in the eyes of a girl, a boy be he ever so handsome (*natáram*),—a quality which however is never despised, provided it goes together with the most important one,—will never make a desirable husband if he is not *nalaggát*. He must not necessarily be a *mánal*, a brave, but he should love work: that is what counts.

581 It might be wondered why the question of diligence is by far more
171 important among the Isneg than among other tribes, to whom other
461 qualities look much more valuable. Indeed in Bontok, for instance, at least formerly, a boy would rarely win a girl, if he had not yet shown some sign of courage, either by taking the head of an enemy

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or by some other brave deed. Why is love of work an almost necessary requisite in Apayaw, where the natives are renowned for their laziness? Or is this almost proverbial love of idleness the reason why future partners look for the contrary virtue in their mates? Is the boy perhaps convinced that he will never be able to earn a decent livelihood, if he is not assisted by a woman who is active and industrious? Does he perhaps know all too well that his hatred of exertion and hard work will never lead to anything, if the girl of his choice does not make up for his deficiencies? And does the Isneg girl perhaps look for an active husband as for a jewel of great price, knowing that the scarcer an object is, the costlier it becomes? I do not think so. The Isneg certainly lack all means of comparison between themselves and members of other tribes, and besides they rarely believe that they are lovers of leisure and idleness, as they usually resent very much hearing outsiders say so. I think that the whole question fits in with the social reason for marriage as given above. Boys marry in order to be helped by a woman, and so they necessarily look for an active one first of all; and girls know that they will carry a heavy burden, so they prefer somebody upon whom they can rely in time of need, somebody who will lend them a helping hand and do his full share as far as custom allows. This I believe to be the explanation of the whole situation.

As soon as a boy has attained the age at which marriage may be contemplated in the not too distant future, he passes most of his evenings at the house of marriageable girls, and he usually has little difficulty in knowing more or less intimately any girls that might possibly be conquered by him. He sees them at home, chats with them, sometimes plays with them, and, except when the parents of a girl definitely object to his suitability as a future partner for their daughter, even passes the night sleeping at their houses.

A few girls are real flirts (*aŋkár*); they are, as the Isneg puts it, fond of men, and if such a situation continues for a considerable time, without any prospect of marriage in the near future, they may become broken-hearted and even lose their minds. Nevertheless such cases are the exception, and active courtship (*mamabdy*, from the stem *babdy*, "woman") is generally the exclusive occupation of boys, while the girls, at least outwardly, usually seem to be very hard to please. But a boy has many ways of attracting the attention of the girls. Just to enumerate a few of them:

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584 832 534 [828] 1. The use of musical instruments, which he plays at the house of the girls, usually while lying down in the evening, and which are supposed to have a very soothing influence on the mind of any member of the weaker sex. As this is not the place to describe these instruments at length, I shall merely enumerate them and add a few of their most outstanding characteristics:

The *kuribáw*, a kind of Jew's-harp, entirely made of bamboo, whose tongue is struck by the finger at its fixed base.

The *aziwáń*, another kind of Jew's-harp, partially made of bamboo, whose metal tongue is moved by a string.

The *balíkiń* or nose flute, which consists of a slender tube of bamboo, open at both ends, and provided with holes along its length, three at one side and one at the other.

584 832 533 2. The singing of love songs (*magdaldallán*). This is done in the daytime as well as in the evening, whenever the boy is moved by concupiscence (*makibabbáy*). Such songs, however, are not the exclusive property of the male sex.

584 834 192 3. The pronunciation of special terms, otherwise meaningless, that are supposed to have a magical influence on the female sex. These are interwoven in the verses of the song and more or less connected with the rest of the sentence. Such terms are: *dumaripón, duminídiń, dumardarobó*, etc.

584 832 302 824 4. The use of perfumes (*bańúg*), usually consisting of fragrant herbs or leaves stuck in the headband; although unseen by the girl in the evening, these perfumes forcibly strike her nostrils in an agreeable manner. Any kind of perfume may be used for the purpose, but the most esteemed on such occasions is the *malindáw* (called *indáw* at Bolo). The *malindáw* is a small tree covered with spines and provided with very aromatic leaves. The *Andn* brook near Dangla flows through a thicket that is renowned for the abundance and variety of its odoriferous plants: *sildyon* (aromatic leaves, parasitic on trees), *ditán* (aromatic seeds, a kind of rattan), *malindáw*, etc.

584 832 776 Here two spirits occasionally play an important role: both of them are supposed to spread a very agreeable odor, and they sometimes accompany the boys on their courting expeditions, although nothing is done by the latter to attract them. They are:

Asindw: a spirit who lives in the hills and always wears very nice apparel; he is supposed to be visible at times. He merely accompanies the boy and through his fragrance influences the girl in behalf of her lover.

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Iwaxdn: a spirit who formerly was a man, assiduous in courting the girls and very clever in causing the latter to allow him to perform coitus with them. If the boy who goes to court the girls happens to have a small bottle of coconut oil on his person, which is quite customary, *Iwaxdn* sometimes enters the bottle, so that the girl may smell the fragrance he emits and fall in love with the boy.

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5. The wearing of beads. The most powerful in this line are the *buláwan*, round beads, varying much in size, of the color of silver, and possessing a kind of silky lustre. They appear in strings that are worn as necklaces or as ornaments around the headband. Although they prove very attractive to the girl when worn by the boy who comes to court her, these beads are not the exclusive property of the male sex: both men and women make use of them for ornamental purposes.

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6. The giving of presents, as rings, trinkets, clothes, and so on. Isneg young men of marriageable age very often carry their articles for chewing betel nut in a pouch (*kélay*), a rather large and generally multicolored handkerchief, hanging from the neck and dangling on the chest; two ends are knotted immediately over the contents with a large double knot, the other two are joined at the top and reach the neck of the wearer. All along both sides, from the receptacle up to about half-way between the latter and the neck, a series of rings (*sañkilát*) covers the cloth. The girl takes betel nut, etc., out of the pouch, and both, boy and girl, occasionally interchange rings, the boy detaching one of his own from his *kélay* to give it to the girl, and the latter adding one of her rings to those of the boy's *kélay*. Such an interchange of rings, however, is not always necessarily a sign of consent on the part of the girl to the advances of the boy: this in modification of a statement made by me in a previous paper (CAC–P, 1:226).

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Incidentally it should be noted here that lovers' gifts are never returned, even though no further steps be taken or though some obstacle come in the way of the realization of the young people's dreams; such gifts always remain the property of the donee.

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7. The use of love charms (*mañimud*) to force the girl to think of him. This item is so exceedingly important that I feel obliged to devote a few paragraphs to the same.

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Love charms are used exclusively and very often, if not universally, by young men, never by girls. They usually consist of some herbs

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the girl in question; as soon as she swallows a part of the juice of this mixture, her love for the other boy will have disappeared in its entirety, and you will have taken his place in her affections.

To complete the account I shall add here the means used by a spurned lover in order to revenge himself on the girl who despises his love. The first thing to do is to obtain another kind of herb or mixture of herbs from the compliant shaman. After that the boy pays a last nocturnal visit to the house of the girl who has definitively refused his advances, and throws a part of this charm, which in this case is not a love charm of course, at the girl in question. If it sticks to her body or to her clothes, the Isneg firmly believe that she will conceive through the sole adherence of the herbs thrown at her; in such a case she will forever be scorned by other young men, and the young man's revenge will be complete. If the charm falls down and does not stick to the girl, she will escape unscathed. Similar beliefs are to be found among other Mountain tribes; in certain Kankanay tales, for instance, there is question of a girl who crosses a brook or takes a bath at a place below the one where a boy has thrown his anklet (Kankanay: *bóyat*) into the water: the latter, having floated down, encircled one of the girl's legs, with the inevitable result, not only that she became pregnant at once, but that her being with child became apparent almost immediately.

All the above information concerning the means used by Isneg lovers to win a girl was given to me by young men who had exactly the required age to know everything about the subject from personal experience. From some of the Isneg boys I have also obtained tests giving typical dialogues between a boy and a girl whom he courts. Owing to their content and length and to the necessity of prefacing them with certain linguistic data of a more general nature, they are given as an appendix to the present paper (pp. 261-80).

The Isneg believe that, if the betel (nut, leaf and lime) which a girl prepares for her lover to chew, causes a burning sensation in the latter's mouth, it is a favorable omen for him. In such a case the boy may hope to find his sweetheart ready to accept his suit. So also, if the betel prepared by a lover for his sweetheart burns in the latter's mouth, the girl understands that the boy is really in love with her.

An Isneg lover generally looks for a good omen before going to court the girls, at least when the affair has become serious or when he takes the necessary steps to know definitively whether his feelings

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832 are reciprocated by his sweetheart. To do this he proceeds exactly
787 in the same way as does the Isneg who is intending to go on a jour-
584 ney: he observes the flight of the *labág* bird, whose female is called
[778] *malaxi-bát*, and if the bird fails to cross his path, the omen is good; if it crosses his path, however, he will wait for another occasion in the not too distant future in order to observe again the flight of the *labág*, and, in case of a favorable answer, to go on with his intentions.

584 The definite steps just referred to consist in the following: the young man takes a bundle of betel leaves, some fifty or more betel nuts, and a ring; he rolls everything in a handkerchief, and carries his precious burden to the house of his sweetheart, some time in the evening. Once there he drops the whole package, called *luptág*, into one of the girl's *aligmamán* baskets, without saying the least word about the same. If the girl brings it back to him, it is a sign of refusal on her part; but if she keeps it, the boy knows for certain that his love has been reciprocated, and both consider themselves as engaged by tacit agreement.

From now on the young man will pay his girl regular visits, even though he may continue occasionally to see other girls. If such visits should stop for a considerable time, although without direct fault of the boy, any Isneg girl would have to conclude that the boy's love had shifted toward somebody else. Should the boy break the engagement, either on his own account or in obedience to the wishes of his elders, he is liable to be fined by the parents of the outraged girl.

To know for sure that the other party's interest has not slackened, Isneg lovers sometimes resort to the proposal of a date for some future meeting. If the girl does not appear at the trysting place, the boy is *maikáwa* (disappointed, annoyed), as this is an unmistakable sign that the girl does not love him any more; if the boy fails to make an appearance, the girl knows that his love toward her has ceased. Although this is done by young people, whether engaged or not, it goes without saying that in the former case it takes place only if some doubt has arisen in the boy's mind or in that of the girl as to the faithfulness of his or her partner.

584 As soon as two people have become engaged, actual Isneg custom
836 allows them to have sexual relations, although no ceremonies have been performed and they are not yet living together. This happens very often of course when the boy goes to see his girl in the evening. A boy who passes his evenings or nights at the house of the girl to whom he has become engaged, is said to *maxal-alldy* or *maxad-adúg*.

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This, however, does not necessarily imply that he has coitus with her, nor does it always signify that marriage will take place and that the engagement will not be broken. It simply means that he sleeps with her (*magkadordn*, "to sleep together"). All this goes to show that the parents of the bride generally know about the whole affair long before any steps have been taken on the part of the boy's relatives, so that they have ample time to put a stop to it, if they have any objections to the marriage in question. It is not rare even to hear the girl's parents tell the young couple, while they are together in the evening: "*Ará, mañipatugnúlkayo no piyánnu ya maxatáwa*", "Hollo, have the *tugnúl* [which will be explained presently] performed if you want to marry".

No sooner has the young man obtained complete assurance of the fact that his love is being reciprocated by his sweetheart, than he informs his parents about the matter at the first opportunity. Should they object, he will of course insist as much as possible, at least if his desire to marry that particular girl is very serious. And if nevertheless his parents obstinately refuse to give their consent, then the boy will either break off all further relations with the girl and try his luck with somebody else, or the parties will elope and wait for better times to perform the customary ceremonies. And for some of them they will not have to wait long, as the parents of the girl will not fail to claim as soon as possible the payment which is their due.

3. Premarital Negotiations and Observances

In case the parents of the boy agree to his marriage with the girl he has chosen for his future wife, which of course is the general rule, they themselves from now on attend to further developments. And so there begins a whole series of transactions and ceremonies which I shall try now to describe as faithfully as possible.

Except where especially noted, everything is performed in the same way for any kind of marriage, whether the man be a widower or a divorcee, whether he be young or married already and attempting a second marriage. Nevertheless if the woman is a widow or a divorcee, marriage is very often contracted as in the case of an elopement, and the payment due to the parents of the bride is made after both husband and wife have been living together for some time.

And first, the *amómān*. *Maxamómān* in general means "to converse, to make a contract". In some districts, instead of *maxamómān*, the Isneg use the term *umuné-*, "to enter the house". In this con-

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584 583 nection *maxamómān* (or *umunć-*) means nothing else but "to go to the house of a prospective bride and ask the parents for the hand of their daughter", which is done by the relatives of the groom.

At my first visit to Namaltugan, one evening I was sitting on the porch of the municipal building, when a whole group of Isneg, men and women, old and young, all in festive attire and seemingly in very high spirits and full of glee, were seen passing along and directing their steps toward Aputan. When I inquired about the reason for this display, my companions told me that these Isneg were going to the house of a prospective bride in order to make arrangements for a possible marriage in the near future; they were intent on the *amómān*.

This gathering, which always takes place in the evening, and in which a large group of relatives of the future husband take part, is really a very important business meeting. Here, after the completion of the *sumpád* ceremony, they discuss the *tádug* or price that has to be paid to the parents of the girl, the number of years during which the young husband will have to stay in the house of his parents-in-law before returning to that of his own parents, and so on. The bride and groom, however, take absolutely no part in the deliberations. In this connection the *sáyó* herb should be mentioned for the powerful influence it may be able to exert here: indeed if one or more members of the *amómān* party take some *sáyó* (a small creeping herb) with them, the girl will most certainly consent to go over to the boy's house immediately after the final ceremony, and the latter will not be obliged to stay even for a short time in the house of his parents-in-law.

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584 583 The first part of the *amómān* is known by a special name: *sumpád*, and consists in the formal presentation of the boy's suit by three delegates called *patúgān*. Before dark the *patúgān* start on their way to the house of the girl: one of them is always a young woman, as yet unmarried, and she always carries one, and only one, basket full of native sweets of the variety called *binaladdibád* (*ininapát* in some districts). The *binaladdibád* or *ininapát* consists of *dćkat* rice, a kind of very oily rice, sometimes known as "red" rice among Americans residing in the Philippines; the *dćkat* is indeed very often red, although there are also several varieties of white *dćkat*. The *dćkat*, pounded into powder or not, is cooked with coconut milk (expressed from the meat of the coconut) and salt or sugar, and wound in woven

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584 strips of palm leaves, so as to form small, more or less brick-shaped
583 blocks.

Another member of the *patúgăn* party is an elderly man, who occasionally carries one or more presents for the parents of the girl; these consist of one or more spears (*siñál*), headaxes (*aliwá*), etc. Sometimes clothes also are given on this occasion: jackets, headbands, blankets, etc.; these are then carried by the woman with the *simbá-*, who will be mentioned presently. These presents, however, are entirely supererogatory and are given only by well-to-do people.

584 The most important of the three is an elderly woman, whether
[789] married or widowed. In no case, however, may she be a *bálo* or widow in mourning, and the reason is not far to seek: such a woman could never bring happiness to the future husband and wife; on the contrary, she would merely serve as an ill-boding messenger and announce ahead of time the early demise of the man in whose behalf she asks for the hand of the girl: her recent bereavement would be a sure presage of the same contingency happening to the girl for
[602] whose hand she sues. This elderly woman is usually the mother of the boy; but in her default, another female near relative may do, for instance, an aunt, a first cousin, etc. If the prospective groom is a married man, his wife or, if he has more than one wife, one of
584 them, plays the role of the third member of the party. The latter
583 carries the *simbá-* (from *tabbá-*, "stringing beads"), which consists of one or more strings of beads. If the boy is of wealthy parentage, the *simbá-* is or are made of valuable beads. But this is not at all requisite: any beads will do, and even the most diminutive string of the smallest and most common variety of beads is sufficient for the purpose. With the exception of this last-mentioned woman, the *patúgăn* are usually chosen among those relatives of the boy who are renowned for glibness of tongue, and with reason, as will be seen presently.

On the acceptance or non-acceptance of the *simbá-* by the parents of the girl depends the future of the two young people. Nevertheless a refusal is exceedingly rare, as the repeated nocturnal visits of the young man at the house of his future parents-in-law and his frequent staying overnight and sleeping with his girl, could hardly have escaped notice, and consequently the owners of the house could have notified him of their displeasure, long before such elaborate preparations, as entailed by the *amómăn*, were completed on the part of the

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584 boy's relatives. Should the girl's parents refuse, however, the whole
583 affair is nipped in the bud, and no further advances will be made by the scorned lady, the third member of the *patúgān* party. In this case the young people may take the law in their own hands and elope without further ado, or the boy may simply take the girl, in case the latter consents, into the house of his parents. This may happen even though a year has elapsed since the miscarriage of the *sumpód*. But just as in the case of refusal on the part of the parents of the boy at the time of the latter's engagement, with consequent elopement of the two interested parties, here also further developments will very soon have to take place, and a kind of *amómān* will not fail to be performed, because of the unwillingness of the girl's parents to forego the customary payment or *tádug*.

If the boy is wealthy, the other party is generally more or less exacting with reference to the value of the *simbá-* and its concomitant gifts. But the bearer of the *simbá-* is always prepared for such an emergency: she rarely proffers everything at once, and it may take much time and much talking before everything is finally considered as satisfactory by the relatives of the girl. In no case, however, do the *patúgān* hand over their gifts before their suit has been accepted: they merely show what they have, and the gifts change hands and become the property of the girl's parents only after a definite agreement has been reached.

After the *sumpód* has been brought to a happy conclusion and the *simbá-* accepted by the girl's party, the business meeting continues and other matters relating to the future marriage are discussed, the most important of which is of course the question of the *tádug* or price that will have to be paid by the boy's parents to those of the girl. It should be noted in this connection that the *tádug* goes to the parents of the girl and never to the married couple. This discussion is usually a heated one, especially when the *patúgān* have not been able to conclude the transaction before the arrival of the other members of the boy's party, which is the usual case. Indeed these generally arrive a couple of hours later than the *patúgān*, except when their residence is far from the meeting place, in which case both the *patúgān* and the other relatives of the groom may arrive simultaneously at the house of the bride's parents. Anyhow it rarely happens that the *patúgān* are able to finish this important business before the others take a hand in it.

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Whereas a banquet is almost always a part of the ceremony and *bási* usually flows freely, it is not to be wondered at that a few altercations and occasional hot words are interspersed in the conversation at regular intervals. Both parties of course look for their own interests: the one tries to get the largest possible amount of valuables, while the other is bent on reducing them to a minimum. Although the whole affair usually ends in a mutual agreement, nevertheless it may happen that at this juncture the meeting is broken up and that no further steps are taken toward the final marriage. Here, however, one has again to reckon with the two young people themselves, who may have set their minds very firmly on the attainment of their hearts' desire, and so an agreement may have to be reached, even though one of the parties is loath to conform. If nevertheless the *amómān* miscarries, the reason is usually to be found in the all too high price exacted by the parents of the girl, or on the all too low value at which the girl is esteemed by those of the boy. But here also the engaged couple may act on their own initiative, as has been explained when stating the case in which the girl's parents refused the *simbá-* beads during the *sumpád* ceremony.

It should be noted here that the relatives of the groom who take part in the *amómān* would hardly dare to start on this important expedition without having provided themselves with the customary amulets, lest some harm befall them. These amulets are called *talimúnay*, and consist of certain herbs that remain the secret of the shaman.

Although by this time the Isneg know very well the use and value of currency, nevertheless in matrimonial contracts they stick to the old way of paying in kind, and so the *tádug* consists of what the Isneg prize above anything else, namely jars and beads. To these are sometimes added plates, clothes, etc., according to the agreement reached by both parties at the *amómān*. It would be very hard to say what is the regular price paid for an Isneg girl, as everything depends on the means at the disposal of the interested party, but one *xúsi* jar at least and a few beads should be considered as the very smallest amount that could be exacted by the girl's parents. It is not the place here to enumerate the numerous kinds of *xúsi* jars and beads, each with its own native name, that are known to the Isneg. Suffice it to say that not a few of these jars will be valued at fifty dollars, although from our viewpoint they may be worth less than one tenth of that amount; but our evaluation is not that of the Isneg,

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and, if they consider them to be as valuable as that, it is their own business after all. The same may be said with reference to the beads: a single one, if very valuable in the eyes of the natives, may command the price of a carabao or water buffalo, from thirty to fifty dollars, while other ones may be had almost for the asking.

All these jars are earthenware of Chinese make, imported from China long before the arrival of the Spaniards; consequently antiquity is an important item in the estimation of their value. Jars that have been imported recently usually command a much lower price. A great many of the beads also antedate the coming of the Spaniards and were also originally imported from China. Actually, however, beads of all kinds have been put on the market and their origin is very often shrouded in mystery. Isneg plates are all made of coarse earthenware and have mostly been introduced from China; but, although most of them date from comparatively recent times, they are still of the same kind, shape, color and composition as those they have replaced, as may be proved by fragments occasionally unearthed in places formerly inhabited by Isneg. These people certainly hold fast to their old ways and customs; modern crockery is not to their taste. As the Isneg do not weave their own clothes, the latter have of necessity to be bought from outsiders.

During the *amómăn* it is also decided whether the boy has to stay with his parents-in-law or not, and for how long in case he has to do so, which is the customary way. The number of years varies very much, as some stay three years, others from five to ten, and even in a few cases the husband never goes back to the house of his own parents.

No really important business can be transacted, of course, among the Isneg, without remembering the cravings of the stomach. In the ordinary course of events one or more pigs are slaughtered according to the social standing of the girl's parents. If they are too poor to indulge in such prodigality, a chicken will do. In both cases a dog may complete the menu, although this is not absolutely required. No special name is given to the killing and consuming of the chicken; but if one or more pigs enter the lists, the whole ceremony is called *pildáp*. Nevertheless in a few isolated cases, when the people are much too poor, the banquet is completely left out, and the deliberations are conducted on empty stomachs.

All during the *amómăn* the men conduct everything that is connected with the *pildáp*. The *dorarákit* or shamaness does not interfere in the least.

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fere in the least: consequently she does not *maxanito* or impersonate the spirits of the dead, and remains completely in the background, if indeed she happens to be present. And the same is true with reference to the *ákit* or marriage ceremony: here also there is a feast and a killing of animals, but no *maxanito*. The Isneg probably believe that spirits and ghosts have nothing to do with something that is exclusively the business of living human beings, as an *amómān* or betrothal and an *ákit* or marriage undoubtedly are.

Nevertheless it may happen that the *amómān* takes place at the time a *sāy-ám* sacrifice is in progress at the house of the girl, and then of course the *maxanito* will be performed as usual, as no ceremonies connected with the customary *sāy-ám* are ever omitted; but this *maxanito* will generally be performed before the arrival of the *patúgān*, and in any case it has nothing to do with the *amómān*. The only reason why an *amómān* slightly interferes with the ceremonies of the *sāy-ám* is the fact that on such coincidences the female spirit *Sisina* has to be especially remembered. Two coconut shells, one partly filled with *básī* (a beverage obtained from sugar cane) and another one partially filled with dog's blood, have to be put down in her honor somewhere along the path that leads to the spot where the women draw water for drinking purposes. This is done in order to induce *Sisina* to look after the young couple and to see to it that both are of one mind and avoid all disputes and altercations.

The *amómān*, at least if it has resulted to the satisfaction of everybody, does not interfere in the least with the usual nocturnal visits of the groom to the house of the bride. He continues to *maxal-allây* as before, that is, to sleep with her, and even to have coitus if they so desire. Actually in several districts they even translate the term *maxamómān* by that of *maxatáwa*, "to marry"; and in this case, of course, the subsequent ceremony of the *ákit*, after which the two young people are allowed to live together, must in their minds have lost most of its significance.

B. WEDDING RITES AND CUSTOMS

A certain period of time always elapses between the *amómān* and the real marriage or *ákit*, but it is impossible to determine exactly its length. In some cases a month is sufficient for all interested parties to prepare themselves properly for this most important ceremony; in others, even a whole year may pass by before the marriage finally takes place.

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197 2. On my own part:

126 In my dealings with the Isneg I use the Main branch of the O dialect, while in writing I use the K branch for reasons given before.[6] So it may have happened that, in writing down texts, my own ordinary use of M has influenced me to write down a given word as I myself would have pronounced it, or my use of K in writing has caused me to put down K's where they were absent in the informant's pronunciation.

Nevertheless I have always tried to write down texts as faithfully as possible, and now I start publishing them as I have them, without trying to correct anything, even though an occasional guttural that appears in a given term does not belong to the correct language of a given informant.

The above warning is given here once for all, and it refers to all Isneg texts that I shall publish in the future.

TEXT I

[584] This text is a continuous dialogue between a boy and the girl he goes to court for the first time. My informant is Baydan from Tawit
[115] (M), and he calls it *maibabbáy*, "courting the girls".

539 1. *Lalái: iápugnā- man ikáw*[7] *ta adú kanó ya mamā́mmo a nā́nda.*
Babā́y: āwán pańalakkā́nta ka mamá ńa ńáxan balái.[8]

2. *L.: nā́mmo ǎy pagdamadámagda ńa nagsiníińda ka mamá.*
B.: díta maxańgám no mapooná ńam ǎy.

3. *L.: mańuwáa pagká- kiyá atā́n kammalańín simpapadā́n.*
B.: turā́ńka mańuwá ka ibatā́ymo ka asitólǎymo.

4. *L.: díka mańaluníb kiyá ittó ya nā́ńko.*
B.: xapó walá xané ta ummā́nta kiddí ya agdalidálēnta ńa dadúma.

[6] Op. cit., 14.

192 [7] *ikáw*, sometimes pronounced *kaw*, which literally means "you", and which I render by 'you', is a little term which is very hard to translate. The Isneg use it all the time, and always in the form *ikáw*, although when it stands for the personal pronoun, those who use the Main branch pronounce *iáw*. Here thus it stands for something like "come on now", "what is the matter", but it changes its shade of meaning with every context.

[8] *balái* is a term used with affectation; the real ordinary word is *babā́y*; *balái* is made to look similar to *lalái*, "man".

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539 13. *L.: dálinko nó atán allá-mo ka asitólăymo ńa magbazumán ńa makipakaási kadaăyó.*
B.: as mo rã magkallá- ka bakkán matăy.

14. *L.: námmo iyá matăy ya tañar-uwósan ya agdamdámta.*
B.: ô a ńam ăy ráńka ma- manaróxas ka paŋpaŋuwáko.

15. *L.: ăy ummán kiyá paŋpaŋsów ya aramidanta iyá aŋuwámo.*
B.: ũnna ya maxallán no matúdogka kiyá datóg.

16. *L.: ăy ummán ta datóg ya xóatko iddi.*
B.: ya ulátko ya pazulátmo.

17. *L.: diyã- alá kaw no mapooná kiyán,*
mazuláttã- iddé ta nalmínnã-.
B.: mazulátka no magsibnáta ka paxiddaán.

18. *L.: ũnna ya namalbúya kiddi no dita nazaláđ kitó nõnná a biyóg.*
B.: ta urăymo tuŋpálannin no isá ńa algáw no kurúg ya lamlamtám.

19. *L.: ô mindaggánta ma- iyán ńam ăy matăytañin.*
B.: úrăy man ta turán ummán madu-liyáwăn ya patudóxănta kiyá aŋuwámo.

20. *L.: wăyyá mańkammin ta xañăyta ńa tõlăy ńid mapooná.*
B.: ăy ummáná- luxúd maxiúbáw ka átat amúyaw kadaăyó no kurúg ya panúnutmo.

21. *L.: ăy wăyyáta ńalá magkõnaoná kiddi no pañõg-ógta ka asitólăyta.*
B.: ăy maaŋgámta no mapooná.

22. *L.: ăy sinnámmo ńalá ya náńko.*
B. xará sinnáńko man no kurúg ya lammalammátmo kiyá-.

TRANSLATION

539 584 1. Man (boy): Prepare betel for me, please, 'you', as they say that it is said that you have much betel (for chewing).
Woman (girl): We, who are called "girl", have nowhere to get betel (for chewing) from.

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2. M.: So you say, but they [11] proclaim that they [12] store up betel (for chewing).
W.: But would we not be happy if it were so.

3. M.: You act perhaps on account of the existence of one who is waiting [13] though.
W.: Why do you act making something step on your companion.[14]

4. M.: Do not contradict (lying) what I say.
W.: Only because, is it not, we are like this, we others are just walking along.[15]

5. M.: Not at all though, but what you say is clear though.[16]
W.: Ah, even though you watch me during a month, if you do not believe me.

6. M.: Ah, do not pose an act so as one day to have deceived your companion.[17]
W.: Ah, even though you see after a long time if I have lied to you.

7. M.: Ah, if we believe that, we others may meet to our loss.[18]
W.: Ah, even though I expiate it if you suffer that loss.

8. M. (sings): Let us not approach
The anger of the woman
O do ay ay.
Is it not allowed to lie on the same pillow with you.
W.: Why do you happen to do like that again.
Why is it as if you saw me for the first time.

9. M.: Why is your idea about seeing you for the first time.
W.: We others are ashamed about that, you know.

[11] Other people.
[12] The girls.
[13] Another lover.
[14] Why do you suspect this of me, to whom you are talking.
[15] You dare say so because I am a plain ordinary girl, is it not?
[16] There is another lover.
[17] Me, to whom you are talking.
[18] If, one day, both lovers meet, one may kill the other.

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10. M.: It is like with us, if we throw around on any kind of road the explanation of what we meditate upon.[19]
Do not call it greed on our part if we tell you what we like from you.
W.: You say that though, but, as to myself, I do not though.
The companions sing when they are like that.

11. M. (singing): Women are difficult,
They push away the body of the one who draws near.
My little girl, why do you not share with me
The mat that has been spread out.
W.: The place where my ladder rests on the ground seems to be worn out through your frequent coming back.

12. M.: It looks like that as I am the one who comes to manifest what I think.
I am like the one who pronounces the thought of the constant feeling of this my body.
That is like that to have you answer what I pronounce to you.
W.: Not so indeed, but is it like us to believe the things without value that you put forth.[20]

13. M.: I thought that you would pity your companion[21] who tries his best to sue for your mercy.
W.: Ha, how can one pity one who is not dead.

14. M.: You say that it is to the dead that we offer transiently our thoughts.
W.: Yes indeed, but why though do you cheat me in my acts.

15. M.: Is it like joking what we do to your acts.
W.: Who will scold you if you sleep on the floor.[22]

16. M.: Is it like the floor being my purpose here.
W.: Let my blanket be what you use for your blanket.

[19] We also are ashamed to talk about love along the street, that is the reason why I come here to your house.

[20] poñonoonán, literally: to cause to be first all the time.

[21] Me.

[22] Away from my mat.

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17. M.: I do not want though, 'you', if it is like that.
I shall cover myself with a blanket here as I feel cold.
W.: Cover yourself with a blanket if we lie down separately.

18. M.: Who shows these things, if we did not use for a pattern those that lived first.[23]
W.: Your thought will be fulfilled one day, if what you meditate upon is true.

19. M.: Yes, we have to wait for that, but we die now already.
W.: Even so, why is it as if our sleeping place be bright for your act.[24]

20. M.: How can we complete our human customs like that.[25]
W.: Ah, thus I am like feeling to be the fruit of an amuyaw-tree left on the tree after the harvest, if your idea is true.

21. M.: How can we put forth this, if we do it to fool our companion.[26]
W.: Ah, we are happy if it is so.

22. M.: Ah, look only at what I say.
W.: All right, let me see if your idea regarding me is true.

The girl allows the boy to lie down on her mat, which is her first concession and proves to the boy that his suit is not rejected. My informant emphatically stated that nothing untoward would happen after this first concession.

Although this text is essentially Isneg, we find the following foreign terms:

Two Spanish terms with an Isneg jacket:

In (5), *mandar*, "to order", in the sense of watching.
In (7), *perdición*, "loss".

One Ibanag term:

In (11), *dapán*, instead of *abá-*, for "mat".

[23] We do only what our parents did before us.

[24] Is my mat the only place where you can lie down?

[25] Yes, but is that the way of human nature, for man and woman to sleep on a different mat?

[26] Can you imagine that I would fool you?

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192 Three Iloko terms, almost in juxtaposition with their corresponding Isneg terms:

In (12) and passim: *panúnut*, "thought", Isneg *damdám* (in 14).
In (13), *káási*, "pity", "mercy", Isneg *allá-*.
In (15), *arámid*, "doing", "acting", Isneg *nwá*.

TEXT II

[584 115] This text, like the preceding, consists in a continuous dialogue between a boy and the girl he goes to court for the first time. My informant is Umila from Abbil (A), and he calls it *mamabáy*, "to court a girl".

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1. *L.: magápugka man ikáw.*
   B.: áwán abbulón.
2. *L.: daddán turá áwán no iyá- ya maiápug ta.*
   B.: wáyyá ñalá iddánta ya áwán.
3. *L.: ta daddán turáñka mapáwanán ta.*
   B.: úráy nad atán abbulón áy piyánnu pé nad.
4. *L.: bakkánnu a abbulón piyán no daáyó.*
   B.: magiyámánta a no ummán kiyán.
5. *L.: áy simpre bakkánnu id kammalañín piyán ya mañiápug.*
   B.: ó walá no andaáyó.
6. *L.: se pé lugúd ta bakkámmo piyán mañilnáb ki mamám.*
   B.: ammóta ma- no piyánnu ya dagapágap ña gawád.
7. *L.: bakkámmo a piyán babáy no iáw.*
   B.: ó námmo walá a kiyán ikáw kiyá ummán pé idí.
8. *L.: agkád kammalañín lu-sáwañko úráy dagapágap ña gawád.*
   B.: no áwánmo lu-sáwan bakkáñka lugúd magbabáwi ta iápugtaka.
9. *L.: áy paannáñ a lugúd abbulón.*
   B.: mapaanná totó walá ya urámo ikáw ki ummá iddí.
10. *L.: sigún ki panúnutko a ikáw ya atón ki ólo-.*
    B.: no sigún ki panúnutmo ikáw áy bakkáñka lugúd nagdámdám ki sabáli.
11. *L.: nágan ma- kam pagtuñpálañko no di ittó seldí.*
    B.: babáyyá- ikáw ña áwán serbí.

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12. *L.: turá mepabobóñ ya urâymo ki ummán iddí.*
B.: paiyán na urâyko mepabobóñ ta.

13. *L.: iyán nalá añuwámo a ikáw.*
B.: abáy ganč ya básolko ki ummán kídí ña arámid.

14. *L.: ô walá abbulón kanč iyá- ya atán kídí.*
B.: ây bakkán lugúd a ñam ây náñko ampčlañín.

15. *L.: iápugná- ma- totáwin ikáw a.*
B.: ammóta nad abbulón no magñáñây ya ummán kiddí a pampanúnutmo.

16. *L.: bakkán nad magnâyon a no daâyó abbulón.*
B.: bakkán lugúd a ñam ây turá pč yalá nepagâsat iáw ya atán ídí.

17. *L.: kurúg kammalañín ya pampanúnutko ki mepapán kiáw.*
B.: no ummán kiyán abbulón turânnu kammalañín ílaw-át ya urâyta a dadúma.

18. *L.: káyátko ammalá ñammínnin abbulón úrây ñanná ya añôg-ôg da abbulón kiyá- gapô kiáw.*
B.: nânnu walá abbulón kid atânka ñalá kídí.

19. *L.: ây bakkán lugúd a abbulón ñam ây díta pč mabaín kiyá ummán kiyán ña ag-agiyánnu.*
B.: ây pandá úalá a ya añuwámo kiyá ummán kídí ña uuwaán ta.

20. *L.: ây nágan ma- kam- âyá pagtuñpálañko no di ya ummán kídí.*
B.: pandá ñal- a añuwánuwin abbulón ta iparúbâ- lugúd ya pinañkaâyátko kiáw ñam ây bakkáñka magbabáwi lugúd no adaddú ña algáw ya mapalpalábasta ka pandá iddí ña gabí.

TRANSLATION

1. M.: Prepare betel, please, 'you'.
W.: I have none, companion.

2. M.: Now, why is there none when I am the one asking you to prepare betel.
W.: How can we give what is not there.

3. M.: Now, why are you without.
W.: Even though there were some, companion, would you like it though.

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4. M.: Would you not, companion, like it, if you were those (who ask for it).
W.: We are grateful indeed if it is like that.

5. M.: Surely you do not like though to prepare betel for somebody.
W.: Yes indeed, if it is for you.[27]

6. M.: If so thus you do not like to distribute your betel (for chewing).
W.: Do we know if you like betel that crept over the ground.[28]

7. M.: You would not like it, woman, if it is you (who want betel).
W.: Yes, you say so only, 'you', like this.

8. M.: I will not resent it though, even though it be betel that crept over the ground.
W.: If you do not resent it, do not repent thus when I prepare betel for you.

9. M.: How can we do it then, companion.
W.: What is really the matter with your thinking, 'you', like this.

10. M.: It depends on my thought, 'you', which is in my head, is it not?
W.: If it depends on your thought, 'you', thus you do not think of somebody else.

11. M.: To whom could I finally belong if not to this one.
W.: I am a woman, 'you', without use.

12. M.: Why is your thought put upon the roof like this.
W.: Would to God my thought were put upon the roof.

13. M.: That is only what you do, is it not, 'you'.
W.: Would my fault not be big if I acted like this.

14. M.: Yes indeed, companion, but I am the one who is here.
W.: Ah, not so thus, but I say so though.

15. M.: Prepare betel for me though, really, 'you', won't you?
W.: How can we know, companion, if your thought like this will be permanent.

[27] I do not want to do it for you.

[28] Betel that crept up along a stalk, etc. is the only one considered good by the Isneg.

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16. M.: It will not continue if you (do not want), companion.
W.: Not indeed, but why is the one who is here the fortunate one with you.

17. M.: My thought with reference to you is true though.
W.: If it is like that, companion, why though do you make our thoughts uneasy.

18. M.: I like everything though, companion, even though perhaps my companions make a fool out of me on account of you.
W.: Perhaps you say so only, companion, because you are here.

19. M.: Ah, not so indeed, companion, but would we not be ashamed of what you say like that.
W.: Ah, it does not matter what you do with reference to acting like this.

20. M.: To whom would I finally belong if not to the one like this.[39]
W.: Anything you do is all right then, companion, as I truthfully tell you now that I love you, but do not repent then if we allow long days to pass beginning with this night.

Here we meet again with several words borrowed from other languages:

From the Spanish:

In (5), *simpre* from *siempre*, "always", with the meaning of "surely".

In (10), *sigún* from *según*, "according to", with the meaning of "it depends on".

In (11), *serbí* from *servir*, "to serve", with the meaning of "use".

Then Iloko and Isneg terms in juxtaposition:

In (10), Iloko *panúnut* and Isneg *damdám*, "thinking".

In (13), Iloko *ardmid* and Isneg *wwá*, "acting".

TEXT III

This text consists in a continuous dialogue between a boy and the girl he has been courting for some time. My informant is the same Umila of the preceding text, who again calls it *mamabdy*, "to court a girl".

[39] If not to you.

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TRANSLATION

1. M.: What is really, 'you', woman, the reason why I have the good luck from those that cannot be seen,[80] why I come to walk on a road like this, and, companion, the entrance to this road is not closed. I, 'you', is it not, would be ashamed if for some reason it were not allowed for me to walk on this road.

   W.: I do not know, companion, why what you propose like this is not yet proper to my mind, companion. We only want to sound the outcome of what you propose like this.

2. M.: I do not know anything about where we are going to, all of us men (all alike), if not though this here custom though created by those that cannot be seen with reference to what is done to us, men. Never mind what you do, woman, if where you are going to is not like what I come walking here for.[81]

   W.: Yes indeed, companion, but like this and this is perhaps not yet proper for my body; look still, companion, for another road for you to walk, as I did not make you walk on a road like this. We would be ashamed, companion, if for some reason we should come and make you people walk, when it is not proper though for our body as it is.[82]

3. M.: Ah, if you talk like that, never mind thus, as how can we be overpowered by what one man say. We do n[o]t against the one that cannot be seen, if we almost walk on a road like this.

   W.: Yes, companion, but do not repent or be sorry if for some reason we have the good luck to be made your companion, do not thus be sorry if I let you walk on a road like this.

4. M.: Yes now, companion, that means you, but not me though, because if for instance I were the woman I should resent one man making a fool of me.

   W.: If it is like that thus, we are grateful, 'you', as we obtained thus what we proposed; do not thus be sorry if we lie down with you this evening.

[80] The spirits.

[81] Never mind if you do not reciprocate my love.

[82] I am not worthy of you.

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584 My informant emphatically stated that nothing untoward would yet happen at this juncture.

192 In this text we have one word borrowed from the Spanish:
In (1, *L.*), *sirrá*, from *cerrar*, to close".

Also one Iloko term in juxtaposition with its Isneg equivalent:
In (3, *B.*), Iloko *babáwi* and Isneg *appôli*, "repenting" (the *ô* in *appôli* and in the derivatives above, 3, *B.* and 4, *B.*, is like the *aw* in English "dawn", but longer).

Besides, one Iloko expression, a favorite with many Isneg:
In (4, *L.*), *kas pagarigān*, "for instance".

TEXT IV

[584 115] This text consists in a dialogue between a boy and the girl he courts for the first time. In the latter part of the dialogue, the answers of the girl are lacking. My informant is Kimat from Baliwanan (M), 539 who calls it *mamabây*, "to court a girl".

1. *L.: mazápugka man ikáw.*
   B.: wag[33] *kud mamâńko ikáw.*
2. *L.: busídmo yān ikáw.*
   B.: pazádigmo xané ta magbusbusígka.[34]
3. *L.: bakkán luxúd nam ăy mâńko ampčlañín.*
   B.: nâmmo no ikáw.
4. *L.: sč- bakkán ikáw.*
   B.: úrăy no nâmmo ikáw ăy pandá ńalá.
5. *L.: atân yān ikáw no dôdúma se pč iyá.*
   B.: tân nam ăy bakkán kammalañín kurkurúggin.
6. *L.: úrăy no bakkán kurúg ăy piyâńko walá.*
   B.: poonáńâ- pč ikáw.
7. *L.: úrăy man no aniyá ikáw ya malak-ámâńko ăy pandá ńalá.*
   B.: maammóa ikáw dîtámo walá ibañát.
8. *L.: úrăymo walá sinnán a.*
   B.: diyâ- miyamânān abbulón no mapooná.
9. *L.: isá ampčlañín ikáw ya axiyáńko manín.*

[194]

[33] *(a)wád*: *d* changed into *g*, before *k*.
[34] *busíd*: Cf. preceding note.

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10. *L.: mapaannā́ ma-dín abbulón no atā́n ma-dín ya mańipalbúya ka panúnutna.* 539

11. *L.: bakkán nôd totó walá mabalín no uwá.*

12. *L.: sińkaammówā- xané kiyá adăyyó ńam lawíxān búlan nṓrăy ipibbaxáta ńa dôdúma.*

13. *L.: yān nalá pandáta ăy.*

14. *L.: séno iyā́- malak-ámko ya dákes ăy nalak-ámko ya napiyā́.*

15. *L.: ta séno ummā́n kīdí si īdí nṓrăy ipalawā́gko no bakkámmo walá piyā́n.*

16. *L.: úrăy no ummā́n kīdí ya pampanúnutta ńa dôdúma no bakkán nā́nnu ăy wăyyáńā- alá paannā́n.*

17. *L.: ńáńawko la abbulón ya sińkaáxaw wa manálēn ka páda-magdaldálēn séno bakkán yān nān páda- magbiyā́g ăy wăyyá alá paannā́n.*

18. *L.: tittó pē ikáw ya mamalagmán ka bandó páda- parsuwā́ bakkáńko mauwá.*

19. *L.: taré- pakiddumalā́n bakkán pamalikatā́n no uwá abbulón.*

20. *L.: ńam ăy mabalikā́ttā- ńa dôdúma ta mepańgép kané abiyā́gta.*

TRANSLATION

1. M.: Prepare betel nut, please, 'you'. 539
   W.: Have I betel (to chew) then, 'you'. 584

2. M.: Your lie indeed, 'you'.
   W.: Your model, is it not, because you are lying.

3. M.: Not indeed, but I say it though.
   W.: You say it, if you are (the one).

4. M. Ha, no, 'you'.
   W.: Even though you say it, 'you', never mind.

5. M.: There is, indeed, 'you', sometimes, and I also.[35]
   W.: There is, but it is not true[36] now though.

6. M.: Even though it be not true I like it anyhow.
   W.: That is also like me, 'you'.

[35] There is betel indeed; both of us are liable to tell a lie occasionally.
[36] Good betel.

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539 7. M.: Whatever, 'you', I obtain, it is all the same.
W.: It is your business, 'you', should you throw it away.

584 8. M.: Even though you look at it now, see.[37]
W.: Would I not feel gratified, companion, if it is so.

9. M.: One thing though, 'you', I will say again.

10. M.: How now, companion, if there is one now who manifests his thoughts.

11. M.: It cannot be, really, after all.[38]

12. M.: I know, is it not, that it is farther than the stars,[39] even though we others will say it.

13. M.: That is our end now.[40]

14. M.: As for me, I obtain what is bad or I obtain what is good.

15. M.: So that it is like this: no this,[41] even though I explain it if you do not like it.

16. M.: Even though our thought is like this, if you say: "No", what can I do about it.

17. M.: It is my greed, companion, to steal this walk from others who are walking like me, so that if one who lives like me says: "No now", what can be done about it.

18. M.: But, 'you', to transgress the order[42] of my fellow creatures, I cannot do it.

19. M.: Failing to act without permission will result in not being offended by words[43] after all, companion.

20. M.: But I am offended by words on account of our life.[44]

In this text we meet with one Spanish term: *bando*, "ordinance".

[37] I shall not throw it away.

[38] I am not worthy of you.

[821] [39] *lawixan búlan*, literally: rope of the moon, thus: what follows the moon. The Isneg imagine the stars following the moon.

[40] We cannot add anything to it.

[41] Never mind.

[42] To act without permission.

[43] *balikát* usually means: pronouncing. Here it means: pronouncing bad words in order to offend somebody.

[44] Because we are of a lower state.

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TEXT V

This text contains a few scattered sayings, mostly of a boy who is courting a girl, occasionally of the girl answering him. Even when they are not marked "singing", these sayings are pronounced in a more or less singing tone, with rhythm and occasionally rhyme clearly apparent. My informant is Lampa from Dangla (M), who calls it *mamabáy*, "to court a girl".

[584]
539
[115]

1. *L.: iápugnā- íkit, bowaḗmmo ka lúsit, ta apúxāmmo ka bittí-, asixidańko mamídit.*
2. *(ag-axí): dínu ag-axiyán*
   kaw ô to xăyyám maāwán.
3. *as paannán ud xané ikáw no maxińgápta ka bátug ińgáp no abbulón.*
4. *as kannámo ittó piyán ya maxiddá kiddí ăy nalawág ma- ya balấy.*
5. *kannánta ittó piyán ya maxis-isissá ăy atánkayo ma- pē ta.*
6. *tittó pē ya mańiroboróbo ka pádana magdalidálēn akkáńko uwaán.*
7. *atán kid abbulón no sabáli ya makiápug ńam ăy se iyá- to ya āwán nánnu.*
8. *B.: akkán luxúd abbulón ńam ăy āwán kammalańín.*
9. *tittó pē ya magdudúma ka páda- magbibyág akkáńko uwaán.*
10. *pagdudumánnu ikáw ya tólăy ta.*
11. *L.: akkán luxúd abbulón ńam ăy bárań ńalá nấńko.*
12. *B.: atán mamá ikáw ńam ăy mamá kammalańín ńa ur-úrăy.*
13. *xawág*[45] *kammalańín na ur-úrăy.*
14. *L.: atán kud kammalá ńa lu-sáwańko wa tólăy.*
15. *séno ya xawád da ur-úrăy ya nánnu wag kud da di magkal-kaláse kammalańín kiyá xawád atán ya namít ta xawád ăy atán ya nasablē-.*
16. *se kadím pē kada-tá tólăy atán da babấy se laláki.*
17. *ummấń kanó ma- pē kada-tá iyá- ăy no banấnā- ka abấg ăy ikáw ăy no banấńka ak-akén.*
18. *(ag-axí): dita bumanbanannấy*
    ma- ô lu-sáw di babấy.
19. *nannawánā- babấy*
    ta nalláā- pē săy.

[45] *xawád*: Cf. note 33.

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TRANSLATION

539 1. M.: Prepare betel for me, aunt, put soft betel nut in it, add a little lime, I shall pick it up with my left hand.

584 2. (singing): Do not tell
'you', to a friend that there is none.

3. Ha, could it not be, is it not, 'you', that we sleep in front of one another, sleeping when there is a companion.

4. Ha, how do you like this to lie down here while the house is still clear.

5. How could we like to be all alone, when you are here also.

6. That, which would be joking with one who walks along like me, I do not do.

7. There would be some perhaps, companion, if another one asked you to prepare betel for him, but to me: "There is none", you say.

8. W.: Not so indeed, companion, but there is none though.

9. That, which would be making a selection among living people like me, I do not do.

10. You make a selection, 'you', among men.[48]

11. M.: No indeed, companion, but I say only: "If perhaps".

12. W.: There is betel (for chewing), 'you', but betel (for chewing) though that is useless.

13. Betel though that is useless.

14. M.: Could there be though which I do not like, I a human being.

15. As to the useless betel as you call it, are there any things that are not of different grade though; as to betel, there is tasty betel and there is tasteless.

16. And also with us men, there are women and men.

17. It is, they say, also like with us: I, if I sneeze, it is in a G-string, but you, if you sneeze, it is in a tapis.

18. (singing): Let us not approach
The resentment of a woman.

19. You are overbearing to me, woman,
I am really to be pitied.

192 One Spanish word occurs in this text, namely: *clase*, "class", pronounced *kaláse* in Nr. 15.

[48] Why do you want me and not some other girl.

727 ally the houses are burnt. The attacking warriors withdraw after a time and start for home with what heads they have secured.

If the warriors have secured some heads, they start shouting in triumph while still some distance from home. The women answer and come out to meet them. There is much victorious clamour. Each successful warrior hacks his heads in pieces and either places them on bamboos in front of his house, or else hangs them in the convenient large tree sacred to his especial *anito*. They are decorated with flowers. Then the people hold a feast, called *boda*, at which they eat and drink; but do not dance. The main event is the [537] triumphal shouting of the warriors. Each relates in a chant the mighty deeds which he has done.

MARRIAGE

582 A youth is free to select and woo the girl of his
584 choice—with his nose flute, *baling*, or a kind of jews-
[534] harp, *oribao*, or by other means common to youth the
[836] world over. If she is agreeable, the courtship becomes serious and they enter into an arrangement, *aluloy*, whereby the sleep together for a period of from three months to a year. They are in earnest in this affair. for they know that, if it does not result in marriage, they must pay a heavy fine. Their object is pregnancy.

583 When the youth decides to have the marriage. he
584 requests his parents to deliver several baskets of rice cakes to the house of the girl. All the relatives of both parties are notified and assemble in the house to arrange for the wedding. They have a feast: rice.

They have a feast: rice
basi, and the greater part of a pig or dog are served. 584
Then business begins. The parents and relatives of 583
the youth, arrange the amount of the dowry, *todog*. [574
If it is of less value, the youth must stay in the house 262]
of the girl. When the contract is agreed upon, it is strictly adhered to; and the youth and girl are said to be married.

The real ceremony, *aqueb*, then follows. The pa- 585
rents of the girl bring pigs and baskets of rice-cakes to the house of the youth. The girl comes in company with several old women. They all stop about one hundred yards from the house of the youth. There they are met by the parents or mother of the youth, bearing valuable gifts for the parents of the girl. The youth's mother then requests the girl from her parents. Upon approval, the whole company moves to the house, where the mother presents her gifts to the parents of the girl. The rice cakes are sold to the re- [435]
latives of the youth, the nominal price being P1.00 per basket. Then the merry-making starts and continues through the night. The youth and girl must [784]
not eat the sweets, as one of them would die. In the morning final payments of the dowry are made and distributed. Then the young couple are considered to be properly married, but still controlled by their parents.

When the young woman feels that she is about to 844
give birth, either the husband or the mother-in-law will twist a piece of cloth, light one end, and place it, the *pungan*, at the door. With it is the coconut shred- [412]
der, *igad*. These guard the woman while delivering so that no *anito* can come into the house to annoy the

pleasing lilt or perchance composing words in honor of some guest or circumstance. The tune used is called the *salecdomey*. Somewhere a boy may be openly courting the girl of his choice in a characteristic chant *adkaling*, but often composing his own words. Food and sweets may be served two or three times in the night, and the party goes on with increasing excitement, as more and more *basi* is consumed. Drunken quarrels may break out, leading to blows. Killings are not infrequent. One must have had quite a few drinks in order to really enjoy this party.

Along towards morning the music stops and the tired people lie down to sleep—either in that or adjacent houses. If, perchance, a boy has been successful in his courtship, he may follow his girl to where she lies down. After some further discussion, she probably accepts him.

The feast may continue the next day and next, according to the wishes and wealth of the family, and how long the *basi* and food lasts. At the end of the feast, the priestess again calls the *anito*: she tells it that they hope that it is pleased with its feast and will now grant their requests. Then the guests start for home. The relatives are each given some meat to take with them, and soon all is quiet again.

Probably the most popular feast is the *say-am*, given for the *anito*, Pilay, after the harvest. The *dildap* is a small, short feast given for the *anito Kaybacan*, sometimes for the health or welfare of the family, or to clinch some agreement. There is no dancing. The *magboto* is given before, and the *boda* after a head hunting expedition as described elsewhere. The

jar of *basi*, a small pig, and a small dog. When all their 789
visitors had arrived, their house was not able to ac- 574
commodate all the people. Their sister, whose name was Hinalingan, came out from their house and said. "Oh, *anito*, I pray to you that my house will become big so that it can accommodate all my visitors." After uttering this wish, the visitors could see the house becoming bigger and bigger until all of them were accommodated.

The older brother, by the name of Hinadolan, went near the stove and said, "I pray to *anito* that all our food will be prepared." Not long after that all the food were prepared. Then they distributed the rice and other food.

After eating, the dance started. It was led by a young brother, named Imlang. Imlang took his sister, Hinalingan, and began the dance. While Imlang, and his sister were dancing, their visitors were surprised to see that they were like birds flying in the air. It was because their feet did not touch the floor; but they were dancing in the air. After the dance, they ate again. Then after all had eaten, it was found that not even half of the food prepared was consumed by the people. Now the feast was over and their visitors returned to their homes.

Three nights after the feast, one of the men from 584
among their visitors came with his father. After they arrived, they were entertained by the brothers and sister who asked what was the purpose of their visit. The man replied that he loved Hinalingan and wished to marry her. Courtship was followed by the marriage ceremony. The couple lived happily with the brothers after that.

(meaning: continuously houses). There it is still existing up to this day. That is how it got its name. 103

HOW ANGYOBAN STARTED HEAD-HUNTING

Many years ago in Madatag there lived a man named Angyoban. He was regarded as the bravest and most handsome of the young men. There was also a very good girl named Bandiyang whom Angyoban admired very much. He began to court her and loved her greatly; but he was not successful in his courtship. However, Angyoban was so determined to marry the girl that he continud to court her during twelve long years. 584

Then one evening in desperation, he went to the house of Bandiyang and fiercely demanded that Bandiyang should marry him. She refused, and the argument went on with Angyoban threatening more and more. At last Bandiyang said, "You shall have your demand if you obey what I tell you. Go to the land of our enemies and return with an enemy's head, shield, and *guod*."

So Angyoban set out to go to the land of their enemies. When he had come near to the houses, he hid in ambush by one of the trails leading to the fields. This was very early in the morning. When an enemy came on his way to work, Angyoban sprang up and obtained his prize in an easy fashion. He had the 726 584

726 584 weapons also; for it was the custom for a man always to carry his spear, shield and *gaod* with him.

He returned to the house of Bandiyang bringing his trophies with him. All the people joyfully came to celebrate the valor of Angyoban, and the marriage took place soon after.

THE FEUD BETWEEN THE PEOPLES OF ALISIT AND KUMAO

608 Many times the peoples of Alisit went to fight the Bulo people. They found no one at home. One time when on their way to Bulo, they became very hungry [476] and stopped in Kumao. It happened that at that time, the people of Kumao were gathering posts for a house. There were many people there to help. They had *basi* to drink. So they offered some to the Alisit people. [517] While sitting on the ground, they talked and had oratorical contests, each contestant telling of their cus- [579] toms. The *maingel of* Kumao was Lindo. They became drunk and got into an angry quarrel. Lindo said to Baliwan, "You are good only for hunting women [152] and not for hunting men." Baliwan became very angry and answered back and struck Lindo with his *gaod*. When Bayao, the son of Lindo, saw Baliwan strike his father, he snatched up his *gaod* to help his father. Then all the warriors were drawn into the fight, and five of the Alisit men were killed. None of the Kumao people were killed.

628 484 Later on, twelve Kumao people were taking a trip to Sulsuna in Ilocos for trading purposes. They

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771 insurgents, the Hapaw people (Ifugaw) hid their priest in the forest
177 for a considerable time; and I am sure that our Negritos and Isneg
797 would do the same to us if necessary. They are supposed to be inferior to the Christians in many respects, they themselves believe so, and the Christians do not fail to impress it upon their mind through word and deed: an Iloko or Kagayan has not respect for an Isneg, and again Iloko, Kagayan and Isneg oppress the Negrito whenever they can.

Now comes along a man who sympathizes with these pariahs, a man who understands them, a man who, although teaching a different religion, never ridicules them, a man who always puts them on the same level with other human beings, a man who is willing to live with them, to share their food and their mat, a man who learns their language and their customs, a man who takes their side even against the Christians when the latter are wrong: what can they feel but respect and even love for such an extraordinary being? Then add to this, in the case of the Isneg, their frequent intercourse with Christians and the patent superiority of the latter's civilization, which excites the ambition of the former, and it will not be wondered at that the priest and his religion are respected, that Isneg mothers bring their children for baptism just as the Christians do, that the Isneg youth wants to be instructed in Christian doctrine, and that Christianity is considered as the ultimate goal of a great number of Isneg young men and women.

183 Here among the Isneg I have never yet met with that strong
788 opposition to baptism, which formerly was so very common among
171 pagan Kankanay fathers and mothers in several of their villages,
177 and if the inborn indolence of the Isneg could be done away with, all
797 youngsters would be Christians within a very short time. In the
771 case of old men and women, although they rarely object to Christian-
178 ity as such, still they usually hold rather tenaciously to their tradi-
184 tional practices, which, however, does not prevent them at the same time from giving complete freedom to their offspring.

585 Last year at Namaltugan, two Christian Isneg intended to get
583 married; when the groom firmly refused to have anything to do with
177 native pagan customs, the relatives on both sides agreed to everything,
178 except on the question of the payment that had to be given to the parents of the bride: on this they strongly insisted; it had nothing to do with religion, and so it had to be observed.
183

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Namaltugan); but this is certainly not an Isneg custom, and it would not even be true to say that polyandry is sporadic among the natives, as the above example is probably unique in Apayaw.

No Isneg is precluded from contracting marriage or regarded as incapable of the same, and so also there are no marriages that could be said to be enjoined by law or by custom to certain classes of people. The only marriage impediments that exist among the Isneg, besides lineal consanguinity, are collateral consanguinity in the first and in the second degree, and so marriage is forbidden between brothers and sisters, and between first cousins. Marriages between second cousins, although not prohibited, are comparatively rare; they seem to be shunned by the Isneg.

2. Courtship

And now we come to the description of how Isneg boys and girls enter the state of matrimony.

Whereas among the Kankanay and other tribes of the Mountain Province, the groom goes to work for a certain period of time in the house of the bride's parents, in Apayaw the Isneg boy merely buys his wife from her parents.

But first of all, who makes the choice? Are the children free and left to their own devices, or do the parents arrange the whole affair among themselves? Have the children anything to say in the matter, or have they merely to agree to their parents' wishes?

Infant marriages exist in Apayaw, but they are the exception. In such cases the parents arrange everything and perform all customary ceremonies that precede the actual marriage, while the bride and groom are still too young to know anything about the matter, and perhaps before they have ever seen each other. These marriages are never consummated and the final marriage ceremony never takes place before the regular age, which means usually not before the age of sixteen years for the boy and fourteen for the girl. But such marriages are as easily broken off as they are contracted; indeed, either of the two parties or both may have conscientious objections, because they have somebody else in sight or for some other reason, in which case the transactions never go any further. Whatever has been paid to the parents of the bride is returned to the original owners, and everything goes on as if nothing had happened. I know of one such case of infant marriage, or rather of agreement between the parents while bride and groom were still in their infancy: it was related to

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fere in the least: consequently she does not *maxanito* or impersonate the spirits of the dead, and remains completely in the background, if indeed she happens to be present. And the same is true with reference to the *ákit* or marriage ceremony: here also there is a feast and a killing of animals, but no *maxanito*. The Isneg probably believe that spirits and ghosts have nothing to do with something that is exclusively the business of living human beings, as an *amómân* or betrothal and an *ákit* or marriage undoubtedly are.

Nevertheless it may happen that the *amómân* takes place at the time a *sây-ám* sacrifice is in progress at the house of the girl, and then of course the *maxanito* will be performed, as usual, as no ceremonies connected with the customary *sây-ám* are ever omitted; but this *maxanito* will generally be performed before the arrival of the *patúgân*, and in any case it has nothing to do with the *amómân*. The only reason why an *amómân* slightly interferes with the ceremonies of the *sây-ám* is the fact that on such coincidences the female spirit *Sisina* has to be especially remembered. Two coconut shells, one partly filled with *bási* (a beverage obtained from sugar cane) and another one partially filled with dog's blood, have to be put down in her honor somewhere along the path that leads to the spot where the women draw water for drinking purposes. This is done in order to induce *Sisina* to look after the young couple and to see to it that both are of one mind and avoid all disputes and altercations.

The *amómân*, at least if it has resulted to the satisfaction of everybody, does not interfere in the least with the usual nocturnal visits of the groom to the house of the bride. He continues to *maxal-allây* as before, that is, to sleep with her, and even to have coitus if they so desire. Actually in several districts they even translate the term *maxamómân* by that of *maxatáwa*, "to marry"; and in this case, of course, the subsequent ceremony of the *ákit*, after which the two young people are allowed to live together, must in their minds have lost most of its significance.

B. WEDDING RITES AND CUSTOMS

A certain period of time always elapses between the *amómân* and the real marriage or *ákit*, but it is impossible to determine exactly its length. In some cases a month is sufficient for all interested parties to prepare themselves properly for this most important ceremony; in others, even a whole year may pass by before the marriage finally takes place.

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585 263 On the day fixed for the *ákit*, the relatives of the girl come together at the latter's house, where a large amount of native sweets has been prepared for the purpose. These sweets are of different kinds:

The *sinandilá: dékat* rice pounded into powder and cooked with coconut oil, coconut milk and salt or sugar, in a shape like that of our ordinary pancakes;

The *binaladdibád* or *inínapát*, as explained previously;

The *linazókog: dékat* rice pounded into powder, salted and cooked in lard, with neither sugar nor coconut products added to it; these cakes have more or less the form of our doughnuts, except that they are very flat; their diameter is usually from two to three inches, and there is a round hole in the center;

The *pinatará-: dékat* rice pounded into powder and cooked, after which it is cut into strips; in the meanwhile coconut milk is cooked in some other receptacle, and when the latter is boiling, first salt and then the *dékat* strips are added to it. The *pinatará-* take all kinds of shapes, but in general they are long and narrow, and look more or less like sections of a candle.

585 583 When everything is ready, the women take charge of the baskets (*la-bá*) full of cakes, and one or more men carry a pig, which is called the *bálat* (revenge, taking turns, etc.) on this occasion. All these are so-called presents that will be distributed to the relatives of the groom by those of the bride. Then the whole procession, in which the *maňlakkát* plays the most conspicuous rôle, proceeds on its way to the boy's house; this may be done in the daytime as well as in the evening: no special time is set for the ceremony. It should be noted once for all that, if the groom is a married man and has a house of his own, all ceremonies connected with the *ákit* and the ensuing *lablabág* are conducted at his own house, and not at that of his parents.

585 292 And now as to the *maňlakkát*. This is always a young girl as yet unmarried, and she is not allowed to wear any other body garment but the tapis or *akén*, and probably the *talút* or G-string, which after all remains invisible. A *sarikaw* hat, like the one worn by a woman after her delivery when she goes to take her first bath, completes her attire. Out of modesty, however, the *maňlakkát* does not wear her tapis in the customary way, that is, from the waist down, but she passes it over her breasts, so that the latter are covered, with the obvious result that her thighs are partially uncovered, as the lower end of the tapis barely reaches half-way down between the buttocks

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and the knees. Consequently the *maŋlakkát* wears neither *badiyó* (jacket) nor *baxákat* (girdle), and the *laddóŋ* or headband has been replaced by the *sarikaw*, so that her hair hangs loose down her back. All this is done, according to the Isneg, lest the bride experience difficulty in giving birth to her children; the loose attire of the *maŋlakkát* is supposed to have a magical influence on the deliveries of the future mother, so that they be accomplished with the utmost ease.

In some places the *maŋlakkát* carries the bride on her back, not on her hip, all the way from the latter's house to that of the groom. Nevertheless if the distance is too great, she only carries the girl down the ladder of the house, and then puts her down, not to take her up again until they arrive at the boy's house, where she carries her up the ladder. When mounting the ladder, the *maŋlakkát* has to skip one of the rungs, all the while carrying her burden. In most places she contents herself with carrying the bride up the ladder of the groom's house, skipping one of the rungs as usual. According to the Isneg, the reason of this action is the same as that given for the looseness of the *maŋlakkát*'s apparel. In Kankanay folklore one occasionally hears a husband invite his wife, who experiences difficulty in giving birth to her child, to climb his back. In other places, however, at least at present, the *maŋlakkát* merely escorts the bride, without carrying her even for a single moment; but her attire always remains the same scanty outfit just referred to, and she never carries any of the baskets filled with sweets.

This custom of carrying the bride all the way through is very generally observed at Bayag (G branch of *Ó* dialect), while at Baliwanan and Dangla (Main branch of *Ó* dialect), and at Musimut (K branch of *Ó* dialect), she is merely carried up the ladder of the boy's house. The latter eventuality is remembered by the Isneg to have happened once at Alumani (near Kabugaw; Main branch). This does not obtain, at least in every case, at Kumaw and Bolo (Main branch), at Abbil and Dibagat (G branch), and at Talifugu (*Bô* dialect).

As soon as the procession arrives at the house of the groom, where in the meanwhile the latter's relatives and many other people invited as guests have been gathering, a few important ceremonies take place. If some members of the girl's party are living near the house of the boy, and in this case only, they *magtaluŋáb*, which means that they stop before the ladder of the house and forbid the bride to enter until the boy's parents have given them a present, which usually consists of a *xúsi* jar or of a few beads. After that the bride is

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585 allowed to mount the ladder, either by herself or on the back of the *mañlakkát*.

Once inside she has to go immediately toward the place where a *balandán* blanket, the property of the boy's parents, has been spread on the floor, and to sit down upon it. The *balandán* consists of three rectangular pieces of cloth, sewn together at the sides, not at the edges; the two sutures are provided with large ornamental stitches of purple thread. The bride, however, is not to stay there very long, as she has barely squatted down on the *balandán* when her mother pulls it away from under her, and takes possession of the same. Here also the *mañlakkát* dons her customary attire, — jacket, headband and the rest, — as her rôle is finished by this time.

585 574 264 The parents of the boy usually prepare a banquet for all present; chickens or pigs and dogs are slaughtered, according to the social standing of the owners of the house, but, as previously noted, no shaman performs the *maxanito*. Should the *bálat* be killed on this occasion, which is not absolutely necessary, as the boy's parents may prefer to keep it alive, neither bride nor groom, nor any of the girl's relatives, is allowed to partake of it. If any of them should infringe this taboo and eat the meat of the *bálat* pig, his or her children, whether born already or to be born in the future, would die a certain death. The same prohibition obtains with reference to the cakes. It is certainly a great sacrifice for an Isneg not to partake of a meal of pork and rice, and only the fear of some dire punishment such as that of death for his children could effectively check his appetite in that direction. But in nearly all cases the boy's parents slaughter some other animal, which all present are allowed to partake. It goes without saying that a copious flow of *básІ* keeps the whole company in merriment, otherwise you could not very well call it a marriage feast.

585 583 431 The principal ceremony, however, consists in the distribution of gifts, of which there are two classes:

1. The *ákit* (from which the whole marriage ceremony takes its name, *mañakit:* to perform a marriage ceremony): these are gifts of beads, clothes, etc., offered by the boy's relatives and outsiders to the women of the girl's party in exchange for a certain amount of cakes, or some part of the *bálat*, in case the latter is slaughtered.

2. The *tugnúl:* gifts of spears, headaxes, *zúsi* jars, etc., also offered by the boy's relatives and outsiders, but this time to the men of the girl's party, again in exchange for cakes or portions of the *bálat*.

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Accurate notice is always taken of all the items given, their nature and their value, and also of the person who gives each object. On a similar occasion in the future, the donor will be repaid according to his own generosity or closefistedness. An Isneg is a very practical man: a gift as such is barely known to him; "it is better to give than to receive", is not understood by him at all. To an Isneg "to give" always includes the notion of "with the hope of getting back something at least equal in value".

Those of the guests who proffer neither *ákit* nor *tugnúl* are not allowed to partake either of the sweets or of the *bálat* (which is said to be sold); but they can eat any other food that is prepared for this occasion.

And then comes the presentation of the *tádug* or price agreed upon at the *amómân*. The *tádug*, which is paid by the boy's parents and becomes the exclusive property of the girl's parents, may be given entirely at this juncture, but it very often happens that only a partial payment is made at this time, and that the rest is paid later, either all at once or in instalments. The latter course very often gives rise to vehement quarrels, as the groom's parents are bent on protracting the payment as long as possible, while those of the bride are anxious to settle the matter without delay.

And all the time bride and groom remain almost completely excluded from all participation in these ceremonies. They do not receive even the smallest present on this occasion, and as far as *ákit*, *tugnúl* and *tádug* are concerned, they are mere lookers-on.

All this goes to show that a girl in the family is a precious asset to the Isneg. Besides the *tádug*, the exclusive property of her parents, there are all the objects that go to her relatives at the time of the *ákit;* and all this in exchange for a pig, the *bálat*, and a certain amount of cakes. All that the relatives of the boy get out of it is partaking of a feast a couple of times, at the *amómân* and at the *ákit*, and eating a few cakes, which after all are not so very highly esteemed. But they will have their revenge in time, of course, as they also have marriageable girls among their relatives. And so, everything considered, nobody is the loser, and certainly not the young couple: although they have received no gifts, their share of the inheritance is handed to them at this time by their respective parents, and then they have one another. Happiness, I dare believe, is very real on both sides, except perhaps in a few instances where one of them or both married merely to comply with the wishes of their elders. But

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then there is always a way open to them, and divorce is not so very uncommon among the Isneg as to be considered an extraordinary event.

Bride and groom having already had coitus more than once, there is no question of course of ceremonial defloration, jus primae noctis, looking for proofs of virginity, and so on. The morning after the *ákit*, the *tádug* is brought over to the house of the girl's parents, and triumphantly escorted by a large group of people. Here a chicken is killed in order to celebrate the happy event, and all present are allowed to partake of it, but some of the blood must be smeared on the objects that make up the *tádug*. This is called *banít*: the girl's parents are those who *mamanít*, they *banítan* the *tádug*.

One or two days later a certain quantity of sweets is again prepared at the house of the bride's parents, for the ceremony called *lablabág*: but the *pinatará-* variety of cakes is taboo on this occasion. The reason is that it would cause the future offspring of the newly wed to get sore ears (a kind of otitis with concomitant suppuration).

On the third day, three nights (the Isneg always count by nights, not by days) after the *ákit*, the young couple *maglablabág*: they first go to observe the flight of the *labág* bird. If the omen is bad, nothing will be done and a more favorable occasion will be awaited, because to go ahead under the circumstances would entail the early death of one of the interested parties. The whole *lablabág* ceremony, however, is almost always performed on that day anyhow, as there is more than one hour in a day and more than one *labág* bird in Apayaw. After having obtained a good augury, if the house of the boy's parents is near, the young couple direct their steps toward it in the afternoon; otherwise they start in the morning. The members of their escort carry all eatables prepared for this occasion, and these are then distributed to the people at the house of the groom. These eatables,—sweets, meat, etc.,—are called *talinabáw*, but the cakes are far from being as abundant as at the time of the *ákit*. The whole ceremony, beginning with the observance of the flight of the *labág* and ending with the distribution of the *talinabáw* at the house of the boy's parents, is called *lablabág*.

The next day, four nights after the *ákit*, the husband goes to live (*maggiyán*) with his young wife at the latter's house, and stays there as long as has been determined at the *amómán*, after which he takes his wife home to his parents' house, where the woman stays (*maggiyán*) from now on. In case the groom does not stay at the house

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of the girl's parents, or if he is a married man, both husband and wife remain where they are after the *lablabág* ceremony, namely in the house of the husband or in that of his parents.

C. FAMILY LIFE

It is not rare to find two or more Isneg families living in one and the same house, as these are usually very roomy. And so it may take a long time before any of the married sons attempt to live elsewhere. This is also a boon to the old people, of course, as in this way they always find a home for their old age with one of their married children.

From now on the young wife will have little time for pleasure, and, although it would be wrong to call her a slave, in our eyes at least she will be leading the life of a drudge. She will be the first to begin work and the last to finish it. Every day she will have to prepare the meals and to clean the dishes; most of her mornings, if not her entire days, will be passed in the field; and when coming back home in the afternoon, she will have to comply with her usual household duties: pound the rice or grind the corn, and feed the hogs. Most of the time she will have to nurse a baby while attending to her other work, not that the little ones come in such quick succession, as usually at least a year and a half elapses between the birth of two children, and very often one or more of them die in infancy, but because the time of nursing is not confined to the first year of her babe: even children two and three years old may be found occasionally partaking of their mother's milk and using it as a supplementary food.

The husband on the contrary will find his married life to be very little different from what he had been used to before. His life may perhaps even appear lighter to him now than it was before he contracted marriage, as he will be mostly his own master, and he will not pass so many sleepless nights as when, as a young man, he was assiduously courting the girls, a custom that plays havoc with the health of a good many Isneg boys.

1. Domestic Relationships

The Isneg husband is the head of the family, and ultimate decisions are always taken by him; nevertheless the woman is no unimportant entity in the government of the house. An Isneg man rarely transacts any important business without the consent of the women folk, and he is usually humble and obedient at the smallest hint of his

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586 When *Rukkadéń* ran homewards in order to fetch his gun, *Kadáw*
684 again had followed him hoping to give him the coup de grâce, but
628 when the latter had got hold of his gun. *Kadáw* had fled a second
703 time and hid in the municipal building. *Rukkadéń* had shown at
578 least that he was not a coward: although wounded to death he had faced his adversary and tried to kill him; he died a couple of hours later. The whole Isneg outfit of policemen and soldiers had not made a very brave stand either, as the last scene of the drama was enacted in the public square, and none of them dared approach old *Kadáw*, who had entrenched himself in the building just referred to and refused to lay down his headax reeking with blood. He finally surrendered at the summons of the lieutenant of the constabulary who threatened him with his revolver.

192 In concluding this account of marriage, the following Isneg ex-
585 pressions may be recorded:

Mańćn: Menses.

837 *Maxatáwa:* To marry. Said of both men and women.

Mańatáwa: To marry. Said only of men.

104 *Makiatáwa:* To marry. Said only of women.

Meatáwa: To be married. Said only of women.

Mańaduwá: To live in bigamy. From the stem *duwá*, "two", and the complex prefix *mańa*, syncopated for *mań* and *ka*.

Mańa-ló: To have three wives. From the syncopated stem *talló*, "three", and the complex prefix *mańa*.

Dumaládag: To commit adultery, to be in love with another man. Said of married women.

Mánaládag: To commit adultery with a married woman. Said of men, whether married or single.

192 *Sumibuá:* To separate, to go and live in another house. This does
586 not always and necessarily mean divorce; it may also mean that somebody stops living with a certain family in order to go and live
104 somewhere else; for instance, a young married couple who have built themselves a new house, or who go to live in a house different from the one they have previously lived in, provided the latter was inhabited at the same time by another family, who continue to live there after their former companions went away.

They have a feast: rice
basi, and the greater part of a pig or dog are served. 584
Then business begins. The parents and relatives of 583
the youth, arrange the amount of the dowry, *todog*. [574
If it is of less value, the youth must stay in the house 262]
of the girl. When the contract is agreed upon, it is strictly adhered to; and the youth and girl are said to be married.

The real ceremony, *aqueb*, then follows. The pa- 585 ●
rents of the girl bring pigs and baskets of rice-cakes to the house of the youth. The girl comes in company with several old women. They all stop about one hundred yards from the house of the youth. There they are met by the parents or mother of the youth, bearing valuable gifts for the parents of the girl. The youth's mother then requests the girl from her parents. Upon approval, the whole company moves to the house, where the mother presents her gifts to the parents of the girl. The rice cakes are sold to the re- [435]
latives of the youth, the nominal price being P1.00 per basket. Then the merry-making starts and con- [784]
tinues through the night. The youth and girl must not eat the sweets, as one of them would die. In the morning final payments of the dowry are made and distributed. Then the young couple are considered to be properly married, but still controlled by their parents.

When the young woman feels that she is about to 844
give birth, either the husband or the mother-in-law will twist a piece of cloth, light one end, and place it, [442]
the *pungan*, at the door. With it is the coconut shredder, *igad*. These guard the woman while delivering so that no *anito* can come into the house to annoy the

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deed done but the relatives of the dead soldier mustered together, went to Nagbabalayan, entered the house of the poor involuntary killer and rifled whatever they found of value.

A few months ago at Nagilian (municipal district of Namaltugan), a man ascended a coconut tree in order to gather a few nuts. Unfortunately, while he was dropping them on the ground, a child came running along and received the thump of one of the huge nuts on its head: the child fell down of course and lay unconscious. So soon as the parents and relatives heard about the whole affair, all head-axes were unsheathed, and terrible things might have happened, if the sanitary inspector, who was present at the time, had not assured the people that the child would live.

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According to the Christian code, God rewards or punishes thoughts as well as deeds. Ordinary human justice does not bother about mere intentions that are not followed by deeds, but it recognizes the act of a man as a human act, it distinguishes an act done intentionally from one done involuntarily, it differentiates between culpable negligence and unavoidable accident. The Isneg code knows no such distinctions: an act is an act; the result is the only thing taken into consideration. The Isneg language has terms for "doing purposely, intention", and so on; but in practice the fact that something was done unintentionally makes little difference: it is not the guilt of a person that is considered, but only the result of his act.

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"Adultery is a shameful crime, especially in women. An Isneg man should content himself with the wife or wives who have been paid for: avoid mixing with other women, such habits bring only woe in their wake. Take care never to make a young girl pregnant; whether the person who commits such a mistake be a married man or a young unmarried man, the result is the same, so I have not to insist upon the matter. Be not less careful when the woman in question is married: to excite the anger of her husband may have dire consequences. If you are caught in the act, who will blame the offended man for killing you? The right will ever remain on his side.

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"An unfaithful wife is a thorn in the flesh; keep to your husband, never allow any other man to share your affections. No true Isneg will stand an adulteress: your husband will divorce you and you will have no recourse, your parents will be in duty bound to give back the price they received for you. Who will respect a woman who respects neither herself nor her husband? No excuse will save you from infamy. Your husband may be inclined occasionally to have

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Among the other tribes polygamy, in the form of polygyny of course, is very rare and almost entirely unknown, while among the Isneg it has become an integral part of their social organization. Although far from universal, it is still frequent enough to allow us to call it an institution, the more so that in the unwritten law of the Isneg we find actually a definite set of rules that govern the contracting of a subsequent marriage before the first one has been dissolved by death or divorce, the inheritance of children born to people living in polygamy, and so on. Expressions like the following, which may be heard very frequently all over Apayaw, go far to show that the Isneg wants the woman more than anything else: "We are poor . . . , we are to be pitied . . . , we are starving . . . , we have no food . . ." (and almost always) "because there are no women in the house . . . , because there is not a sufficient number of women around".

When at the same time we consider that the principal reason for divorce among the other Mountain tribes does not obtain in Apayaw, it becomes more patent that among the Isneg the question of children is only of secondary importance. Indeed among the Kankanay and others it is an almost universal custom for childless couples to separate and try their luck with somebody else, while among the Isneg the absence of children is no reason for divorce: this has been told me consistently by all my informants, and the facts are there to prove it. It is true that sterile marriages are comparatively few, but still they are numerous enough to allow us to see that the lack of children is not necessarily a sufficient reason for divorce. A Bolo man and his wife *Bannáw* have been married for over ten years and still no children are forthcoming. *Tabtábal* and his wife (also called *Bannáw*) at Lettuakan, *Tóriya* and his wife at Turatok, have been married for a long time without having had the pleasure of seeing children born to them. These places are all far apart from one another, and in no case is there even the hint of a possibility of divorce. The other Mountain tribes want the children first of all; to the Isneg, however, the women are more important than the offspring.

And so polygamy or rather polygyny has become an institution among the Isneg, not so much through the desire of the men to satisfy their sexual appetite, as through the absolute necessity of women in the household for economic reasons. As it is not my intention to make a survey of the whole subprovince of Apayaw, I shall

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[586] then there is always a way open to them, and divorce is not so very
585 uncommon among the Isneg as to be considered an extraordinary event.

[836] Bride and groom having already had coitus more than once, there is no question of course of ceremonial defloration, jus primae noctis, looking for proofs of virginity, and so on. The morning after the *ákit*, the *tádug* is brought over to the house of the girl's parents, and triumphantly escorted by a large group of people. Here a chicken is killed in order to celebrate the happy event, and all present are allowed to partake of it, but some of the blood must be smeared on the objects that make up the *tádug*. This is called *banít:* the girl's parents are those who *mamanít*, they *banítan* the *tádug*.

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263 pared at the house of the bride's parents, for the ceremony called *lablabág;* but the *pinatarú-* variety of cakes is taboo on this occasion. The reason is that it would cause the future offspring of the newly wed to get sore ears (a kind of otitis with concomitant suppuration).

[805] On the third day, three nights (the Isneg always count by nights,
585 not by days) after the *ákit*, the young couple *maglablabág:* they first go to observe the flight of the *labág* bird. If the omen is bad, nothing will be done and a more favorable occasion will be awaited, because to go ahead under the circumstances would entail the early death of one of the interested parties. The whole *lablabág* ceremony, however, is almost always performed on that day anyhow, as there is more than one hour in a day and more than one *labág* bird in Apayaw. After having obtained a good augury, if the house of the boy's parents is near, the young couple direct their steps toward it in the
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262 escort carry all eatables prepared for this occasion, and these are then distributed to the people at the house of the groom. These eatables,—sweets, meat, etc.,—are called *talinabáw*, but the cakes are far from being as abundant as at the time of the *ákit*. The whole ceremony, beginning with the observance of the flight of the *labág* and ending with the distribution of the *talinabáw* at the house of the boy's parents, is called *lablabág*.

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one, the two first-mentioned children will receive each one fourth, and the other four each one eighth of the inheritance.

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In case of divorce we have to consider two eventualities:

1. All children are married. In this case, which is almost purely theoretic, as Isneg husbands and wives are not in the habit of obtaining a divorce so late in life, there is little to be said, as there is no more property to be divided.

2. Some children or all of them are still unmarried. Married children may be left out of consideration, as they will have received their share at the time of their marriage. Unmarried children inherit from the parent whom they followed, and not from the other one. Now little children always follow their mother, while grown-ups are free to throw in their lot with either of their parents.

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With reference to the division of property at the time of divorce, only belongings common to both husband and wife, as *tádug* and so on, come under consideration, as is clear from what has been previously stated. It should, however, be noted that, if *tádug* have already been received, which means that at least one of the daughters has married, a divorce is a comparatively rare occurrence among the Isneg. Anyhow only three eventualities are possible:

1. Common property is divided between the two by mutual agreement; and this is not at all common among the Isneg;

2. The husband is the culprit, and the woman gets everything, except of course the man's personal belongings;

3. The woman is in fault, and the husband becomes the exclusive owner of everything that was possessed in common by both of them up to the time of divorce.

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In case a married couple has no children, and one of the two dies, the survivor inherits all common property. Personal belongings, however, go to the nearest relatives of the deceased: if the parents are still alive, they get the preference; if they are dead already, the inheritance goes to brothers and sisters, uncles and aunts, nephews and nieces, cousins, etc., mostly in the order named.

After the death of the surviving party, provided no second marriage took place, his or her whole inheritance goes to his or her nearest relatives, in the same order as mentioned above. If the survivor remarries, he or she may either have children or remain childless: in both cases nothing has to be added to the preceding treatment of Isneg law.

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587 888 887 171 Among the Isneg, widowers rarely remain in that state for any length of time, and they never fail to find somebody to share their home for the rest of their days. The same may be said in general with reference to young widows. An elderly widow, on the contrary, is not always so anxious to contract again the bonds of matrimony, but she will not be the less respected for that. Among the Bontok Igorot, a miserable hut, much poorer even than their ordinary dwellings, is built apart from the rest for a childless old widow, and there she lives practically abandoned by everybody. Such things do not happen in the Isneg country: the old women never fail to find somebody who is willing to give them shelter; they are as much respected as anybody else, and if they happen to be shamanesses, even more than the rest. Divorced persons are in the same condition as widows and widowers as far as the question of remarriage is concerned.

765 587 Widows and widowers, or polygamous husbands who mourn the death of one of their wives, are forbidden to remarry as long as they wear their mourning weeds, and it is only after the ceremony connected with their change of garments that they are again free in this respect.

3. *Divorce*

586 684 Much has been said already about questions related to divorce, and I shall not repeat it here. The statement has also been made and the evidence therefor given that, among the Isneg, the absence of children is not a reason for divorce, while the contrary is true with almost all other natives of the Mountain Province, among whom the lack of children is the chief reason for permanent separation with subsequent freedom to marry somebody else.

Among the Isneg the general rule is that people marry and live together maritally until the end of their days; nevertheless divorce is far from being infrequent. The following are the most important reasons for dissolution of the marriage relation:

By the husband:

586 684 837 1. Adultery of the woman. Among the Isneg an unfaithful wife is not readily forgiven, and a young husband rarely fails to watch his wife if he has some solid ground for suspecting her fidelity.

586 684 461 2. Habitual laziness. At the time of his marriage, an Isneg man is far from expecting to have to do most of the work himself, as the division of labor is ruled by custom, and the share of the women is very considerable, as has been stated in the preceding pages. Be-

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sides, the most cogent social reason for an Isneg to enter the state of matrimony is an economic one, as recorded at the beginning of this chapter: he wants his wife to feed him and to relieve him of most all solicitude and anxiety with reference to his daily sustenance and that of his children. Now if he happens to be frustrated in his expectations, there is no reason why he should not turn his eyes elsewhere and try to make a better choice, abandoning his old love and embarking on a new matrimonial venture. 586 684 461

3. Lack of hospitality. This is another reason why an Isneg man may abandon his wife. He will not suffer the shame of having his house shunned by strangers because his partner does not show the customary courtesy to a guest. This certainly lays a strong curb upon the habitual crabbedness of many Isneg women, who are not renowned for sweetness of temper. Their irritability is understandable, however, as the habitual drudgery, which is their common lot, is far from conducive to softening of temper. 586 684 574

By the wife: 586

1. Adultery of the man. An Isneg husband is allowed much more freedom in this respect than his wife, but things may come to such a pass that even the most patient woman is unable to stand it. Besides, a certain incompatibility may have been present from the beginning, and then of course a husband's mistakes, which under ordinary circumstances are regarded as petty faults, may become a sufficient reason for breaking the tie altogether. 684 837

2. Habitual laziness. An Isneg wife rarely expects too much with reference to her husband's activity. But if he regularly fails to comply with the few duties that fall to his share, and does not give his wife the necessary help without which she cannot reasonably comply with her own part of the work, then of course the easiest way for her is to try her luck elsewhere, or to wait for a better opportunity, in the meantime leaving her former husband to his own devices. 586 684 461

Needless to say, divorce happens much more often in the case of couples who have been forced into matrimony by their parents, than in that of young people who have arranged everything on their own initiative. 586

Again divorce rarely happens late in life, when husband and wife have been living together for many years, and have perhaps married not a few of their children. Indeed, a woman who has proved faith-

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586 ful for many years, rarely becomes an adulteress in her old age, and, on the other hand, a young wife is much more jealous of the exclusive love of her husband than an older one: and people who were industrious during the first years of their married life, rarely give their partner a reason for divorce on that score later in life, when several children may perhaps be helping them to lighten the burden. 586 With reference to lack of hospitality on the part of the woman, this 514 also will rarely be a reason for permanent separation after many years of cohabitation; because the woman does not as a rule change with years in her habitual politeness toward guests of the house, or, if she does, her husband will in all probability have become more lenient in that respect and forgive her more easily any breach of hospitality that may happen at a time when the former good reputation of the house will hardly be impaired by a little grumbling on the part of a woman advanced in years.

586 To separate (*mazadi*) is usually a very easy matter, as regards 684 husband and wife. A few hard words may occasionally accompany the ultimate breaking of the marriage tie, but in general both of them merely go their own way. The woman goes back to her parents and the husband stays where he is, or, in case the latter is still living at the house of his parents-in-law, he leaves and she stays: and there the matter rests as far as they are concerned. With reference to the children, the little ones follow the mother, and the others are free to do as they please: they may take sides with either their father or their mother according to their own wishes. If the *tádug*, or price paid for the bride, is to be returned to the parents of the groom, these have to look out for it by themselves, and to agree about the matter with the parents of their former daughter-in-law. The divorced couple had no hand in the whole affair at the time of their marriage, and they never obtained any advantages on that account, so why should they bother about it at this stage and enter into discussions which could bring them only trouble without the smallest prospect of any emolument?

Isneg law is very simple in this respect. If the husband is at fault, nothing is returned, and besides the culprit is often heavily fined (*xúsi* jars, beads, etc.) by the angered relatives of the girl. If the wife is the guilty party, everything has to be given back. But in practice it is sometimes very hard to decide whether the blame is or is not all on one side. Except in a few cases, as in that of flagrant adultery on the part of the woman and so on, everything may have

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taken its regular course, and the final crisis may have been reached before anybody was fully aware of it: small matters may have been combined into difficulties of huge proportions, disgust on both sides may have led to mistakes on both sides. And so it is usually not an easy matter to decide exactly what has to be done under the circumstances. Hence follow quarrels: the woman's people are loath to part with the *tádug* which, as a matter of course, they have come to consider as their own property, and the parents of the man are overanxious to get it back in order to use it for a future marriage that generally is very near in the offing, and lest they have to pay two *tádug* for one and the same boy.

This whole state of affairs is very well illustrated by what happened in the case of *Kadáw*, previously referred to (Publ. Cath. anthrop. conf., 3: 146). One of *Kadáw*'s sons divorced one of his three wives; the woman went home, married another man, left him again, and then married a third one, namely *Rukkadćń*, a Baliwanan married man. The *tádug* had been given back to *Kadáw*, except a certain number of jars, six if I remember well. Now *Kadáw*'s party claimed that everything had to be given back, because the woman was in fault: the fact of the woman's multitudinous marriages seemed indeed to lend some color to this. The other party, led by *Pa-rdy*, the municipal president of Tawit, claimed that the woman had been practically abandoned by her husband, who had failed to give her the customary attentions and to comply with his most elementary duties in her behalf: this was also the common rumor all over the district. The whole quarrel was settled by the authorities in favor of *Pa-rdy*, but the other party did not rest satisfied, and the whole affair culminated in the murder of the unfortunate *Rukkadćń* by old *Kadáw* himself. While in jail the latter swore to kill one of his sons, as soon as he got free, because they had shown that they had not the blood of the *mćńal* (brave) flowing in their veins: they had forced their old father to take revenge in their stead. Incidentally it should be noted that *Kadáw* himself did not show much valor in the whole affair: after a few words of friendly salutation between *Kadáw* and *Rukkadćń*, both of them had gone in the same direction in the usual Indian file, *Kadáw* walking behind. The latter had administered a vicious blow of his headax on the neck of his intended victim, and when *Rukkadćń* had turned to face him, he had struck him a second blow in the forehead, after which he had run as fast as he could.

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When *Rukkadéń* ran homewards in order to fetch his gun, *Kadáw* again had followed him hoping to give him the coup de grâce, but when the latter had got hold of his gun, *Kadáw* had fled a second time and hid in the municipal building. *Rukkadéń* had shown at least that he was not a coward: although wounded to death he had faced his adversary and tried to kill him; he died a couple of hours later. The whole Isneg outfit of policemen and soldiers had not made a very brave stand either, as the last scene of the drama was enacted in the public square, and none of them dared approach old *Kadáw*, who had entrenched himself in the building just referred to and refused to lay down his headax reeking with blood. He finally surrendered at the summons of the lieutenant of the constabulary who threatened him with his revolver.

In concluding this account of marriage, the following Isneg expressions may be recorded:

Mańćn: Menses.

Maxatáwa: To marry. Said of both men and women.

Mańatáwa: To marry. Said only of men.

Makiatáwa: To marry. Said only of women.

Meatáwa: To be married. Said only of women.

Mańaduwá: To live in bigamy. From the stem *duwá*, "two", and the complex prefix *mańa*, syncopated for *mań* and *ka*.

Mańa-ló: To have three wives. From the syncopated stem *talló*, "three", and the complex prefix *mańa*.

Dumaládag: To commit adultery, to be in love with another man. Said of married women.

Manaládag: To commit adultery with a married woman. Said of men, whether married or single.

Sumibná: To separate, to go and live in another house. This does not always and necessarily mean divorce; it may also mean that somebody stops living with a certain family in order to go and live somewhere else; for instance, a young married couple who have built themselves a new house, or who go to live in a house different from the one they have previously lived in, provided the latter was inhabited at the same time by another family, who continue to live there after their former companions went away.

APAYAO LIFE AND LEGENDS

THE PEOPLE OF APAYAO

WHEN you travel in the Philippines to the 131
northwesterly end of Luzon Island as far as Abulog; and then take a banca up the clear, warm waters of the Apayao River, as it meanders through dark tropical forests and amidst gorgeous mountains, you come into the lovely land of the Apayaos.

These virile people came here uncounted thou- 174
sands of years ago in two main migration waves; one- 144
the Indonesian-by way of Southeastern Asia; and the other-the Mongolian-by way of Central Asia. Here, in the northerly end of the Cordillera Central Mountains, these two waves converged, finding a new home with which they have ever since been well content. Their cultures amalgamated into a new one. Physically, the Indonesian strain dominated; but Mongoloid features of all the three short types are present, especially the short Mongol. According to the last cen- 161
sus they number 11,000.

You will like these people; for they are kindly, 181
hospitable, generous mountain lovers. They are high- 577
ly aesthetic in temperament, self-reliant, and honest. If perchance, you drop something, even money, on the trail, the finder will return it to you. They say that [586]
if a man steals, his wife will leave him: or, if they

844 woman, making her delivery so hard that she will die. They are kept there until the woman is strong enough to go outdoors again.

846 As soon as she is able, the woman goes to the river to wash, accompanied by a male relative holding an *aliwa* on which is ginger. On the way he must always be in the rear, as the *aliwa* and ginger are guarding the woman from some *anito* which desires to cut off her head and cause her death. If the *anito* succeeds, she will die suddenly upon reaching home.

When they arrive home, the man places the ginger with the *pungan* and *igad* at the door. These are kept there until the woman is strong enough to go to work. During that time it is strictly prohibited that anyone outside of the family shall enter the house. It means death to do so. This strong taboo is observed until the woman says that she is ready to receive a visitor. The wife seldom leaves her home and work.

586 [461 684] The marriage bond is permanent; but it may be broken by the man if he finds that his wife performs very little farm labor. Even though they have children, he is entitled to divorce her upon giving her a [587] small portion of the conjugal property. Both are [581 831] then free to marry again. The woman must implicitly obey her husband and be absolutely true to him: 684 no little flirting with other men. If she is found guilty of any offence, her fine is heavy. If she commits adultery with another man, both should be killed: the man by the relatives of the wife, and the wife by the relatives of the husband. However, if there are extenuating circumstances and the death sentence is not imposed, both guilty parties are sentenced

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587 Among the Isneg, widowers rarely remain in that state for any
888 length of time, and they never fail to find somebody to share their
887 home for the rest of their days. The same may be said in general
171 with reference to young widows. An elderly widow, on the contrary, is not always so anxious to contract again the bonds of matrimony, but she will not be the less respected for that. Among the Bontok Igorot, a miserable hut, much poorer even than their ordinary dwellings, is built apart from the rest for a childless old widow, and there she lives practically abandoned by everybody. Such things do not happen in the Isneg country: the old women never fail to find somebody who is willing to give them shelter; they are as much respected as anybody else, and if they happen to be shamanesses, even more than the rest. Divorced persons are in the same condition as widows and widowers as far as the question of remarriage is concerned.

765 Widows and widowers, or polygamous husbands who mourn the
587 death of one of their wives, are forbidden to remarry as long as they wear their mourning weeds, and it is only after the ceremony connected with their change of garments that they are again free in this respect.

3. Divorce

586 Much has been said already about questions related to divorce,
684 and I shall not repeat it here. The statement has also been made and the evidence therefor given that, among the Isneg, the absence of children is not a reason for divorce, while the contrary is true with almost all other natives of the Mountain Province, among whom the lack of children is the chief reason for permanent separation with subsequent freedom to marry somebody else.

Among the Isneg the general rule is that people marry and live together maritally until the end of their days; nevertheless divorce is far from being infrequent. The following are the most important reasons for dissolution of the marriage relation:

By the husband:

586 1. Adultery of the woman. Among the Isneg an unfaithful wife is
684 not readily forgiven, and a young husband rarely fails to watch his
837 wife if he has some solid ground for suspecting her fidelity.

586 2. Habitual laziness. At the time of his marriage, an Isneg man
684 is far from expecting to have to do most of the work himself, as the
461 division of labor is ruled by custom, and the share of the women is very considerable, as has been stated in the preceding pages. Be-

844 woman, making her delivery so hard that she will die. They are kept there until the woman is strong enough to go outdoors again.

846 As soon as she is able, the woman goes to the river to wash, accompanied by a male relative holding an *aliwa* on which is ginger. On the way he must always be in the rear, as the *aliwa* and ginger are guarding the woman from some *anito* which desires to cut off her head and cause her death. If the *anito* succeeds, she will die suddenly upon reaching home.

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THE ISNEG LIFE CYCLE. II. MARRIAGE, DEATH, AND BURIAL

By MORICE VANOVERBERGH, C.I.C.M.
Mountain Province, Philippine Islands

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IV. Marriage

A. Acquisition of Mates

589 Celibacy is unknown to the Isneg. It would probably be very hard
548 to convince them of its possibility, at least in men: they certainly
581 never think about it. And so also prostitution is non-existent. There may perhaps be found a few women of loose morals among the Isneg, but even these could never be called prostitutes. To marry is the ultimate aim of every Isneg young man and young woman, none of them knows of any other course to take; marriage is universal.

589 If it should happen that a girl becomes old without having found a husband, she is said to have become the wife of the spirit *Taxindó*. But such cases must be exceedingly rare; I myself have never yet met any.

to pay heavy indemnities to the relatives of the injured husband. When the husband is so inclined, he may take one or more wives, provided that he is wealthy enough to support them. However, the wife controls in marriage, her own inherited property.

When the husband dies, the woman retains only her clothing and returns to her relatives. All the property is divided equally among the children. If they are young, the man's relatives take and raise them, keeping the property in trust. Upon marriage each child receives his share.

RELIGION

The Apayao name for a god is "*anito.*" Now, it is hard for anyone to explain how all the "acts of God" are the activity of one single personality; as some "acts" are benevolent and others are malevolent. The Apayaos believe that different "acts" are the doings of differents *anitos*, some benevolent and others malevolent. Natural phenomena are explained as being the work of some *anito*. Each occurrence or activity of a person is governed by some certain *anito*. Therefore they may number up into the thousands. Thus one is constantly aware of his relations with the *anitos*, and the Apayao is very religious. For instance if he is setting a trap for wild pig in the forest, he will ask one *anito* to forgive him for trying to trap the pig; another *anito* to let the pig be guided into the trap; and another *anito* that the trap will spring and catch the pig.

Many *anitos* live in natural objects; but the most prominent ones dwlel in *Guynetban* in the sky. Each

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and, if they consider them to be as valuable as that, it is their own business after all. The same may be said with reference to the beads: a single one, if very valuable in the eyes of the natives, may command the price of a carabao or water buffalo, from thirty to fifty dollars, while other ones may be had almost for the asking.

All these jars are earthenware of Chinese make, imported from China long before the arrival of the Spaniards; consequently antiquity is an important item in the estimation of their value. Jars that have been imported recently usually command a much lower price. A great many of the beads also antedate the coming of the Spaniards and were also originally imported from China. Actually, however, beads of all kinds have been put on the market and their origin is very often shrouded in mystery. Isneg plates are all made of coarse earthenware and have mostly been introduced from China; but, although most of them date from comparatively recent times, they are still of the same kind, shape, color and composition as those they have replaced, as may be proved by fragments occasionally unearthed in places formerly inhabited by Isneg. These people certainly hold fast to their old ways and customs; modern crockery is not to their taste. As the Isneg do not weave their own clothes, the latter have of necessity to be bought from outsiders.

During the *amómān* it is also decided whether the boy has to stay with his parents-in-law or not, and for how long in case he has to do so, which is the customary way. The number of years varies very much, as some stay three years, others from five to ten, and even in a few cases the husband never goes back to the house of his own parents.

No really important business can be transacted, of course, among the Isneg, without remembering the cravings of the stomach. In the ordinary course of events one or more pigs are slaughtered according to the social standing of the girl's parents. If they are too poor to indulge in such prodigality, a chicken will do. In both cases a dog may complete the menu, although this is not absolutely required. No special name is given to the killing and consuming of the chicken; but if one or more pigs enter the lists, the whole ceremony is called *pildáp*. Nevertheless in a few isolated cases, when the people are much too poor, the banquet is completely left out, and the deliberations are conducted on empty stomachs.

All during the *amómān* the men conduct everything that is connected with the *pildáp*. The *dorarákit* or shamaness does not interfere in the least.

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of the girl's parents, or if he is a married man, both husband and wife remain where they are after the *lablabág* ceremony, namely in the house of the husband or in that of his parents.

C. FAMILY LIFE

It is not rare to find two or more Isneg families living in one and the same house, as these are usually very roomy. And so it may take a long time before any of the married sons attempt to live elsewhere. This is also a boon to the old people, of course, as in this way they always find a home for their old age with one of their married children.

From now on the young wife will have little time for pleasure, and, although it would be wrong to call her a slave, in our eyes at least she will be leading the life of a drudge. She will be the first to begin work and the last to finish it. Every day she will have to prepare the meals and to clean the dishes; most of her mornings, if not her entire days, will be passed in the field; and when coming back home in the afternoon, she will have to comply with her usual household duties: pound the rice or grind the corn, and feed the hogs. Most of the time she will have to nurse a baby while attending to her other work, not that the little ones come in such quick succession, as usually at least a year and a half elapses between the birth of two children, and very often one or more of them die in infancy, but because the time of nursing is not confined to the first year of her babe: even children two and three years old may be found occasionally partaking of their mother's milk and using it as a supplementary food.

The husband on the contrary will find his married life to be very little different from what he had been used to before. His life may perhaps even appear lighter to him now than it was before he contracted marriage, as he will be mostly his own master, and he will not pass so many sleepless nights as when, as a young man, he was assiduously courting the girls, a custom that plays havoc with the health of a good many Isneg boys.

1. Domestic Relationships

The Isneg husband is the head of the family, and ultimate decisions are always taken by him; nevertheless the woman is no unimportant entity in the government of the house. An Isneg man rarely transacts any important business without the consent of the women folk, and he is usually humble and obedient at the smallest hint of his

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592 562 578 [201] wife. Especially when the women have attained a more or less advanced age, their tongue usually rules the household; and in this they have a very sharp-cutting instrument indeed. The husband may occasionally vindicate his authority, but most of the time he shrinks from the women's displeasure. Besides, as a last resort, they always have their tears ready at hand; I have assisted more than once, although involuntarily, at family scenes in which the quarrel ended with a flow of tears on the part of the wife and subsequent awkwardness in the manner of the more or less aggressive husband, who finally could find no other way out but meekly to explain, to try to soothe, and to submit. An old woman, be she married or widowed, has generally more than one say in the family. And if a woman has been consecrated a shamaness while in her early childhood, then she commands the respect not only of the household but of her neighbors as well, or rather inspires them with a kind of reverential awe, especially if she is advanced in years.

To resume, both parties help each other in their own way: the husband has a woman to look after his daily needs, and the wife, although taking the lion's share of the work, does not lack compensation in the fact that from now on she has a ready listener whenever she wants to pronounce one of her philippics.

837 As has been amply shown in the preceding pages, and as will appear even more clearly from what will be said of divorce, there can be no question among the Isneg of allowing anybody access to one's wife or of exchanging wives with another man.

831 593 Do Isneg husbands and wives love each other? It has been said about other tribes, here in the Mountain Province, that in their case marriage is nothing else but a juxtaposition of two people, a man and a woman, that the husband is more like a stranger to his wife, that mutual love between husband and wife is something completely unknown. This may perhaps be true with some of them, although I doubt very much if such sweeping statements are entirely consonant with the facts. But does it apply to the Isneg? It must be conceded that in the question of marital love, just as in that of gratitude, outward manifestations are exceedingly sparse among the Isneg. It is also a fact that husband and wife never or almost never work together, which after all is not exactly peculiar to primitive people. But can we truly say that mutual love is unknown between an Isneg husband and his wife? I should answer most emphatically in the negative: Isneg man and wife most certainly love each other. Nevertheless it

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593 The family is a very important entity among the Isneg, and their family life is comparatively intense. There is no question of man and wife associating only for the duties incident to the procreation of children. All members of the household keep rather close together until the young people are able to form a new family, and even in this case the latter usually remain with their elders for a considerable period of their married life. To establish a family, if possible with plenty of children around, is the ultimate goal of every Isneg boy and [671] girl. In principle the rights of the individual are subordinate to those of the family, while state paternalism cannot be thought of.

177 It is true that actually the Government often interferes with the native customs of the Isneg, and in many cases it could not very well 593 do otherwise, but the latter consider it as alien and regard its ways as entirely contrary to their traditions; they would most certainly like to get rid of it at the first opportunity. The Isneg submit of course, as the constabulary is supposed to be mostly wide awake, but they generally do so very reluctantly and often under protest; occasionally they even disobey, and sometimes not without reason, especially in cases of interference with their traditional family life.

177 Just to give a couple of examples. The local authorities force the parents to send their children to school; anybody who disregards this 871 rule is punished by being obliged to furnish free labor to the Gov- 582 ernment. Now the wisdom of this regulation cannot always reason- 593 ably be doubted, because, if no strict measures were taken, nobody would go to school. But even children of marriageable age very often fall under this rule, as Apayaw is sparsely populated and the officials are anxious to present decent reports to their superiors; and so Isneg parents who allow their children to marry, face a very disagreeable dilemma: they have either to continue to send to school, in this way breaking up the home as they understand it, or to disobey and be liable to be taken into custody by policemen. It should be noted here that the law of the land recognizes such marriages as valid, but local officials sometimes have little regard for them. By this [797] time, however, the Isneg have found a way out, namely by becoming Christians and contracting marriage before the priest. Such marriages are always duly recorded of course, and so the young people escape forced attendance at school, and the parents avoid trouble with the Government. After all it is the Church that helps the Isneg to keep to his original traditions about the essentials of marriage and home life.

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In a certain place, not so long ago, they had a teacher whose moral conduct was, to say the least, rather objectionable. When policemen raided the houses of the Isneg in order to hunt up all children of school age, several Isneg parents bluntly told them that they would gladly send their sons, but with reference to their daughters, as long as that teacher remained in charge, never; and they were perfectly right. That man has since been dismissed from the service.

A few defects, which will be recorded in due time, occasionally mar the picture of Isneg family life; but on the whole, it must be said that the Isneg commonly live up to their comparatively high standards with regard to this most important unit of society. Nevertheless the whole life of the Isneg, from the cradle to the grave, is dominated by the fear of the spirits; superstition, magic and spirit worship are inextricably interwoven with their whole life. If a Caucasian or, to take an example from people born, living and dying in the same surroundings, a Negrito had to live under such a continual fear of the supernatural and to comply with such a large number of practices in order to propitiate higher beings or to elude their malevolent intentions, I think his life would be simply miserable. The Isneg, however, do not seem to mind, and although always on the lookout for disagreeable interventions from above, they live a life free of care and are never anxious about the future. They rarely concern themselves with what the next day might bring them, and live happy and content if to-day their immediate wants are provided for: to-morrow will take care of itself.

This seeming contradiction pervades their whole life. On the one hand, they have to take innumerable precautions for the future with regard to superior beings. On the other hand, they do not seem to care a jot for the days to come even with reference to such essential needs as food and raiment. The solution of this apparent puzzle seems to me to be found in the fact that the Isneg do conscientiously every day what they think they have to do and leave the rest to fate. With reference to the supernatural, if they take all possible means to propitiate the spirits, and disregard no taboos, and so on, they feel assured that nothing untoward will happen to them on the part of the spirits. With reference to daily sustenance and the rest, they feel no such assurance, as they know by practical experience that they cannot control the forces of nature, rain, storms, the growth of plants, etc. By strictly observing all injunctions of the shamans and all traditional rites and practices, they believe it possible to control the

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for you if you can show the girls an *andôri* tattooed on your arm; will they not be eager to get the attentions of such a warrior? Will they not vie with one another in making themselves attractive and pleasing to him? Such a man will be renowned all over the country, and at every public *sây-âm* sacrifice he will recount his brave deeds. Even when he is tottering with old age, people will respect him as they will nobody else, and after he has long been dead, his name will still be pronounced with reverence and given to children as a remembrance of his great deeds, so that his spirit will continue to live on earth in the members of the younger generation who are called by his name. In the realm of the dead his soul will live encircled by the same aureole of a glorious and immortal fame. It is true that actually you can hardly aspire to such great glory: strangers have taken possession of the land, people who know nothing about Isneg heroism and justice, people who would punish you for such an act of courage, people who do not understand that an enemy has no rights, that his head is acceptable to the spirits. But we of the older generation, we at least should not abandon our glorious traditions; and if it might please the spirits or an all-powerful fate to return to us our lost freedom and rid us of constabulary and judges, then, yes, you should not forget that you are an Isneg, that a head is the most precious offering that you can make to the spirits, that taking the head of an enemy, whoever he be, whether dead or alive, will give you a crown not to be equalled by anything else. You know how often these last years we have been visited by locusts and famine. Whose fault is it? Nobody else's but the cursed Ibanags': they forbid us to propitiate the spirits who are craving for human heads, and what can the *anito* do but punish us for our negligence?"

A couple of years ago, a poor Negrito, Kalisto by name, who had just escaped from jail, from which he would have been released very soon as he was innocent of the crime imputed to him, was killed at Tawit by an Isneg, who gave the pygmy's threatening attitude as a pretext for killing him. But after the body had been disinterred and examined, it was found out that a part of the skull was lacking and that it had been severed from the rest by a cutting instrument: this proved to everybody's satisfaction that the case was a headhunting affair and nothing else.

"Every Isneg child should be obedient to its parents. As long as you are unmarried, you have the bounden duty to comply with the wishes of your parents, and not only with those of your parents, but

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593 also with those of your grandparents, of your elder brothers and sisters,
577 and so forth; in short, you should obey any relative of yours who
576 happens to be older than you are. Have you ever heard of a dutiful Isneg child disregarding even the smallest wishes of his parents and elder relatives? Would it not be utter presumption on your part to prefer your own will to that of your elders? If you have relatives around that are younger than you are, brothers, sisters, nephews, nieces, cousins, and so on, then you also have a right to tell them what you want, and you are perfectly right in shifting the heaviest burdens upon their shoulders; but your own elders, listen to them. Obey your elders, and make younger people obey you, that is the Isneg law."

593 When going from Butaw to Ilocos in 1926, I personally assisted at
577 such a shifting of the burden to a younger one's shoulders, which was
576 a practical fulfilment of Isneg law and a very literal one at that. It
888 happened in the case of old *Balúkat*, who together with his son, already a married man, accompanied me on that journey and carried my baggage. Before we started, I had divided the whole load into two almost equal parts, in order to avoid all altercations and lest we suffer any unnecessary delay. But, before we left Butaw, *Balúkat* took away a generous portion of his own share and shifted it to that of his son. Later on, probably convinced that his own package was still a little heavy, he again took off a few articles and solemnly transferred them to the load of his son. On both occasions *Balúkat* gave us the reason for his conduct: the other man was his son and was still young and strong, while he himself was fast becoming old; and again, on both occasions, the younger man complied with the utmost submission and without showing the smallest sign of vexation, taking everything for granted and never losing the smile on his face.

"You should not only obey your parents, but also respect them. Now, with reference to this latter duty, remember that its scope is much wider than that of simple obedience. Everybody who is older than you deserves your respect, and so you owe it not only to your own relatives, but also to all persons who may be considered as your elders, even though they be not in the least related to you. Would it not be brazen effrontery on your part to be at all disrespectful to an old man or an old woman? It is true that sometimes they have certain whims that may perhaps look ridiculous to you, but although you should be inclined to laugh at their ravings, never appear to be doing so. If an older man or woman scold you, be careful never to raise your voice against him, but keep quiet, or if possible excuse

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yourself as best you can. Any kind of excuse will do in order to escape a thrashing or a severe scolding, provided it proves acceptable; but take care not to be caught lying: this could but add to the latter's resentment. To get out of a bad predicament a little deceit is not forbidden, but not everybody can use it with good results; so be careful about it".

Lately, when paying a visit to *Basilig* at Pansian, his daughters set the table (in the Isneg way, of course) for him, and partook of the food only after their father had finished his own meal, although this is not required by custom.

In general the Isneg have a high regard for their parents and elders, although in our eyes their conduct may sometimes seem to be lacking in outward signs of respect. Their standard of etiquette and politeness is not exactly the same as our own. An Isneg child calls its parents "father" and "mother", and a usual title of respect for aged people is *kakay*, but for the rest it is not very demonstrative.

So, when an Isneg mother recently came to visit her son at my house, the other boys repeatedly told him that his mother was there, but he did not move in the least: the old woman had to go and look for him herself somewhere around the house. Nevertheless that boy had asked me on a former occasion to be allowed to stop going to school in order to help his widowed mother with the wages he would be able to earn that way.

To be convinced that Isneg children respect their elders, although most all outward signs common to our own code are usually absent, it is sufficient to observe their behavior and that of their elders, whenever something untoward has happened. Isneg children look like angels, if you compare their attitude and whole demeanor with that of older men and women, who shout and gesticulate and allow the whole neighborhood to know what happened, without having to go out of its way to listen to the conversation. Boys and girls usually keep quiet when their parents are angry, while in the case of older people it is a question of proving who has the loudest voice, the one that carries the farthest: among the Isneg, the biggest shouter usually gains the victory.

An unmannerly person is called *tordroñ*; this epithet, however, is only applied as far as I know, to a person who drinks directly from the *uriđ*, a bamboo that is used for fetching water, instead of using a cup.

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592 562 578 [201] wife. Especially when the women have attained a more or less advanced age, their tongue usually rules the household; and in this they have a very sharp-cutting instrument indeed. The husband may occasionally vindicate his authority, but most of the time he shrinks from the women's displeasure. Besides, as a last resort, they always have their tears ready at hand; I have assisted more than once, although involuntarily, at family scenes in which the quarrel ended with a flow of tears on the part of the wife and subsequent awkwardness in the manner of the more or less aggressive husband, who finally could find no other way out but meekly to explain, to try to soothe, and to submit. An old woman, be she married or widowed, has generally more than one say in the family. And if a woman has been consecrated a shamaness while in her early childhood, then she commands the respect not only of the household but of her neighbors as well, or rather inspires them with a kind of reverential awe, especially if she is advanced in years.

To resume, both parties help each other in their own way: the husband has a woman to look after his daily needs, and the wife, although taking the lion's share of the work, does not lack compensation in the fact that from now on she has a ready listener whenever she wants to pronounce one of her philippics.

837 As has been amply shown in the preceding pages, and as will appear even more clearly from what will be said of divorce, there can be no question among the Isneg of allowing anybody access to one's wife or of exchanging wives with another man.

831 ●593 Do Isneg husbands and wives love each other? It has been said about other tribes, here in the Mountain Province, that in their case marriage is nothing else but a juxtaposition of two people, a man and a woman, that the husband is more like a stranger to his wife, that mutual love between husband and wife is something completely unknown. This may perhaps be true with some of them, although I doubt very much if such sweeping statements are entirely consonant with the facts. But does it apply to the Isneg? It must be conceded that in the question of marital love, just as in that of gratitude, outward manifestations are exceedingly sparse among the Isneg. It is also a fact that husband and wife never or almost never work together, which after all is not exactly peculiar to primitive people. But can we truly say that mutual love is unknown between an Isneg husband and his wife? I should answer most emphatically in the negative: Isneg man and wife most certainly love each other. Nevertheless it

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is not an easy matter to prove the statement by concrete instances, as such a thing as marital love,—which by the way is rarely manifested outwardly among the Isneg, as has just been stated,—is usually not patent to every passer-by, to whatsoever tribe or race the people in question may belong.

A few previous statements referring to the position of husband and wife in the Isneg family, may suggest that mutual love between both exists to a certain degree. One concrete example to be cited will, however, go farther as evidence, the more so that at the time the couple in question were already advanced in years and of an age at which marital love is usually on the wane, at least as far as outward manifestations are concerned. Now, one cannot deduce from a single example that all Isneg husbands and wives are exceedingly fond of each other: *ab uno disce omnes* may sometimes be considered as a rough working rule, but it will hardly do as a scientific principle. But this instance clearly shows at least that mutual love between husband and wife is not something unknown among the Isneg, and, although Isneg families differ very much the one from the other, one will be forced to conclude that, if such mutual consideration can be found so clearly and patently with an old couple, there will probably be found among the Isneg at least a certain proportion of young married people to whom marital love is not an unknown quantity. I myself, who have been living among them for a considerable period (some five years at the time this is written, early 1931), am convinced that Isneg husbands and wives usually love each other very much; but it should never be forgotten that it is very hard to cite striking examples of such love that may have come to the notice of an outsider, when one remembers how little demonstrative the generality of Isneg are.

Let us come to the anecdote in question. In February 1926, on the day I left Butaw for Solsona, *Balúkat*, one of my carriers, a man about fifty years old, came to me before we started on our journey and entreated me to allow him to lead me by a little detour instead of following the straight path. The evening before, he said, he had been talking to his wife about my appearance in those quarters, and she had evinced much eagerness to see me. Now if I would kindly follow him, we should not lose very much time, and it would allow him to grant the wish of the old girl. I consented to the proposal, and when we arrived at the place where the woman had promised to meet us when coming from her field, *Balúkat* had barely espied her,

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593 when he called out: " Here he is, now take a look at him ". At this juncture I do not know whether the wonder and astonishment that could be read all over the woman's face was any greater than the joy that radiated from old *Balúkat*'s eyes at having been able to give so much satisfaction to his wife. The first period of bewilderment and surprise being over, Mrs. *Balúkat* put down her basket, and both husband and wife started distributing fruits and vegetables to the whole company, putting aside the best part for the object of the old girl's wonderment. I am sorry not to be able after this lapse of time to write down the exact conversation that went on between the two; but I remember most distinctly that the whole trend of the dialogue showed clearly and patently how grateful the old woman was toward her husband for having granted her an entertainment which in her eyes was more than splendid, and how pleased the old man was for having been able to bring about the meeting in question.

852 After the birth of the first child, the young married couple *magpísi-*, which means that they prepare a certain amount of native sweets or cakes, called *písi-* on this occasion, and bring them to the parents of the husband. They themselves, however, are not allowed to eat any of them. The purpose of the *písi-* ceremony is to cause the child to grow up quickly and to protect it against sickness.

776 Besides *Sisína*, who is invoked at the time of the *amómān*, in case
593 the latter happens while a *sǎy-ám* sacrifice is in progress, there is another female spirit, called *Si-rápan*, who is supposed to have some influence on the relations between husband and wife. *Si-rápan* cleans their mind, as the Isneg put it, which means that she helps them to understand one another well and to be free from jealousy, quarrelsomeness and so on, provided their habits are to her liking. Married people who are displeasing to *Si-rápan* " are not taken care of by her and come to grief ".

2. *Property and Inheritance*

421 Husband and wife retain each their own property, whether movable or immovable (fields and so on), separately, and whatever they obtain, either by inheritance from their respective parents or other relatives, or through their own personal exertions, remains their own exclusively. The husband has no more right to his wife's belongings than the latter has to her husband's. Just to give an example: no man can sell his wife's *ikó* knife, nor any woman her husband's headax.

252 412 [415] then hulls it by pounding it with a wooden pestle in a mortar fashioned of a two-foot section of a hardwood log, set on end and hollowed out. The woman then winnows it by cleverly tossing it in an oval-shaped tray woven of rattan. There will often be a set of these mortars with the women companionably pounding together, using a sort of chant.

593 854 [842] The relatives are affectionate, and family ties are strong all through life. The family life is a happy one. Babies are much desired and receive a great deal of loving care. Their wants are promptly supplied, and no little one cries its heart out for lack 524 857 of a mother's loving arms. The small girls do not have dolls to play with but use the babies instead. Also, instead of little play houses, they early begin to play house by helping their mothers in the big houses. Many of the small chores about the house are done by the children. But they also have plenty of time for games. [869] swimming, and other amusements. As they grow older, the girls, of course, follow the work of the mother: housework, washing, taking care of the pigs and chickens, carrying water in jars on their heads from the spring, farming, and other duties. The boys cheerfully work with their fathers in gathering wood, building houses, granaries, chicken coops, bamboo fences, etc., and in fishing and hunting. They early learn the lore of the woods; so that a boy of seven here can take much better care of himself in the open than the average Eagle Boy Scout in the United States. [861] The children are taught a proper decorum; but corporal punishment is rare. A little scolding usually keeps them in order.

226 Sometimes the fish are poisoned with tobacco
[82] for the juice derived from the berries of the *tuba* bush. Also several types of fish traps are used.

224 Deer and wild pigs are hunted with dogs. Wild pigs are also trapped in their runways. The meat thus obtained is divided with fellow hunters and among neighbors. The hunting technique is quite communistic.

SOCIETY

621 The government of the Apayaos is simple. In
622 each family the man rules supreme and orders his wo-
[595] man what to do. This is the unit.

[361] A group of from 15 to 30 families build their houses near each other, *babalay*, being joined together for mutual aid and protection under one head man,
[57] *maingel*, who holds his position because he is the na-
[554] tural leader, is wealthy, and is the stongest and fiercest
622 warrior. The *maingel* wears a red turban on his head
624 and his arms are tattooed to the shoulders. He is absolute ruler; but has several advisory assistants, *pangmarwan*, who likewise have won their position through ability. The next best man to the *maingel*, is his number one assistant and so on. The common man may advise a *pangmarwan*. Upon the death of the *maingel* the number one *pangmarwan* takes his place.
627 The *maingel* and *pangmarwans* sit as a court to judge
692 any one who has broken the common law. Disputes between individuals are settled by intermediary peace
681 makers. It is notable that the fines are not paid to the government, but to the injured party, who receives the suitable indemnity. This may be in the form of jars, beads, animals, and other valuables.

A CHAPTER FROM THE STORY OF HATAN AND HIS FAMILY

152 Abbiawan went on an adventure to seek for re-
593 nown in brave deeds because he envied his brother
578 Ewagan for being a such a famous warrior. Abbia-wan set forth to try to kill Ewagan. Then all the brothers, well armed with spears, accompanied Abbiawan, intending to kill their brother, Ewagan. A fight ensued between the brothers. Finding out that that their brother Ewagan could not be killed, they decided to challenge Ewagan one by one, with shield and spear.

578 Abbiawan and Ewagan first faced each other. While the fight was going on between these two brothers, Imlang joined in to help Abbiawan. At the first attack of Ewagan on his two brothers, the shield of Imlang was cut to pieces and Imlang called for help from his other brothers. When he called for help, Haowan volunteered to challenge Ewagan.

Another fight ensued. At the first attack of Ewagan, the shield of Haowan was also cut in pieces. Because Haowan could no longer withstand the attack, he withdrew and cried for help. Hinadolan came to his aid. They fought with spears.

In this fight Ewagan was a bit afraid of Hinadolan because his spear was very big and a shield would not stop it. So Ewagan retreated. All of a sudden, Ewagan fiercely renewed the attack in the

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Among the other tribes polygamy, in the form of polygyny of course, is very rare and almost entirely unknown, while among the Isneg it has become an integral part of their social organization. Although far from universal, it is still frequent enough to allow us to call it an institution, the more so that in the unwritten law of the Isneg we find actually a definite set of rules that govern the contracting of a subsequent marriage before the first one has been dissolved by death or divorce, the inheritance of children born to people living in polygamy, and so on. Expressions like the following, which may be heard very frequently all over Apayaw, go far to show that the Isneg wants the woman more than anything else: "We are poor . . . , we are to be pitied . . . , we are starving . . . , we have no food . . ." (and almost always) "because there are no women in the house . . . , because there is not a sufficient number of women around".

When at the same time we consider that the principal reason for divorce among the other Mountain tribes does not obtain in Apayaw, it becomes more patent that among the Isneg the question of children is only of secondary importance. Indeed among the Kankanay and others it is an almost universal custom for childless couples to separate and try their luck with somebody else, while among the Isneg the absence of children is no reason for divorce: this has been told me consistently by all my informants, and the facts are there to prove it. It is true that sterile marriages are comparatively few, but still they are numerous enough to allow us to see that the lack of children is not necessarily a sufficient reason for divorce. A Bolo man and his wife *Bannáw* have been married for over ten years and still no children are forthcoming. *Tabtábal* and his wife (also called *Bannáw*) at Lettuakan, *Tóriyo* and his wife at Turatok, have been married for a long time without having had the pleasure of seeing children born to them. These places are all far apart from one another, and in no case is there even the hint of a possibility of divorce. The other Mountain tribes want the children first of all; to the Isneg, however, the women are more important than the offspring.

And so polygamy or rather polygyny has become an institution among the Isneg, not so much through the desire of the men to satisfy their sexual appetite, as through the absolute necessity of women in the household for economic reasons. As it is not my intention to make a survey of the whole subprovince of Apayaw, I shall

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595 merely cite here a few cases, all of them in the immediate neighborhood of Kabugaw.

The "presidente" or mayor of the municipal district of Kabugaw, an Isneg from Bolo, has been living in bigamy for many years, and recently he has taken to himself a third wife with all the pomp proper to Isneg marriages. *Ilsúy*, a former candidate for "presidente", who lives at the other side of the river from Kabugaw, once told me that formerly he had had six wives, but that unfortunately by this time two of them had died; notwithstanding the multitude of his women, *Ilsúy* has no offspring. A Nagbabalayan man boasted to me of the fact that two of his children of about the same age belonged to two different women. At Lettuakan *Kadáw's* son had three wives until one of them left him, with the direful results previously recounted (CAC-P, 3:146-47): the quarrel between *Kadáw* and *Pa-rây* and the killing of *Rukkadćń* by *Kadáw*. The late *Rukkadćń* himself, a Baliwanan man, also lived in bigamy, and the chief of the provincial police here, a Musimut man, recently attempted to take a second wife in the person of a Bayag girl, but the affair miscarried. Not so long ago, when I was going from Futtul to Tawit, my canoe was poled up the river by three Isneg: two women and their husband. And so on. Now, when one takes into consideration the multifarious expenses incident to the performance of the marriage ceremonies, it is beyond question that only the comparatively well-to-do can afford to take more than one wife, and so if polygamy is not more frequent, the reason again is an economical one.

[842]

There does not seem to be any difference in the state of the women, in cases of polygamy; all of them are married with the same ceremonies and they mostly live happily together, helping one another in their daily work and each one attending to her own offspring. Quarrels do not seem to be more frequent among them than among any other two independent women living under the same roof, and both enjoy the same rights both during their lifetime, and after their demise with reference to the inheritance of their children from their common father. Not a few Isneg wives are even glad to have one or more other ones to help them in order to alleviate the heavy burden of feeding a much-exacting husband; and so, instead of being a source of disagreement, polygamy often brings contentment in its wake.

I would be inclined to say that polyandry does not exist among the Isneg, were it not that I know of one case: two brothers, *Bundy* and *Pílây*, married one woman, *Túnây*, at Nagilian (municipal district of

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Namaltugan); but this is certainly not an Isneg custom, and it would not even be true to say that polyandry is sporadic among the natives, as the above example is probably unique in Apayaw.

No Isneg is precluded from contracting marriage or regarded as incapable of the same, and so also there are no marriages that could be said to be enjoined by law or by custom to certain classes of people. The only marriage impediments that exist among the Isneg, besides lineal consanguinity, are collateral consanguinity in the first and in the second degree, and so marriage is forbidden between brothers and sisters, and between first cousins. Marriages between second cousins, although not prohibited, are comparatively rare; they seem to be shunned by the Isneg.

2. *Courtship*

And now we come to the description of how Isneg boys and girls enter the state of matrimony.

Whereas among the Kankanay and other tribes of the Mountain Province, the groom goes to work for a certain period of time in the house of the bride's parents, in Apayaw the Isneg boy merely buys his wife from her parents.

But first of all, who makes the choice? Are the children free and left to their own devices, or do the parents arrange the whole affair among themselves? Have the children anything to say in the matter, or have they merely to agree to their parents' wishes?

Infant marriages exist in Apayaw, but they are the exception. In such cases the parents arrange everything and perform all customary ceremonies that precede the actual marriage, while the bride and groom are still too young to know anything about the matter, and perhaps before they have ever seen each other. These marriages are never consummated and the final marriage ceremony never takes place before the regular age, which means usually not before the age of sixteen years for the boy and fourteen for the girl. But such marriages are as easily broken off as they are contracted; indeed, either of the two parties or both may have conscientious objections, because they have somebody else in sight or for some other reason, in which case the transactions never go any further. Whatever has been paid to the parents of the bride is returned to the original owners, and everything goes on as if nothing had happened. I know of one such case of infant marriage, or rather of agreement between the parents while bride and groom were still in their infancy: it was related to

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428 widower has been obliged to pay for his second wife, and other possessions that may have been disposed of before his death. Children who married in the meanwhile will have lost all rights of course, as they will have received their share at the time of their marriage.

3. The father dies before all children are married. In this case the mother's property remains intact in her own hands, but all the rest is divided among the unmarried children. Should there still be any small children in the family, their share will be larger than that of the others, because they are not yet able to support themselves. The person who takes care of the little ones after the death of both their parents, is called *pakčbāy:* this kind of tutor may be an elder brother, an uncle, or any other of their kindred. Should all children be orphaned in childhood, one of their uneles will usually play the rôle of tutor or *pakčbāy:* he also will look after the division of their inheritance. The mother generally stays or goes to live with one of her oldest children; in case all of them are still small, she either continues to provide for them, or tries her luck with another husband. In no case, however, is she left destitute. Although everything, except her own personal property, has been divided among the children, this does not mean that they will fail to support their mother or that the latter will be forbidden to live at their expense, the more so that both grown-up children and little tots have nothing to lose by keeping their mother with them, even though all other motives but selfish ones be left aside and only the question of material welfare be considered: indeed in the Isneg family the mother is the real provider. An old woman always has a place at the hearth of one of her married children or grandchildren; why then should a mother not prove acceptable if she is still comparatively young and able to earn her livelihood? And this will mostly be the case if some of the children are still unmarried. Actually the eldest son pays the land taxes after the death of his father.

428 In case the father lives or lived in bigamy and never obtained a
595 divorce, there is little to be changed in the above description. Only two points are of special importance. First, no children can inherit personal property from any of the women except from their own mother. Second, if the father dies, his own personal property and all belongings held in common by himself and his wives, is divided into as many equal parts as there are or were mothers of unmarried children in the house. And so, supposing a bigamist leaves at his death two unmarried children from one wife and four from the other

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one, the two first-mentioned children will receive each one fourth, 595
and the other four each one eighth of the inheritance.

In case of divorce we have to consider two eventualities: 428

1. All children are married. In this case, which is almost purely 586
theoretic, as Isneg husbands and wives are not in the habit of obtaining a divorce so late in life, there is little to be said, as there is no more property to be divided.

2. Some children or all of them are still unmarried. Married children may be left out of consideration, as they will have received their share at the time of their marriage. Unmarried children inherit from the parent whom they followed, and not from the other one. Now little children always follow their mother, while grown-ups are free to throw in their lot with either of their parents.

With reference to the division of property at the time of divorce, 425
only belongings common to both husband and wife, as *tádug* and so 586
on, come under consideration, as is clear from what has been pre- 684
viously stated. It should, however, be noted that, if *tádug* have already been received, which means that at least one of the daughters has married, a divorce is a comparatively rare occurrence among the Isneg. Anyhow only three eventualities are possible:

1. Common property is divided between the two by mutual agreement; and this is not at all common among the Isneg;

2. The husband is the culprit, and the woman gets everything, except of course the man's personal belongings;

3. The woman is in fault, and the husband becomes the exclusive owner of everything that was possessed in common by both of them up to the time of divorce.

In case a married couple has no children, and one of the two dies, 428
the survivor inherits all common property. Personal belongings, however, go to the nearest relatives of the deceased: if the parents are still alive, they get the preference; if they are dead already, the inheritance goes to brothers and sisters, uncles and aunts, nephews and nieces, cousins, etc., mostly in the order named.

After the death of the surviving party, provided no second marriage took place, his or her whole inheritance goes to his or her nearest relatives, in the same order as mentioned above. If the survivor remarries, he or she may either have children or remain childless: in both cases nothing has to be added to the preceding treatment of Isneg law.

to pay heavy indemnities to the relatives of the injured husband. When the husband is so inclined, he may take one or more wives, provided that he is wealthy enough to support them. However, the wife controls in marriage, her own inherited property.

When the husband dies, the woman retains only her clothing and returns to her relatives. All the property is divided equally among the children. If they are young, the man's relatives take and raise them, keeping the property in trust. Upon marriage each child receives his share.

RELIGION

The Apayao name for a god is *"anito."* Now, it is hard for anyone to explain how all the "acts of God" are the activity of one single personality; as some "acts" are benevolent and others are malevolent. The Apayaos believe that different "acts" are the doings of differents *anitos*, some benevolent and others malevolent. Natural phenomena are explained as being the work of some *anito*. Each occurrence or activity of a person is governed by some certain *anito*. Therefore they may number up into the thousands. Thus one is constantly aware of his relations with the *anitos*, and the Apayao is very religious. For instance if he is setting a trap for wild pig in the forest, he will ask one *anito* to forgive him for trying to trap the pig; another *anito* to let the pig be guided into the trap; and another *anito* that the trap will spring and catch the pig.

Many *anitos* live in natural objects; but the most prominent ones dwlel in *Guynetban* in the sky. Each

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855 comes for the boys to follow their father and for the girls to be left to her care. The best viands are always reserved for the little ones and dainties are stored away (*maxalúmid*) for their future use. If a child gets sick, the parents will do their utmost to relieve the little sufferer; and if it is its fate, as the Isneg put it, to die, its elders' lamentations will follow it to the grave.

731 In times of famine the children are of course the biggest sufferers, not that the Isneg does not share with them whatever food he can lay 858 hands on, but because growing boys and girls lack the sustenance they badly need at their age, which rarely fails to be followed by 597 results that affect them unfavorably for the rest of their life. I have heard once of a hard-pressed Isneg who sold a child for money: this is certainly a rare exception, and, as all circumstances are not known to me (I am not even sure that it was his own child), I am not free to pronounce judgment on the transaction. What I know is that the family by whom the child was adopted would certainly not cause it to regret its former life, as far as material advantages are concerned; nevertheless this is not a sufficient excuse for such an act.

855 It may be asked if families differ much in their solicitude for the 867 proper moral upbringing of children, if some families are more reli- 184 gious-minded than others, if some families are more concerned than 124 others in watching over their children and in safeguarding them in sex morality. What can I answer to such questions? I should like to make the following invitation to my inquirers: let them choose a certain district of the United States, say in Kansas or in Indiana or in whatever state they prefer, a district where there are no densely populated sections and where some ten thousand people are scattered over a comparatively large area, and then let them tell me the result of their investigations among inhabitants of that district with reference to the above questions. I am sure that their task would not be easier or more difficult than mine, in order to give a satisfactory survey of the situation. Nevertheless I shall try to give a few concrete instances that have come to my personal notice and which I can recall just now, leaving aside the Kankanay, among whom I resided from 1909 to 1915, and confining myself exclusively to the Isneg, with whom I have been living since 1925.

855 Take the settlement of Baliwanan. A Baliwanan girl was living 184 with the family of my catechist at Kabugaw, where she took care of 836 the children, washed the clothes, and did other little chores. On a certain day somebody told her father that a boy had entered the house

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is not exactly what is quite ordinary, immediately all sorts of questions are asked: Why? What is the matter? What is the meaning? What might it portend? What secret is hidden behind it? And so on.

Now the pagan Isneg are no better. They also will try to find some explanation different from the natural one for any event that does not look entirely ordinary to them. And so the birth of twins being a rather rare occurrence, there must be something the matter with it. Twins. Who ever heard of two children being born at once from one husband and one wife, without there being a secret behind the whole affair? Twins: this is far from common. And there you are; an explanation has to be found. Now there is one ready at hand, and to the Isneg mind a very reasonable one, it is not even necessary to enter into the realm of spirits: two children at once must be the product of two men; when one man who lives in bigamy begets two children simultaneously from two women, there are at least three authors, so now also these twins must be the offspring of three persons, —in this case of only one woman of course, and thus necessarily of two men.

Now what to do? Just kill one of them, put it out of the way, and so avoid the shame attached to the whole affair; kill all gossip in the bud. But is every child not welcome? Certainly it is, but a child has no business bringing a companion with it, and the joy of the parents will be complete with the single child; the other one, if alive, will not add to that joy, nor, if dead, detract from it. Here of course the husband is faced with a dilemma: either his wife is a virtuous woman or she is not; if she is, and maybe he knows her to be so, then how can she have a child by another man? If she is not, why does he not divorce her? Yes, but this dilemma does not confront the Isneg, his reasoning does not extend as far as that. If he knew his wife to have been unfaithful, that would be reason enough for him to divorce her without needing the birth of twins to convince him. Here he stands before an extraordinary event, the birth of twins; he has found an explanation for it: the action of a third person. This is a very shameful affair to both husband and wife, but he will eliminate all difficulties at once: one of the twins will be done away with. And there his reasoning stops, the incident is closed.

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Here follow a few Isneg expressions with reference to little children:

Babbiń or *ababbiń*, when used by the parents: son, daughter, child.

Ababbiń, when used by the parents: sons, daughters, children.

Ababbiń, when used by other persons: little children not yet able or barely able to walk.

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104 *Aná-* (used only in G [B and/or A.—Ed.] branch of Ô dialect) or *an-aná-*, when used by the parents: son, daughter, child.

601 *Anánə-*, when used by the parents: sons, daughters, children.

192 *Anánə-*, when used by other persons: children up to the age of puberty.

Abbí-: very small babe.

Abbág: child. A term used contemptuously by older people.

Maxabílin: to watch the baby.

Magtaddáy: to try to stand without support, to learn how to walk. Said of little children.

Magkalúsig: to weep, to cry, when father or mother goes away. Said of little children.

Monaágósi: to carry a child on the nape of one's neck, keeping the little one in a sitting position, its legs dangling in front, one on either side. An Isneg father often carries his baby that way, provided the latter has already attained a certain age.

Pońanán: to give to eat, to feed (human beings). To feed animals is *pakkanán*. Both from the stem *kán* and the suffix *an*; only prefix differs: *pań* (the *k* of the stem being eliminated) in the first case, *pa* (the *k* of the stem being reduplicated) in the second.

C. NAMES AND NAMING

553 Now we come to the giving of a name. It goes without saying that
551 among the Isneg, like among most primitive peoples, there is no question of a family name. Every man and woman, every body and girl, has his or her own personal name, and that is all. But what's in a name? To an Isneg the name of a person in a way stands for that person's own self; to call his name is to call the person in question.

And so when a child is repeatedly ill, which means "pestered by the spirits", the best way to cure it is to change its name, or, to use the Isneg expression, "to shift its name (*ialít ya ńáxanna*)". Let the spirits amuse themselves with the old name, the child as it was formerly; as it is at present, with its new name, its new personality, the spirits will have to leave it in peace: they have been fooled once more by the cleverness of poor mortals, they will pester an old name, a lost personality, and use their evil influence in vain; the new child, the child with the new name, will escape unscathed.

551 Again, do not pronounce the name of a dead person, an Isneg
769 "takes pity on him (*alakkán*)"; leave him in peace where he is, do

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Isneg expressions referring to names and worthy of notice are the following:

kalôbaxán: a name that has the same ending as another one. *Magkalôbăn*: to bear each a name with the same ending. For instance: *Balás, Kolás; Éba, Xawwá; Basán, Dawwán; Antóniyo, Ásiyo*, etc.

isáń and *ébăy*: familiar diminutive names for girls in general. Similar names are: in Iloko, *iníń*; in Ibanag, *néne-* (probably from the Spanish *nene*, "baby, whether boy or girl").

Nicknames, as applied to one particular person, are used very sparingly among the Isneg. I know of only one case: a Lettnakan boy, called *Ásiyo* and baptized Pedro, is very generally called *Paláli* even by his own relatives. *Paláli* is the name of a tree, and also of its fruits, which are edible, but very sour.

The Isneg are not very good genealogists. It very often happens that a young man or an adult girl does not even know the name of one or more of their grandparents, especially if the latter died before their grandchild was born. When asked about such names, the Isneg who happens not to know them usually excuses his ignorance by saying: "*Akkáńko nasińán* (I did not see him or her)".

II. Education

It might be thought at first sight that the Isneg leads a very unhappy and miserable life, a life full of drudgery, a life devoid of all comforts and possessing only a minimum of pleasure. But when you come to consider him more intimately, to enter more deeply into the matter, it does not take long for you to be convinced of the contrary. Indeed, he has very few needs; it is comparatively easy, to quote Jerome K. Jerome in "Three Men in a Boat", for an Isneg "to have enough to eat and enough to wear, and a little more than enough to drink", and he has little work to do. Besides, look at the fine family life he is living: if he has a good diligent wife, and most Isneg women are like that, and plenty of children around, really his bliss exceeds all understanding, I mean the understanding of a Caucasian with his manifold cares and innumerable wants.

Again at first sight, it might seem that the children's education is reduced to the very minimum, or rather that the youngsters get no education at all, as everybody, not excepting the children, seems to shift for himself and to do as he pleases. One would be the more inclined to think so when comparing the Isneg with other primitive

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857 *Magdaldál*: Said of a mother who badly wants to see her absent child.

192 *Kakóboń*: Family, parents and children.

104 *Makikóboń*: To live together in the same house (two different families, servants of the family).

601 *Amá* or *ammá*: Father.

Iná or *inná*: Mother.

Wazí: Brother, sister. Plural: *wawázi*.

Manákam: Oldest brother or sister (the first of all); also: parents, ancestors.

Udiyán: Youngest brother or sister (the last of all).

Ulitág: Uncle.

Ikít: Aunt.

Kapinsán: First cousin.

Kapiduwá: Second cousin.

Kapi-ló: Third cousin (prefix *kapi* and stem *talló*, "three").

Katuxáńan: Father-in-law, mother-in-law.

Manúxań: Son-in-law, daughter-in-law.

Kâyoń or *katâyúg*: Brother-in-law.

Ípăg: Sister-in-law.

Kabírat: The relation that exists between the husbands or wives of two brothers or sisters, or the husband of a woman and her brother's wife.

Bálo: widower, widow (mourning).

Búkud: widower, widow (after the mourning period is over).

601 Many of these terms have a very elastic meaning. *Wazí* may be either a real brother or sister, or simply any kind of relative. *Amá* and *iná* may sometimes refer to any relative whose relation is similar to that of father and mother, for instance: uncle and aunt, etc. *Kâyoń* may be either a real brother-in-law or the husband of a first cousin, etc.

III. Daily Routine

512 Although the daily life of an Isneg is not regulated by the clock,
264 there is nevertheless a certain order in the routine of his duties and occupations. The family generally rises at daybreak. An Isneg begins the day as soon as artificial light can be dispensed with, and if yams (*úbi*) or sweet potatoes (*kamusí*) are available, the women cook them on the never-absent fire, and all inmates of the house try to get their share as best they can. As soon as this informal break-

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869 to be able to do so; and the same story may be repeated several times
538 all over again on different occasions without the young people losing any interest in the matter.

The cry "*udôdit*" (a story) is heard very often when the young
869 people have placed themselves in a position for slumber, and the ex-
517 clamation "*udôditko*" (I have a story; literally: my story), emitted
538 by an uninvited story-teller, is usually sufficient to gain him the
[273] attention of all present. Consequently Isneg tales are mostly bedtime stories: nevertheless it also happens that they are recited, this time mostly by men, at the opening of a jar of *bási* (alcoholic beverage obtained from the juice of the sugar cane), or rather during the absorption of its contents. On such occasions, whenever an old man begins to tell a story, the youngsters have no sooner got wind of the affair but they leave everything in order to come near and to listen all ears to these wonderful happenings of times gone by or of a world
[602] alien to their own. It may sometimes happen also that parents or
855] grandparents call their children or grandchildren together at the time of going to sleep in order to relate to them some traditional myth or legend: in this case, of course, the teaching should be called entirely formal.

869 How to look for omens and auguries and how to distinguish between
787 good and bad ones are both the subject of almost exclusively direct instruction. Parents and older brothers and sisters are the accepted
[602 purveyors of this knowledge, which to the Isneg is absolutely indis-
855] pensable if he wants to live in peace and beyond the power of malevolent imps and spirits.

E. MORAL EDUCATION

577 When reading books of travel, especially old ones, written by men
121 who spent a few days at the home of some primitive people, one usually meets with the statement that the latter seem to have no concept of truth and honesty, and one almost always meets with several concrete instances, which apparently prove the truth of that assertion. Not to go too far out of my way, I shall cite as an example a book that has to do almost immediately with the Philippine Islands. We read in the account of Magellan's travels written by Pigafetta that on a certain day, during his famous voyage which led to the discovery of our archipelago, the expedition landed at a place among a group of islands, the inhabitants of which boarded the vessels, laid hands on whatever took their fancy and ran away to hide among the bushes;

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577 on a similar occasion. Gifts as such do not exist, a gift is something
431 akin to a loan: what is given to-day should be returned some future day. Nevertheless there is a difference which you will understand presently. If a person is ungrateful to you and, instead of showing his appreciation of your help, repays you with ingratitude and does what is harmful to you, this may be a sufficient reason for revenging yourself, but do not remind him of your past kindness toward him: this would not only be very disagreeable to him, but it might give him a pretext for thinking himself in the right when he is quarreling with you. If you remind somebody of his debt of gratitude toward you, you make him ashamed and so exasperate him; he knows it all right or should know it anyhow; it is not for you to tell him about it. Do not say that in such a case you are simply doing what any creditor does, when he asks for the payment of a debt; no, this is quite different: to the return of what you lent, you have full right; but to gratitude, none. You helped him freely; let him remember his duty about it without the need of being told. Among us a loan is supposed to be asked back; nobody borrows anything without the tacit agreement that he will be requested to return it at some future time; this cannot be compared with the question of helping somebody in need
577 and reminding him of the fact afterwards. Gratitude is never obli-
609 gatory toward the Ibanag, especially toward those in authority. Is it not rather the reverse that is true? Is it not rather for them to be thankful to us for allowing them to rule us undisturbed? Is it not rather the Ibanag who have to be grateful to us for accepting their ministrations?"

602 A native Isneg has recently been appointed teacher in an agglomer-
577 ation belonging to the municipal district of Kabugaw. He rarely has anything out of his monthly salary left for himself, as the bulk of it goes to his relatives, helping them in their studies, paying their taxes, etc. The reason is that he wants to repay them now for the sacrifices they imposed upon themselves when he needed money while at school. And such cases are far from rare.

609 On the other hand, while I was living among the Kankanay, at a
577 place where no sanitary inspectors were residing and where the Gov-
[276] ernment furnished me with medicines for free distribution among the natives, more than once after I had bandaged a poor fellow's arm or else had poured medicine on some wound or sore, the patient would simply ask me for a few leaves of tobacco. Gratitude? Well, this had to be on my side, because the poor fellow showed his belief

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626 hardest labor will be gladly accepted in order to avoid shame, which
558 to an Isneg seems to be a kind of synthesis of all evils. That is also
578 the reason why ridicule is such a powerful weapon among the Isneg. For fear of ridicule a man will cover himself modestly when appearing in the presence of women, and miscreants will resort to ridicule in order to induce a young man to commit the worst crimes. No Isneg can stand ridicule.

626 Among the Isneg pride and ambition are only second to shame as incentives for being virtuous and conducting oneself honorably; nevertheless they are far from having the same power as shame, and parents will use them in a much smaller degree than the latter motive.
[461] The indolence of the Isneg has considerably lessened the power of ambition and pride as a motive for complying with the tenets of their moral code.

And so also praise and encouragement, although they rarely fail to help an Isneg youngster onward on the path of duty, are much less powerful than the all-feared ridicule. Isneg parents, however, are very well aware of the fact that a little occasional praise and a timely word of encouragement will rarely fail to be appreciated by the child, and that they will often do very much for the latter's betterment or the continuance of its right behavior.

Flattery is not so much in their line, and it is comparatively rarely resorted to in order to make a young man or woman behave decently. In the case of smaller children, however, it will often be used with the best of results.

The hope of a reward is not always as powerful as the fear of punishment, at least in the case of the little ones. But allow me to reserve the treatment of this subject for one of the following paragraphs.

3. Methods of Training

361 I shall not enter here into a large number of details with reference
867 to the methods used in the training of children, as very much has been said already in my lengthy treatment of the moral code. I shall
[881] go over the whole matter rather quickly, the more so as there is no question of initiation or puberty rites among the Isneg.

[602] Although elders, whosoever they be, may occasionally take a hand in the training of children, nevertheless this task devolves principally on the parents, and to a certain extent also on the grandparents. The tribe or community as such has little or nothing to do with the moral upbringing of the younger members of any given settlement.

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584 strips of palm leaves, so as to form small, more or less brick-shaped
583 blocks.

Another member of the *patúgān* party is an elderly man, who occasionally carries one or more presents for the parents of the girl; these consist of one or more spears (*siñál*), headaxes (*aliwá*), etc. Sometimes clothes also are given on this occasion: jackets, headbands, blankets, etc.; these are then carried by the woman with the *simbá-*, who will be mentioned presently. These presents, however, are entirely supererogatory and are given only by well-to-do people.

584 The most important of the three is an elderly woman, whether
[789] married or widowed. In no case, however, may she be a *bálo* or widow in mourning, and the reason is not far to seek: such a woman could never bring happiness to the future husband and wife; on the contrary, she would merely serve as an ill-boding messenger and announce ahead of time the early demise of the man in whose behalf she asks for the hand of the girl: her recent bereavement would be a sure presage of the same contingency happening to the girl for
[602] whose hand she sues. This elderly woman is usually the mother of the boy; but in her default, another female near relative may do, for instance, an aunt, a first cousin, etc. If the prospective groom is a married man, his wife or, if he has more than one wife, one of
584 them, plays the role of the third member of the party. The latter
583 carries the *simbá-* (from *tabbá-*, "stringing beads"), which consists of one or more strings of beads. If the boy is of wealthy parentage, the *simbá-* is or are made of valuable beads. But this is not at all requisite: any beads will do, and even the most diminutive string of the smallest and most common variety of beads is sufficient for the purpose. With the exception of this last-mentioned woman, the *patúgān* are usually chosen among those relatives of the boy who are renowned for glibness of tongue, and with reason, as will be seen presently.

On the acceptance or non-acceptance of the *simbá-* by the parents of the girl depends the future of the two young people. Nevertheless a refusal is exceedingly rare, as the repeated nocturnal visits of the young man at the house of his future parents-in-law and his frequent staying overnight and sleeping with his girl, could hardly have escaped notice, and consequently the owners of the house could have notified him of their displeasure, long before such elaborate preparations, as entailed by the *amómān*, were completed on the part of the

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551 sides, I have experienced that old men and women usually give the
769 name very readily, although they be related to the person in question. That such a prohibition does not last indefinitely, even with the relatives of the deceased, is corroborated by the fact that the names of persons who were renowned for one reason or another during their lifetime, are often preferred when there is question of giving a little babe its first name: and it is far from unusual to encounter an Isneg youngster called after one of his own ancestors.

551 Then there are the names of the father-in-law and of the mother-in-
606 law (*katuxáñan*), which may never be pronounced under any pretext.
553 Up to this day very few Isneg, even among those who have been in contact with civilization for a long time, are bold enough to discard all fear on the subject and to pronounce them. This is especially apparent at the baptism of a child, when we record the names of its parents and grandparents: it very often happens that only one of the parents accompanies the baby that has to be christened, and this is a source of many difficulties, if there is no other person at hand who is acquainted with the names of the parents of the absent party. In case one of the persons whose names have to be recorded is dead, one can get at his name after comparatively little urging, but the name of a father-in-law or a mother-in-law, that never.

551 And why? The Isneg mostly do not know or pretend not to know
606 the reason: sometimes they say that, if they pronounce any of these names, their children will die, but such an answer is always accompanied by the term *kanó*, "it is said". But why should their children die? The whole question is probably shrouded in mystery even to the Isneg themselves; but one thing is certain: an almost insurmountable fear must have been instilled into them from time immemorial, while the real reason, the death penalty inflicted on the offspring of the offender, a penalty inflicted by *anito* of course, if this is the real reason, may have been forgotten either entirely or almost so by the majority of the natives. This fear must have been exceedingly great indeed in order to have the custom remain so persistently and so universally, even after the real explanation has been lost sight of. And that the Isneg have forgotten it, I am rather inclined to believe; I have been able to enter deeply into many matters much more delicate than the one in question, and although this has been done sometimes with no little difficulty, I usually have obtained what I wanted, but here the interrogation mark has so far remained as it was. Or is this a matter much more delicate in the eyes of the Isneg than

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many another one that might seem to be so from a Caucasian's point of view?

In this connection I should be allowed to explain a superstition that is current among Christian Iloko. It refers to the name of the mother of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Many old Iloko women persist in denying this title to St. Ann. "Saint Ann", they say, "is the mother of Saint Elizabeth; but the name of the mother of our Lady is not Ann. We are not allowed to pronounce it; whoever does so under ordinary circumstances dies an instantaneous death. When somebody is on his deathbed, the priest whispers that name to him, and if the dying person pronounces it and at the same time recites thirteen times the Hail Holy Queen or Salve Regina, he will go straight to heaven."

Now you may laugh at this superstition, you may preach against it, you may exhaust all your knowledge and eloquence in order to prove its silliness, you may even fly into a passion, but the old women will answer you unperturbed: "Never mind, we know what we are talking about. You see, you yourself do not tell us anything about that name, because you know very well that you would die if you dared to pronounce it out of season". And make an old Iloko woman change her mind!

They even go further than that. One day, while I was rector of the parish at Bangar (1916-1921), my laundress became dangerously ill. One of her relatives having come to call me, I immediately went to her house, but when I reached the place, she had already become unconscious. I ministered to her as is customary under the circumstances, and finally left her seemingly in a hopeless condition. But the old girl was not yet ready to give up the strife, and after a couple of weeks she fully recovered. She had barely been able to move around for a few days, when she started telling anybody who wanted to hear about it that, at the time of my visit, I had whispered to her the name of Mary's mother.

After such an experience I thought it my duty to try all possible means in order to put a stop to this absurdity. Not a few of my parishioners evidently knew the name in question and it might perhaps be possible to learn all about it: then I would pronounce it in season and out of season, and show to everybody's satisfaction that the whole affair was nothing but a silly superstition. But it took me more time than I had anticipated in order to get hold of that elusive name; the women did not want to risk their life by telling me, and besides they

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were firmly convinced that I knew at least as much as they did. Fortunately my persistent efforts in that direction were finally crowned with success, and I came to learn that famous name, which was supposed to be known to all priests, but could not be pronounced by them except at the deathbed of one of their charges, and which was considered as the appellation of our Lady's mother: an old Iloko woman whispered it to me after I had promised her very solemnly that I took all responsibility upon myself, and after I had assured her most emphatically that no harm would accrue to her on account of her indiscretion.

Now that name was, as she pronounced it, *Adúnay*, nothing else but a Hebrew name for God, correctly Adonai. The next Sunday I announced from the pulpit that the whole story was humbug pure and simple, and to prove it I pronounced the name and explained it. All the time I could observe several old women in the congregation who did nothing but cross themselves whenever I pronounced that "sacred" name: they were probably very much concerned about my safety and thought perhaps that I should fall dead at any moment. But had I been able to eradicate this absurd superstition once for all, at least among my own people? Not a bit. The women were ready at once with explanations of their own: my case was a special one; anybody else of course who dared pronounce that name would die a certain death. Maybe they thought that I carried some famous amulet on my person, something which was known only to me and which would preserve me from all harm. Such an explanation on their part should not be wondered at, as I have been credited with bilocation, with the power of passing roaring torrents at a jump, and other nonsense.

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But to return to our Isneg: might it not be possible that there is some connection between the two beliefs? Indeed in both cases the penalty of death is supposed to follow in the wake of the pronunciation of a certain name: in the case of the Isneg, the pronunciation of the name of the father-in-law or the mother-in-law entails the death of the offender's offspring; in that of the Iloko, the person who dares pronounce out of season the name of the mother of our Lady is punished by death. It goes without saying that the latter belief cannot be justified by anything and is nothing else but gross superstition, as the Iloko have been Christians for centuries, and besides the belief in question could not have evolved into its present state except among a Christianized people.

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for this reason Magellan gave that group of islands the name of Ladrones (Spanish, "thieves"), and to this day the name of Ladrone Islands may be found on the map. According to the same authority, cases of treachery and deceit were also very frequent among the inhabitants of the Philippines.

Now in my opinion, and probably in that of most other men who have resided for a sufficiently long time among more or less primitive peoples, all these concrete instances (and they may be increased by a thousand similar ones) do not shed any light on that part of the moral code of these peoples which refers to their relations with one another, strictly among themselves. They merely prove that they thought or think it quite consonant with right behavior to steal from the white man and to deceive him whenever the occasion presents itself. But this is far from meaning that stealing and lying in general are permitted by their own standard of morality.

In order to proceed with order and clearness, I shall try in the following paragraphs, first to give an idea of the moral code of the Isneg, and then to consider more in particular the motives that are proposed to the child and the methods of training in vogue among them; after that a few comparisons between theory and practice will show in how far such training is usually successful.

1. The Moral Code

I shall begin by making a preliminary remark which I deem to be of supreme importance: the Isneg moral code does not exactly coincide with the Christian one, and so, what is considered good by the Isneg may very often be very bad according to our own principles. Now, in the next few pages, I shall try to see good and bad through Isneg eyes, and I hope that on that account the reader will not credit me, a Catholic missionary, with a pagan standard of morality. I shall put on the garb of an Isneg moralist for a few moments merely to give a better perspective to the whole treatment of this very important subject.

My first talk will be about virtues and acts of virtue and their opposites; afterwards I shall consider some vices and sins more in detail.

"In order to be a good and decent Isneg you should be faithful in complying with all injunctions of the shamans, in offering the regular sacrifices according to tradition and custom, in observing all taboos, in looking for omens and auguries before starting on anything im-

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576 When approaching a house he wants to enter, the Isneg usually says something aloud to the inmates of the house, just to let them know that he is there and indirectly to tell them to keep their dogs at bay; but for the rest he enters without more ado: the ladder being in place will show him that somebody is at home, and if there are no signs of taboos of any kind, things he very well knows and understands, he has free access to the house. On taking leave, he says: "*Mawčyðin*, I go now (*mawčkamiyin*, we go now)" or "*Mapánðin*, I go away [276] now (*mapánkamiyin*, we go away now)". When meeting people on the road or at some other place outside the house, a polite Isneg says: "*Awán xawádmo?* (Have you no betel pepper?)" or something similar with reference to chewing betel; in some cases he asks for it, in others he proffers it. Such is the usual salutation all over Apayaw.

576 858 Among the Isneg the code of etiquette is indeed reduced almost to its most simple expression; their respect is mostly of the rough kind: general principles, few details. Youngsters are usually allowed to mix freely in the conversation of older people, without having the semblance of being at all forward, and they will rarely be rebuked for doing so. The old fellows will answer them most of the time just as earnestly as if they were of their own age. Nevertheless a certain respect, which may seem a very vague thing to define, is always required and rarely absent.

577 609 But let us go back to our Isneg code of morals.

"If you want to be considered as a really good Isneg, be loyal to your friends. Love your friends, hate your enemies: that is our golden rule. Help all Isneg who are not an enmity with your settlement whenever you can. For instance, if two of you have to cross a river and your companion cannot swim, see to it that you save him from drowning, if necessary. Whenever there is question of taking revenge, stand by your own people; their quarrels should be yours. If they need you as a witness in their defense, do not fail them. Ibanag justice has been imposed upon us, but never mind, save your friends from jail by all possible means: lying before an Ibanag judge is no sin, provided it redounds to your own good or to that of your friends. Rather share the punishment of a companion than save yourself by furnishing state's evidence. We have our own ways of administering justice, the Ibanag do not understand them; why should we submit to their ways imposed upon us by force? Outwardly of course you should comply lest worse befall you; but never forget that you have to put your own people above everybody else. If you

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want to do a favor to an Ibanag, you are allowed to do so of course; but in this you are entirely free. What right might he possibly have to it? Is he not an outsider?"

Judges all over the Mountain Province could cite hundreds of examples of how little the natives can be relied upon to tell the truth, whenever there is question of one of their own. Once a Kankanay (and the case would be as typical here in Apayaw as it was there), a good friend of mine, asked me to lend him a peso: he would go to the neighboring town for me and carry whatever I wanted, paying his debt in that way. As I had heard his testimony only a few days before in the court of first instance, where he had told the brazenest lies without flinching, in order to save one of his townsmen, I told him that I little relied on his promises, because I had heard how nicely he had told the truth some days before. At once he retorted: "Oh, yes, but that was in court; I should never lie to *you* though".

It has often been said that a native of this province would let you die rather than help you when you are in difficulties, unless he is compelled to do so; and I know of many instances that would go to support the truth of that statement, but as far as I know, he acts that way only toward other people, not toward his own. Many years ago a Christian Visayan was dying in a town almost exclusively inhabited by Kankanay; he could easily have been saved by being brought to a neighboring hospital, but no people were found who were willing to carry the poor man. If no compulsion had been used in order to force them to bring him to the doctor, they would have let him die without mercy. Nevertheless one should not lose sight of the fact that in this case the means necessary for the recovery of the sick man were quite extraordinary and had perhaps never been heard of, or at least were not believed to be efficient by any ordinary Kankanay, so that it may be doubted if they always would render such a service even to one of their own people. As far as I know the Isneg, such an occurrence would be attended by the same circumstances among them too.

"A man should be grateful for a service done to him. After all this is only a case of loyalty to friends. If somebody has helped you out when you were in difficulties, do not forget it, but do him a good turn at the first opportunity. Never omit repaying anybody who may have done good to you. Whenever the people bring you gifts according to custom, be sure to notice the amount given by each person, and remember it, so that you may give him something equal

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577 on a similar occasion. Gifts as such do not exist, a gift is something
431 akin to a loan: what is given to-day should be returned some future day. Nevertheless there is a difference which you will understand presently. If a person is ungrateful to you and, instead of showing his appreciation of your help, repays you with ingratitude and does what is harmful to you, this may be a sufficient reason for revenging yourself, but do not remind him of your past kindness toward him: this would not only be very disagreeable to him, but it might give him a pretext for thinking himself in the right when he is quarreling with you. If you remind somebody of his debt of gratitude toward you, you make him ashamed and so exasperate him; he knows it all right or should know it anyhow; it is not for you to tell him about it. Do not say that in such a case you are simply doing what any creditor does, when he asks for the payment of a debt; no, this is quite different: to the return of what you lent, you have full right; but to gratitude, none. You helped him freely; let him remember his duty about it without the need of being told. Among us a loan is supposed to be asked back; nobody borrows anything without the tacit agreement that he will be requested to return it at some future time; this cannot be compared with the question of helping somebody in need
577 and reminding him of the fact afterwards. Gratitude is never obli-
609 gatory toward the Ibanag, especially toward those in authority. Is it not rather the reverse that is true? Is it not rather for them to be thankful to us for allowing them to rule us undisturbed? Is it not rather the Ibanag who have to be grateful to us for accepting their ministrations?"

602 A native Isneg has recently been appointed teacher in an agglomer-
577 ation belonging to the municipal district of Kabugaw. He rarely has anything out of his monthly salary left for himself, as the bulk of it goes to his relatives, helping them in their studies, paying their taxes, etc. The reason is that he wants to repay them now for the sacrifices they imposed upon themselves when he needed money while at school. And such cases are far from rare.

609 On the other hand, while I was living among the Kankanay, at a
577 place where no sanitary inspectors were residing and where the Gov-
[276] ernment furnished me with medicines for free distribution among the natives, more than once after I had bandaged a poor fellow's arm or else had poured medicine on some wound or sore, the patient would simply ask me for a few leaves of tobacco. Gratitude? Well, this had to be on my side, because the poor fellow showed his belief

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in the power of my drugs instead of following exclusively his own superstitions. At least I inferred from his conduct that this was his state of mind; and I believe I was not far from the truth. Similar cases are frequent also among the Isneg: doctors and sanitary inspectors know all too well about them.

"Be generous toward your friends. A miser is abhorred among us. If you bring down a wild boar or deer in the forest, share your good luck with your relatives and friends. These things were not worked for by you; fate brought them into your hands. If you have tobacco, share it with your friends; be a generous companion to every Isneg. When you offer a sacrifice be not stingy with the *bási*, and give everybody who happens to come along his share of rice and viands. Would you be happy if somebody prevented you from participating in a feast? Would you like to be excluded at the distribution of food and drink? Never cause your companions to say that you *umaxáwa* (or *iaxáwa*, "to put away dainties when a visitor is seen approaching the house, lest one should have to let him have a share in them") or *gumisád* (to close the doors at the appearance of a stranger while eating some delicious food, for the same reason): these are very opprobrious terms. With reference to the Ibanag, remember that those in authority have come here to help us, and more especially the white man: he has unbounded riches, and he has come here for the evident purpose of spending it upon us. Even though some of us are considered rich among ourselves, they are poor when compared with him. Let him pay double the price for whatever he needs. Is he not rich beyond anything you can imagine? Do not exclude him from your feasts, if he wants to participate in them, but expect him to be generous toward you in all transactions and business affairs."

Kadáw, who is considered the richest man in Apayaw, has come to my house more than once in order to sell articles which he could not get rid of elsewhere, and he usually charged us twice the regular price. When we told him that he is a rich man, which by the way he likes to hear very much, and that he at least should remember how we feed many of his people without remuneration, when we told him that he should help us in order to be merciful to the poor Isneg instead of taking advantage of our good will, he invariably retorted by saying that we have money galore, and what should we do with it except distribute it to the Isneg. Is this not the reason why we live among them? And *Kadáw* is not the only Isneg who entertains such an opinion.

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574 "Every Isneg should be renowned for his hospitality. Except in case of taboos, never close your gate to a wayfarer; give him a place at your hearth, give him a jar to cook his food in, allow him to sleep in your house; if you are eating, invite him to partake of your meal. Such is the rule. His ordinary needs should always be looked after, that is, all his wants which it does not cost you too much to supply. If your wife shows an inhospitable disposition, and you know facts that positively prove it, then you have a sufficient reason for divorcing her. No woman who refuses a guest the ordinary courtesy of receiving him hospitably should be allowed to share your home. A hospitable woman is an ornament to the house; an inhospitable Isneg is a disgrace to the race."

574 609 Nevertheless the Isneg are usually considered by outsiders as less hospitably disposed than most other inhabitants of northern Luzon. While among other tribes the best things they have are never too good for a guest, the Isneg are comparatively stingy in that respect: they rarely provide a guest with viands to eat with his rice, even though they have a sufficient amount of them at hand, except of course some kinds of vegetables and other eatables that can be found all around without the least exertion. Or is this due again to their evidently distinct way of treating members of other tribes, especially Kagayan? It has been told me indeed very plainly by several Isneg that with the Ibanag, you could do almost no wrong, and that almost everything was allowed with them. I myself have generally been received very kindly by all Isneg, but usually more so by natives who had travelled around and come in contact with other people. At Madatag an old man once called me in and killed a chicken for me: "This is the way", he said, "an honorable guest should be received; I know it, as I have traveled very extensively; those other Isneg, benighted people, they do not know how to treat a guest decently". And so the apparently less hospitable mind of the Isneg may perhaps be ascribed simply to invincible ignorance, instead of to stinginess or to lack of love for the Ibanag.

579 628 [67] "Revenge is sweet to every Isneg. Never let an injury pass by unrevenged. Much has been heard from the Ibanag about forgiveness; that term does not belong to our vocabulary. An Isneg who fails to exact full satisfaction for every misdeed is a coward. If somebody who belongs to an enemy village does you some harm, you have the right to revenge yourself upon anyone belonging to the same village: in such cases we recognize solidarity of guilt. A male-

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577 possession, he will rightfully suppose you to be a thief. Anything
421 that can be found in the forest is the property of the first man who
685 can lay hands upon it: so if you locate bees on a tree and see that the latter has been marked, leave them, they are not yours to take any more, the person who marked the tree will sooner or later come to claim
577 his property. Pay your debts faithfully, never forget about them.
426 The heirs of a deceased person inherit his debts as well as his property, and the creditor will appear some day to ask payment from their
686 hands. In case of a raid upon the house of a culprit,—for instance, when a girl has been made pregnant, or when a married woman has returned to her parents whether against the will of her husband or because the latter rightfully divorced her for adultery, etc., and her parents refuse to give back to the offended husband what he gave them at the time of his marriage, or when somebody has been killed among people who are on friendly terms with one another,—then of course, if you are a relative of the offended party, you are free to rob the house of all its valuables: this is not stealing, it is simple justice.

577 "You should not be so strict, however, with reference to the Ibanag:
609 almost anything is allowed when you deal with them. Plain stealing
421 of course should be avoided, but for the rest it would be hard to qualify anything by the name of injustice, when the Ibanag are in ques-
426 tion. Here, nevertheless, you should make a distinction: you may have good friends among them or they may be your guests, and then
437 of course strictly respect them and keep away from their property.
686 But, deceit in transactions, escaping the payment of a debt, and so on, which would be downright dishonesty if done among ourselves,
685 are just a sign of cleverness on your part, when the Ibanag are concerned. A good Isneg is strictly just with all his friends, with all the people of every village at peace with his own; enemies have no rights in the eyes of an Isneg, and the rights of the Ibanag are far from having the same sacredness as those of your own people".

685 Two years ago a Tubungan (near Abbil) man had been robbed of
628 a few of his valuables, while he was away on a trading expedition into Ilocos. After much investigating and lying in wait near the
[694] house of the suspected thief, the owner had become convinced of the latter's guilt, and immediately brought in a complaint, as the ac-
177 cused denied any participation in the theft. I met the plaintiff and his father, on their way to Kabugaw, in the municipal building of Namaltugan. Talking about the matter, I asked them what would

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have happened in the glorious times before the arrival of the soldiery. They quickly retorted that it would have been a case of killing the thief without more ado, from which of course an interminable series of blood feuds would have ensued. I then asked them what they thought the best way to settle such differences, the old or the new one. Both agreed that the actual way of deciding the matter was far superior to the other one. Then, I said this, seemingly as an afterthought: "But among us, to tell the truth, the old days were happy ones, weren't they?" "Of course they were", both exclaimed at once, "see how things would have been done formerly", and both of them picked up a shield and a headax, and started a mock fight. They were so enthusiastic about it that we, the onlookers, had to make room for our two warriors, in order to escape getting a cut from the axes they were brandishing: the old Isneg spirit was seen to have been revived at once; and this was merely for show, there was nothing serious about it of course.

"Truthfulness is a virtue that an Isneg should never lack. You will never amount to anything if you are known as a liar; people will always distrust you. Is there anything more shameful than being known as a man whose word can never be relied upon? Especially when talking about a third person, beware of being a slanderer: this would lead to quarrels, and quarrels would lead to blows or worse, and you would be in the wrong all the time. A little lie in order to make mirth and bring joy to the company, never mind; but be careful to truthfully inform anybody who might take the thing seriously, lest harmful consequences follow. It is perfectly right of course to save yourself or your friend from a bad predicament, even through lying, if that is the surest way; but for the rest cling to truth, and you will be respected all your life. You know very well how much you would resent being told to your face: "*Busidmo* (you lie)"; so never give anybody an occasion to throw such an insult at your head. With your enemies of course, and especially with the Ibanag, it is different, you may do anything to them; and they know very well that they cannot rely upon you. Why should you have any duties toward these people? They have no rights among us, not even that of being told the truth. A friendly Ibanag may be helped, no doubt about that, but then it will be done, not because you are obliged to tell him the truth, but because you want to be faithful to a friend. Do not mislead a wayfarer though, except in case you have the intention of securing his head or taking some

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577 lawful revenge for a former injury: a traveler who passes your
609 village is a guest more than anything else, so show him the way with
683 truth and exactitude, whenever you are questioned about it. In a
574 word, be truthful, whenever you have no grave reason to act otherwise; and, with reference to your enemies and the Ibanag, deceit is usually lawful: only special circumstances might oblige you to stick to truth even in their case."

576 Isneg know little of what we understand by courtesy: they rarely
201 come out of their house, for instance, to show you the way. If you ask them for information, they usually give it to you, truthfully indeed, but without taking the trouble to appear and show the direction by gestures, which would ordinarily be much clearer, at least to a complete stranger, than mere oral indications. Under this respect a Negrito is generally much more correct, at least according to our own point of view.

Now let us consider a few vices and crimes more in particular.

682 "Never kill or wound a friend: this is a crime that calls for venge-
577 ance. Perhaps he was far from right in sustaining the quarrel, but you inevitably put yourself in the wrong by resorting to bloodshed. A homicide or any kind of severe wounding among friends brings in its wake at least the customary looting of the house of the culprit. So beware, control yourself in time, before it is too late to repent. When you are engaged in some dangerous business,—for instance, when hunting,—always be prudent and see that no harm befalls any person. Death by violence is a terrible thing; bloodshed is never allowed among people who are not at enmity with one another ".

672 Two examples will show very clearly how little the Isneg care about intention or purpose; the result of your act is the only thing they consider: if you killed a person, it is wholly immaterial whether you did it intentionally or not, whether it was premeditated or done by accident, whether you could have prevented it or not, whether there was culpable negligence on your part or not.

682 Last year an Isneg soldier from Musimut went to hunt at night
672 with some friends and relatives. He handed his gun to one of his kinsmen living at Nagbabalayan, gave him the necessary instructions, and then went the other way to drive the game in the direction of the man with the gun. When the latter fired at the deer that ran toward him, he killed the soldier instead: the poor fellow must have lost all sense of direction or forgotten about the place where he left his gun; anyhow he died after a few moments. No sooner was the

226 Sometimes the fish are poisoned with tobacco
[824] or the juice derived from the berries of the tuba bush. Also several types of fish traps are used.

224 Deer and wild pigs are hunted with dogs. Wild pigs are also trapped in their runways. The meat thus obtained is divided with fellow hunters and among neighbors. The hunting technique is quite communistic.

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622 each family the man rules supreme and orders his wo-
[593] man what to do. This is the unit.

[361] A group of from 15 to 30 families build their houses near each other, *babalay*, being joined together for mutual aid and protection under one head man,
[157] *maingel*, who holds his position because he is the na-
[554] tural leader, is wealthy, and is the stongest and fiercest
622 warrior. The *maingel* wears a red turban on his head
624 and his arms are tattooed to the shoulders. He is absolute ruler; but has several advisory assistants, *pangmarwan*, who likewise have won their position through ability. The next best man to the *maingel*, is his number one assistant and so on. The common man may advise a *pangmarwan*. Upon the death of the *maingel* the number one *pangmarwan* takes his place.
627 The *maingel* and *pangmarwans* sit as a court to judge
692 any one who has broken the common law. Disputes between individuals are settled by intermediary peace
681 makers. It is notable that the fines are not paid to the government, but to the injured party, who receives the suitable indemnity. This may be in the form of jars, beads, animals, and other valuables.

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In a certain place, not so long ago, they had a teacher whose moral conduct was, to say the least, rather objectionable. When policemen raided the houses of the Isneg in order to hunt up all children of school age, several Isneg parents bluntly told them that they would gladly send their sons, but with reference to their daughters, as long as that teacher remained in charge, never; and they were perfectly right. That man has since been dismissed from the service.

A few defects, which will be recorded in due time, occasionally mar the picture of Isneg family life; but on the whole, it must be said that the Isneg commonly live up to their comparatively high standards with regard to this most important unit of society. Nevertheless the whole life of the Isneg, from the cradle to the grave, is dominated by the fear of the spirits; superstition, magic and spirit worship are inextricably interwoven with their whole life. If a Caucasian or, to take an example from people born, living and dying in the same surroundings, a Negrito had to live under such a continual fear of the supernatural and to comply with such a large number of practices in order to propitiate higher beings or to elude their malevolent intentions, I think his life would be simply miserable. The Isneg, however, do not seem to mind, and although always on the lookout for disagreeable interventions from above, they live a life free of care and are never anxious about the future. They rarely concern themselves with what the next day might bring them, and live happy and content if to-day their immediate wants are provided for: to-morrow will take care of itself.

This seeming contradiction pervades their whole life. On the one hand, they have to take innumerable precautions for the future with regard to superior beings. On the other hand, they do not seem to care a jot for the days to come even with reference to such essential needs as food and raiment. The solution of this apparent puzzle seems to me to be found in the fact that the Isneg do conscientiously every day what they think they have to do and leave the rest to fate. With reference to the supernatural, if they take all possible means to propitiate the spirits, and disregard no taboos, and so on, they feel assured that nothing untoward will happen to them on the part of the spirits. With reference to daily sustenance and the rest, they feel no such assurance, as they know by practical experience that they cannot control the forces of nature, rain, storms, the growth of plants, etc. By strictly observing all injunctions of the shamans and all traditional rites and practices, they believe it possible to control the

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836 course, and the distinction seems rather to be theoretical than prac-
673 tical: nevertheless that is what is going on in the Isneg mind as far
684 as I understand it. To them purpose and intention mean very little,
672 as will be shown again very soon when I shall refer to killing as a crime: what counts is the result. If a boy chances to sleep with a girl without rendering her pregnant, the Isneg may perhaps not see anything very wrong in the whole affair, but woe to him if fate is against him.

836 Nevertheless with reference to young women, the code is much
684 stricter, although the boy will suffer a much harder immediate punishment for his delinquency than will the girl. A girl should never think of doing anything in that line; a boy might perhaps be inclined to do it, but he should know the consequences, if the result is what it should not be.

834 I have described in my introduction to this paper how certain
626 Isneg parents refused to send their girls to school on account of the notoriously immoral conduct of their teacher, and here is what we read in a little manual of instructions for soldiers of the Philippine Constabulary: "No Isneg woman should be joked with or touched by anyone. Christian cargadores or servants should be cautioned about this, as serious trouble may result".[2]

836 Once I heard a boy of some twelve years old, who was working for
533 wages here at Kabugaw, improvise a little song, probably in order to render the work less heavy and to relieve his tiredness. The song was not what you would call a religious one, but it served to show very nicely the ideas current among these people, and at the same time it proved that even the Isneg understood the meaning of what is called an "occasion of sin" (in this case: the sin of impregnating a girl). I may be permitted to write the song down exactly as I heard it: "Do not approach my vulva, I do not want you to have sexual intercourse with me, I am afraid of becoming pregnant: so say the women".

836 A boy who has made a girl pregnant has to marry her; if he refuses,
684 the raids just referred to take place without exception, and the family of the boy loses everything. The same happens when a married man commits adultery with a girl and impregnates her; in his case of course there is rarely question of marriage, and the raids take place almost without exception. Formerly the boy must have been for-

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[2] Camp John Hay Guide Book. A Trip to Ifugao and Bontoc. By Captain Harrington W. Cochran, Coast Artillery Corps, 1923, p. 28.

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577 574 261 you commit regrettable deeds. Gluttony is contemned by everybody; never keep all the best viands for yourself alone, and be careful not to eat to excess.

577 626 521 "Beware of talking about your neighbor's defects in his absence (*maglibá-*; in Iloko, *aglibák* means "to hide, to conceal, not to confess, not to manifest"); it may come to his ears; and in such a case, just imagine how he will feel about it. Do you expect him to forgive you without more ado, and to continue his friendly relations with you?

152 "Do not be a talebearer; such men are the curse of the community: most quarrels take their origin in this vice. Anyone who is known to be addicted to it, at once loses all consideration among decent men, and his company is avoided as much as possible.

"Never boast about your virtues, your possessions, your actions, except on the occasion of a *sày-ám* sacrifice, when every brave Isneg should recount his glorious deeds for the edification of youth. A man who is puffed up with self-conceit and vainglory is despised by all. The ignorant may perhaps respect him or rather be afraid of him, but the general public scorns him. You know what it means to be called *makiddyaw* (proud) or *napaúlaw* (braggart); so never give occasion to anybody to fling such an epithet at your head.

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"Beware of being jealous of your neighbor's prosperity or good luck. If fate or the spirits have been less generous to you, that is no reason for being envious of others who are more fortunate than yourself. Ambition is good, jealousy is bad".

2. *Motives Proposed to Young*

000 Now I shall discard my rôle of Isneg moralist, and say a few words about the motives that are proposed to the youngsters. A good many points have already been hinted at in the preceding treatment of the Isneg moral code, so here I shall merely resume and complete or elucidate my former statements.

626 It should be said in general that, except when referring to religious, magical or superstitious practices as such, and to the duty of head-hunting, no religious or supernatural motives are proposed to the children in order to get them to obey the moral law, nor are the children ever taught to expect rewards or punishments from supernatural beings. One might perhaps be inclined to accept a few other cases as possible exceptions, for instance that of scoffers referred to above; but it should be remembered that even in such cases, the Isneg never mention directly the intervention of any supernatural beings.

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The children are usually afraid of the spirits, who are legion, and some of whom might be called bugaboos of one kind or another, but threats of these beings or of ghosts are never resorted to in order to frighten the youngsters into good conduct, except again in the first two cases just mentioned.

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To the Isneg future life is simply a continuation of the present one, except for a few differentiating details, as living in a silver house and so on. A man, whether good or bad, continues his daily life, like in a dream, at the other side of the tomb, just as if nothing had happened. The difference that exists between the interred body of a good man and that of a bad one, which will be explained in due time, can have only very little influence on the conduct of men here on earth; and besides, there also the question of shame is of paramount importance, no less than among the living, as will be seen later on.

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Consequently practically every article of the socio-moral code gets its sanction from non-religious or natural motives. Shame is the most often resorted to, shame that results from the known violation of any point of the moral code, shame that affects not only the delinquent, but also his parents. "Do not do that lest your parents be shamed" is a phrase very commonly used in order to persuade the child to conduct itself well. The terms "shame (*aliyáw*)", "shameful (*nakal-aliyáw*)", "ashamed (*maliyáw*)", are almost continually on the Isneg's lips; they serve both as an excuse for negligence in complying with one's duties, and as a motive for good behavior. Nothing is more powerful than the fear of being shamed in order to cause an Isneg either to live honorably or to commit a dastardly crime. An Isneg is exceedingly sensitive to shameful and opprobrious epithets; he will do anything to avoid any of them being thrown at his head, and he resents it very much if he is accused undeservedly. Lest he be called a coward, an Isneg will sustain a quarrel indefinitely, whether he be on the right side or not. Shame is the biggest incentive for young people to behave and to keep themselves from indulging in all too flagrant transgressions of the moral code, especially with reference to sex morality. An Isneg child will be taught to be obedient and respectful toward its parents, lest the latter be shamed on account of its unruly conduct. Honesty and truthfulness have to be practised lest a man be branded as a thief or a liar, which are exceedingly opprobrious terms in the mouth of a native. In short, the fear of shame keeps the Isneg on the right path in a thousand instances; and any kind of privation or hardship will be suffered patiently, the

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626 hardest labor will be gladly accepted in order to avoid shame, which
558 to an Isneg seems to be a kind of synthesis of all evils. That is also
578 the reason why ridicule is such a powerful weapon among the Isneg. For fear of ridicule a man will cover himself modestly when appearing in the presence of women, and miscreants will resort to ridicule in order to induce a young man to commit the worst crimes. No Isneg can stand ridicule.

626 Among the Isneg pride and ambition are only second to shame as incentives for being virtuous and conducting oneself honorably; nevertheless they are far from having the same power as shame, and parents will use them in a much smaller degree than the latter motive.
[461] The indolence of the Isneg has considerably lessened the power of ambition and pride as a motive for complying with the tenets of their moral code.

And so also praise and encouragement, although they rarely fail to help an Isneg youngster onward on the path of duty, are much less powerful than the all-feared ridicule. Isneg parents, however, are very well aware of the fact that a little occasional praise and a timely word of encouragement will rarely fail to be appreciated by the child, and that they will often do very much for the latter's betterment or the continuance of its right behavior.

Flattery is not so much in their line, and it is comparatively rarely resorted to in order to make a young man or woman behave decently. In the case of smaller children, however, it will often be used with the best of results.

The hope of a reward is not always as powerful as the fear of punishment, at least in the case of the little ones. But allow me to reserve the treatment of this subject for one of the following paragraphs.

3. Methods of Training

361 I shall not enter here into a large number of details with reference
867 to the methods used in the training of children, as very much has been said already in my lengthy treatment of the moral code. I shall
[891] go over the whole matter rather quickly, the more so as there is no question of initiation or puberty rites among the Isneg.

[602] Although elders, whosoever they be, may occasionally take a hand in the training of children, nevertheless this task devolves principally on the parents, and to a certain extent also on the grandparents. The tribe or community as such has little or nothing to do with the moral upbringing of the younger members of any given settlement.

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867 577 Honesty and truthfulness are subjects of very frequent training, especially the latter. Rarely a day passes without hearing some denunciation of the vice of lying from the mouth of an Isneg, and children are really brought up in an atmosphere of honesty and truth: this cannot be denied, although a lie in their eyes has not exactly the same meaning as with us. A lie, as defined by an Isneg, would mean something like this: "uselessly to tell an untruth to a friend", in this way excluding from its definition the telling of an untruth in order to avoid difficulties or in order to save a friend, and the deception practised on the Ibanag and their kindred.

An Isneg child is deterred from boasting mostly through ridicule, while talebearing, which is called treason, and jealousy form less frequent subjects of teaching.

Youngsters have not to be taught *ex professo* that killing among friends is a terrible crime. Loyalty to friends and related subjects are sufficiently explained without the necessity of including such a hateful crime among the usual prohibitions: if you have to be loyal to your friends, your first duty of course is to respect their life.

861 867 626 I have been talking freely about Isneg training and teaching, but when and where is youth educated and instructed in the tenets of the moral code? Well, at any time. This is a very indefinite answer indeed, but the time and place of teaching is at least equally indefinite. An Isneg parent may instruct his offspring when at home, he may do so while at work in the field; Isneg know nothing about school periods, no bells are used among them in order to go over from one exercise to another, there are neither watches nor clocks in Isneg houses, and to an Isneg time is not money. Nevertheless formal training mostly coincides with some special happening; a breach of the moral code, whether committed by outsiders or by the children themselves, or some extraordinary act of virtue, are the most frequent occasions in which the precepts of Isneg morality are instilled into the minds of the young.

861 626 Scolding,—which in many cases is exceedingly severe and covers the culprit with shame in the face of the whole neighborhood,—and other punishments are frequently resorted to regulate the conduct of children. Corporal punishments take place only in the case of the smaller children, while the fear of being scolded is a frequent deterrent for boys and girls of every age. The former consist in slapping the head, the cheeks, the shoulders, the back or the buttocks, in whipping the buttocks or the legs, thighs and calves, in twisting

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or pulling the ears, in pinching any part of the body. There is no question of kicking, of forbidding to eat, of ordering to abstain from amusements or feasts. A punishment that is rather common among the Isneg is to shame the children by talking to others about their misbehavior or their bad conduct: such a punishment rarely fails to induce the child to amend its ways. Food taboos are very common with reference to women; for men I know none. Thus, women do not eat eels, lest they become blind; they abstain from dog meat, monkey, etc.; but the aim of these prohibitions is certainly not that of influencing their moral conduct or inuring them to hardship: so this is not the place to explain them any further.

Corporal punishments are almost always used when the child, whether a boy or a girl, is caught stealing or lying; it is occasionally resorted to when the child is disobedient or disrespectful. Other more severe punishments, such as the robbing of valuables, divorce, etc., have been sufficiently explained in the preceding pages. Scolding is of course much more frequent than any other punishment. Spare the rod, spoil the child, is a proverb unknown to the Isneg; in my opinion they use the rod very sparingly: it is often sufficient for a child to say: "*Maddiyâ-* (I do not want)", to be left undisturbed, and to cause the parent to refrain from any further insistence. Here I have to repeat again one of my former statements: it is not the guilt that counts, but the result; so a boy may refuse to obey, and if it really makes no difference, the parent allows him to do what he likes; but if he has stolen something or refuses to help his father, that is another question; here the power of the rod will be invoked almost without exception.

Isneg parents love their children very much, and the easiest way to break down an Isneg parent's stubbornness or aloofness is to show a smiling face to the little ones, to say a nice word to them or to give them a little present. The aim of every grown-up boy and girl is to beget children; his offspring is the Isneg's most precious treasure. A houseful of boys and girls, children and grandchildren, is an invaluable and most esteemed boon; they are a crown avidly coveted by every Isneg man and woman. An Isneg father has a thousand ways of showing his affection to his children: if they are still small he will play with them for hours at a time; later on he will patiently forbear the boy's unhandiness while he is helping him at work, and still later he will see to it that he grows up a virtuous young man. The mother will do the same with boys and girls alike until the time

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183 act against their own code: they had no duty of hospitality, generosity
574 or gratitude toward the Ibanag; they lied, because to tell the truth
152 would have redounded to their disadvantage, nay, to exceeding hard-
ship, which they were completely right, at least in their own eyes,
577 to try to avoid by all possible means; they were excused from acknowl-
edging their deception, even after it had become patent and after
they had learned about the identity of their visitors, on account of
the shame which such an acknowledgment would have entailed.

171 This proves that it is sometimes very hard to understand the native's
position, and that one has to be careful not to judge him rashly.
577 His code is occasionally very different from ours; and so both his and
181 our point of view, although entirely opposite one to the other, may
sometimes be perfectly consistent. In the whole statement of this case
and in its explanation, I have not been trying to propound theories;
I have merely stated the facts and told the truth as it is, not
theoretically, but practically.

461 Isneg teaching with reference to diligence and love of work is
183 usually accepted in its completeness by the fair sex. One meets with
few downright lazy women in all Apayao. But the males? As long
as they are children, all right, the parents are there to look after
that; but once they have grown up, especially once they are married,
I think that even the few duties imposed upon them by their own
code, are not always and universally complied with. The tropical
climate, prevalent malarial fevers, usual years of plenty, a most fertile
soil, forests abounding with deer, wild boars, bees, etc., besides timber,
rattan, edible fruits, and other vegetable products, the lack of means
of transportation, and so on, are not exactly inducements toward
activity and industriousness. Nevertheless the duties are, I repeat it,
so few, that it would be dangerous to qualify too great a number of
[171] men as transgressors of their own rules. Isneg adult men are usually
lazy, it is undeniable, but they appear so more especially when we
compare their behavior with that of other inhabitants of the Mountain
Province, who are either living in densely populated areas or leading
a precarious existence among rocks and cliffs. And so, even in this,
Isneg teaching might perhaps be said to be fairly successful.

[152] The apathetic character of the generality of the Isneg renders
compliance with several points of their moral code comparatively
183 easy; and so fits of anger and of jealousy, and boasting are not very
577 common. Talking about other people's defects in their absence is
626 almost as common among the Isneg as among other races: it breaks

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up a good many friendships, and it is the starting point of not a few quarrels among them. Voluntary talebearing, by which I mean here reporting to the interested person the gossip that somebody has spread about him, is, as far as I can judge about the matter, rather rare, at least among men.

Drunkenness is a vice that is mostly indulged in only at the time of some *sáy-áu* or other sacrifice, and this mostly by old men. Comparing their use of intoxicating drinks with what I have seen in civilized countries, I should say that the Isneg is a temperate man. Nevertheless theory is stricter than practice, except in the case of youth.

Three points are still to be considered now, namely: chastity, honesty and truthfulness.

And first as to chastity and the virtues related to it. Complete nudity is habitual among youngsters under six years of age; the little coat usually worn even by small boys, is not sufficiently long to cover them decently. Such nakedness is not considered shameful as long as the children are small; nevertheless there is some ground for concluding that it may have an effect upon sex behavior. Indeed small children are very after tickled (*magkuríra-*, *kurírkán*) in order to cause them to laugh, and this tickling is very commonly practised on or near the genitals, not only by the parents, but also by young boys and girls; especially in the case of small boys, the principal use of their penis seems to be that of being fingered by every passer-by.

As soon as the child is able to lisp a few words, the pronunciation by the child of any obscene term that finds its way into the child's vocabulary is greeted with laughter; and if later on foul language is heard to proceed from the small boy's mouth, he is applauded for his cleverness instead of being chastised for his forwardness. Little girls are usually brought up in a less dirty atmosphere, as the mother takes care of them almost exclusively as soon as they are able to walk; but little or no separation of the sexes at night is insisted upon during the first years of the little Isneg's life.

Everything considered, the sight of nudity in both sexes, touching of one another's genitals without reproof, the early excitation of the boys' genitals through indecent handling by older children and adults, the use of dirty speech without the least restraint and almost with encouragement, all these combined can do nothing else but detract from the efficiency of subsequent teaching on sex morality. The existence of the term *kassár* seems to support my inference; *kassár*

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243 here and there a tree seared and partially blackened, a *lappúg*, a pitiable victim of its most powerful enemy: fire.

A field that is littered out of proportion with rubbish, branches and canes (*zakób*), is said to be *nazubsí*, and that means a few days of extra work for the Isneg. Should there be one or more *ruńád* (big trees, left standing, but dead and partially burnt or blackened) in the *kómān*, the Isneg must beware of cutting them down, as such huge black masses will serve for scarecrows against wild boars and deer, and keep them at a distance.

The only occasional exception to all this desolation is the tree inhabited by *Pinańgáw*, an outstanding witness to the power of its protector: the fire passed it without leaving any enduring mark.

243 As soon as the burning is done, everybody who is interested, goes and takes a look at the place, which can now be done without hindrance, as everything is open to view. In case the wife of the Isneg who prepared this *kómān* makes some statement intimating that their *kómān* is small, the husband *mańanasá*, that is, he cuts down either a small or a considerable part of the withered grasses and sedges at the edge of the burnt field, so as to satisfy both his wife and custom, the latter obliging him to act that way under the circumstances; and this he may not do remissly, because, if the *ańanasá* is performed carelessly, nothing will grow at that place, which after all is easily understood.

243 The morning after the burning of the field, a few seeds are confided to the ground. This is called *magpaáyab*, and the ceremony consists in scattering from six to ten seeds somewhere in the *kómān*. It may be performed by either men or women, but it must be accompanied by an appropriate prayer. In some districts, for instance at Bayag, this ceremony is performed the day before the first planting: this will be mentioned at its proper place, and there also will be given the prayer that accompanies the *agpaáyab*.

The only thing left to be done is the cleaning of the field after burning; this is called *manudú-*, and generally husband and wife, sons and daughters, in fact the whole household, help one another to bring it to a successful issue. The larger boughs and branches that have withstood the conflagration, are mostly piled up in stacks, to be used for fuel: this is called *maxaróboń*. The other rubbish, canes of bamboo grass being usually the most abundant, is gathered into heaps and then burnt: this is what the Isneg call *maxopó*, a term applied to the

the feasts. He like the *basi*. He knew how to search for lice and, whenever he caught some, he ate them. The monkey stayed in that place for five years. One day, when all the people went to work in their fields, Essang, a man, was left alone in the *barangay* because he was sick. The monkey went to his house and sat with Essang near the fire. When he got tired of sitting, he grabbed Essang's blanket and ran away. He threw the blanket into the river. After doing this, he returned to the *barangay* and climbed up in the bamboo trees. That afternoon, when the people came home, they all could not find the monkey anywhere in the *barangay*. They felt sorry because they loved that monkey.

At last, Essang told them that he had killed the monkey because it stole his blanket. All the people became angry with Essang. They scolded him until he begged for mercy.

Storia na ya magatawa napobre unay...

THE STORY OF A HUSBAND AND WIFE WHO WERE VERY POOR

(Apayao River Dialect)

——*Kito nuna ñga algaw, attan da ñga magatawa ñga napobre la unay.*

——During the olden days, there was a woman and her husband who were very poor.

——*Diddi ñga tulay ay awan da ñga mababalin, no cayat da ya mangan, mauwe da ñga manglo ka magbayo ka da to ari.*

ooo home, he was surprised that the star was changed into a beautiful girl. Uguy was changed mto a handsome warrior. The wide land around them became their country.

Uguy the Maingal and the star his wife, became the rulers of all that country.

Storia ne Lindawan kito nuna ñga Algaw

THE STORY OF LINDAWAN DURING THE OLDEN DAYS

(Apayao River Dialect)

——*Kito nuna ñga algaw attan canu ñga isa ñga tulay ñga naggahan ke Lindawan.*

——Once upon a time there lived in a settlement a man named Lindawan.

——*Iddi ñga tulay ay awan na ñga kailian ta kalocsawan ñgamin da ya kabulan na hapo ka pangasna.*

[626] ——That man had no companion, as every body hated him because he was very troublesome.

——*Iddi ñga tulay ay awan na ñga attawa.*

——That man had no wife.

——*Magbiag ga la ka magkadada ka da dadduma ñga babalay ñga pagsapulan na ka kanan na.*

——He lived only by wandering from place to place in order to hunt for food.

——*Isa ñga algaw naway nagdadadac, ñgamay kane naka sowac ka dalumpeng ñga boto se ya nagmama, mabalin nagmama nagdda se natutog.*

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577 slanderer's mouth at all price. 'Keep quiet for the sake of peace',
578 the Ibanag will say. For the sake of peace! What kind of an Isneg
558 is he who knows anything about peace under the circumstances? Keep quiet, if you cannot do otherwise, all right; but there is more than one day in a year: try to find an occasion to settle your quarrels, do not dismiss the matter from your mind until your right has been recognized. Did you ever meet a coward who became rich or influential? And he is a coward who would keep silent in a quarrel when the right is on his side. A few people will continue the fight, although evidently in the wrong: this should not be; if wrong, let go; but if right, go ahead. Nevertheless be careful not to use your headax indiscriminately. The best thing to do is to keep it out of the way, lest you do rashly what you would have to repent of afterwards.
[628] Indeed, you might kill or injure one of your friends and in this way start a series of blood feuds. Remember that the right remains on your side only as long as no blood flows; but when killing or wounding results from your quarrel, the offended party gets the right on its side and will not fail to revenge the offense, and with reason."

578 Last year *Kadáw's* son divorced one of his wives, a relative of
558 *Pa-rây*, the "presidente" or mayor of Tawit. The woman married
556 another man, and her parents failed to give back to *Kadáw* all the articles given them at the time of her first marriage; a few of them
627 were kept: hence a terrible quarrel. *Pa-rây* and *Kadáw*, both influential among their people, met at Kabugaw at the invitation of the lieutenant-governor. For days the square resounded with the shouts of *Kadáw*, who being perhaps the richer and certainly the older of the two, hoped to gain the victory by showing the greatest daring. He even went so far as to challenge the other party to wage war for a year in order to see in whose favor the dispute would be settled. *Pa-rây*, however, kept to his rights, he did not move an inch from his evidently strong position, and after several days of angry words and much ostentation of bravery on both sides, the quarrel was finally settled by the lieutenant-governor himself in favor of *Pa-rây*.

Kadáw at the time made himself ridiculous all over the district for trying to defend a cause that was lost from the beginning. Nevertheless very few would have dared to tell him so to his face: *Kadáw* is very much feared, he is a rich man, and the whims of such people should not be openly ridiculed; but everybody was more than con-
578 vinced that *Kadáw's* behavior was not what it should be. He clearly
558 offended against the recognized Isneg code, and *Pa-rây*, besides getting
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his rights, won the sympathy of every unbiased Isneg. He kept up the quarrel and finished it with a complete victory. If no constabulary soldiers had been in the province, the result would evidently not have been as bloodless as that, and a series of interminable feuds would have been the inevitable result. Right and wrong would gradually have been forgotten, and nothing would have been left but a series of revenges on both sides following one another in quick succession, revenges that would have come to be considered lawful in the eyes of every Isneg on account of the injuries that would have preceded them.

The above lines were written while I was away from Kabugaw. When on my way back thither, and before reaching the latter place, I heard that during my absence *Kadáw* had killed *Rukkadóñ*, a policeman from Baliwanan and the latest husband (he was the third one) of the woman referred to in the previous paragraph. Instead of going straight to Kabugaw, I stopped for a while at Bolo and had a little conversation about the matter with *Káyábo*, a Bolo brave or *mêñal*. Bolo is in sympathy with Lettuakan, *Kadáw's* place, and *Káyábo* did not fail to show that he held no brief for Baliwanan, nor for *Pa-rây* either. At a certain moment the old fellow stopped his diatribe to ask for *Pa-rây's* title, and a complacent companion told him that *Pa-rây* was now "presidente'². At this juncture *Káyábo* said: "*Desiréute, kawél* (president, dung)", which is the most forceful expression of contempt in the mouth of an Isneg.

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226 Sometimes the fish are poisoned with tobacco
[824] or the juice derived from the berries of the *tuba* bush. Also several types of fish traps are used.

224 Deer and wild pigs are hunted with dogs. Wild pigs are also trapped in their runways. The meat thus obtained is divided with fellow hunters and among neighbors. The hunting technique is quite communistic.

SOCIETY

621 The government of the Apayaos is simple. In
622 each family the man rules supreme and orders his wo-
[595] man what to do. This is the unit.

[361] A group of from 15 to 30 families build their houses near each other, *babalay*, being joined together for mutual aid and protection under one head man,
[157] *maingel*, who holds his position because he is the na-
[554] tural leader, is wealthy, and is the stongest and fiercest
627 warrior. The *maingel* wears a red turban on his head
624 and his arms are tattooed to the shoulders. He is absolute ruler; but has several advisory assistants, *pangmarwan*, who likewise have won their position through ability. The next best man to the *maingel*, is his number one assistant and so on. The common man may advise a *pangmarwan*. Upon the death of the *maingel* the number one *pangmarwan* takes his place.
627 The *maingel* and *pangmarwans* sit as a court to judge
692 any one who has broken the common law. Disputes between individuals are settled by intermediary peace
681 makers. It is notable that the fines are not paid to the government, but to the injured party, who receives the suitable indemnity. This may be in the form of jars, beads, animals, and other valuables.

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574 "Every Isneg should be renowned for his hospitality. Except in case of taboos, never close your gate to a wayfarer; give him a place at your hearth, give him a jar to cook his food in, allow him to sleep in your house; if you are eating, invite him to partake of your meal. Such is the rule. His ordinary needs should always be looked after, that is, all his wants which it does not cost you too much to supply. If your wife shows an inhospitable disposition, and you know facts that positively prove it, then you have a sufficient reason for divorcing her. No woman who refuses a guest the ordinary courtesy of receiving him hospitably should be allowed to share your home. A hospitable woman is an ornament to the house; an inhospitable Isneg is a disgrace to the race."

574 609 Nevertheless the Isneg are usually considered by outsiders as less hospitably disposed than most other inhabitants of northern Luzon. While among other tribes the best things they have are never too good for a guest, the Isneg are comparatively stingy in that respect: they rarely provide a guest with viands to eat with his rice, even though they have a sufficient amount of them at hand, except of course some kinds of vegetables and other eatables that can be found all around without the least exertion. Or is this due again to their evidently distinct way of treating members of other tribes, especially Kagayan? It has been told me indeed very plainly by several Isneg that with the Ibanag, you could do almost no wrong, and that almost everything was allowed with them. I myself have generally been received very kindly by all Isneg, but usually more so by natives who had travelled around and come in contact with other people. At Madatag an old man once called me in and killed a chicken for me: "This is the way", he said, "an honorable guest should be received; I know it, as I have traveled very extensively; those other Isneg, benighted people, they do not know how to treat a guest decently". And so the apparently less hospitable mind of the Isneg may perhaps be ascribed simply to invincible ignorance, instead of to stinginess or to lack of love for the Ibanag.

577 628 [672] "Revenge is sweet to every Isneg. Never let an injury pass by unrevenged. Much has been heard from the Ibanag about forgiveness; that term does not belong to our vocabulary. An Isneg who fails to exact full satisfaction for every misdeed is a coward. If somebody who belongs to an enemy village does you some harm, you have the right to revenge yourself upon anyone belonging to the same village: in such cases we recognize solidarity of guilt. A male-

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factor should never remain unpunished, even though he be of your own kindred; although in the latter case the sacking of his house and properties will usually be sufficient, without having to resort to bloodshed; and then also there will necessarily be no solidarity, except perhaps in the case of his near relatives. An Isneg who allows an injury to pass unpunished has not the blood of the *máñal* (brave) flowing in his veins. Actually of course we cannot always take the law in our own hands, and so we have to resort to the tribunal of the Ibanag. Now you should never fail to do so, whenever there are no other means available for revenging yourself with impunity".

A couple of years ago, an Isneg from Tawit, whose father was supposed to have been killed at Ripang years ago, murdered a Ripang woman at Kabugaw, under the eyes of the constabulary, on the occasion of a garden day celebration. The murder occurred in the evening, when the woman,—who even then was still too young to have had any knowledge of the murder of the Tawit man's father except perhaps from hearsay, and who consequently could not have had the least participation in it,—was sitting as a guest in the house of one of her people, a policeman, who at the time resided at Kabugaw. She was leaning with her back against the wall of the house, when the Tawit man, who stood outside in the dark, pushed a sharpened bamboo rod through the interstices and pierced the woman's side, with the inevitable result that the victim died after a few hours.

Not so long ago our friend *Kadáw* of Lettuakan, who had been badly injured by *Kinagúrān* of Talifugu in the heroic times now seemingly gone forever, one of his hands having been almost totally disabled, came to pay me a visit. He had a few eatables for sale and wanted to get a comparatively large share of the white man's money. At a certain moment our conversation ran in the following vein:

I: *Kínagúrān* is your friend, is he not?

Kadáw: Yes, indeed, we are good friends now.

I: But suppose the soldiers would leave the district.

I had barely finished my sentence when the old headhunter sprang up, his face beaming, his eyes radiant with a fiendish joy, and, swinging his arms, his hands fingering invisible weapons, he exclaimed: "Oh, then you would see some fighting indeed".

"Never pick a quarrel with a friend: such things should be avoided; but in case of somebody wanting to quarrel with you, go ahead. Nobody will keep his peace if he thinks he is right. Would it not be utter cowardice to keep quiet and let the thing go by? No, shut the

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577 slanderer's mouth at all price. 'Keep quiet for the sake of peace',
578 the Ibanag will say. For the sake of peace! What kind of an Isneg
558 is he who knows anything about peace under the circumstances? Keep quiet, if you cannot do otherwise, all right; but there is more than one day in a year: try to find an occasion to settle your quarrels, do not dismiss the matter from your mind until your right has been recognized. Did you ever meet a coward who became rich or influential? And he is a coward who would keep silent in a quarrel when the right is on his side. A few people will continue the fight, although evidently in the wrong: this should not be; if wrong, let go; but if right, go ahead. Nevertheless be careful not to use your headax indiscriminately. The best thing to do is to keep it out of the way, lest you do rashly what you would have to repent of afterwards.
[628] Indeed, you might kill or injure one of your friends and in this way start a series of blood feuds. Remember that the right remains on your side only as long as no blood flows; but when killing or wounding results from your quarrel, the offended party gets the right on its side and will not fail to revenge the offense, and with reason."

578 Last year *Kadáw's* son divorced one of his wives, a relative of
558 *Pa-rdy*, the "presidente" or mayor of Tawit. The woman married
556 another man, and her parents failed to give back to *Kadáw* all the articles given them at the time of her first marriage; a few of them
627 were kept: hence a terrible quarrel. *Pa-rdy* and *Kadáw*, both influential among their people, met at Kabugaw at the invitation of the lieutenant-governor. For days the square resounded with the shouts of *Kadáw*, who being perhaps the richer and certainly the older of the two, hoped to gain the victory by showing the greatest daring. He even went so far as to challenge the other party to wage war for a year in order to see in whose favor the dispute would be settled. *Pa-rdy*, however, kept to his rights, he did not move an inch from his evidently strong position, and after several days of angry words and much ostentation of bravery on both sides, the quarrel was finally settled by the lieutenant-governor himself in favor of *Pa-rdy*.

Kadáw at the time made himself ridiculous all over the district for trying to defend a cause that was lost from the beginning. Nevertheless very few would have dared to tell him so to his face: *Kadáw* is very much feared, he is a rich man, and the whims of such people should not be openly ridiculed; but everybody was more than con-
578 vinced that *Kadáw's* behavior was not what it should be. He clearly
558 offended against the recognized Isneg code, and *Pa-rdy*, besides getting
627

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his rights, won the sympathy of every unbiased Isneg. He kept up the quarrel and finished it with a complete victory. If no constabulary soldiers had been in the province, the result would evidently not have been as bloodless as that, and a series of interminable feuds would have been the inevitable result. Right and wrong would gradually have been forgotten, and nothing would have been left but a series of revenges on both sides following one another in quick succession, revenges that would have come to be considered lawful in the eyes of every Isneg on account of the injuries that would have preceded them.

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577 possession, he will rightfully suppose you to be a thief. Anything
421 that can be found in the forest is the property of the first man who
685 can lay hands upon it: so if you locate bees on a tree and see that the latter has been marked, leave them, they are not yours to take any more, the person who marked the tree will sooner or later come to claim
577 his property. Pay your debts faithfully, never forget about them.
426 The heirs of a deceased person inherit his debts as well as his property, and the creditor will appear some day to ask payment from their
686 hands. In case of a raid upon the house of a culprit,—for instance, when a girl has been made pregnant, or when a married woman has returned to her parents whether against the will of her husband or because the latter rightfully divorced her for adultery, etc., and her parents refuse to give back to the offended husband what he gave them at the time of his marriage, or when somebody has been killed among people who are on friendly terms with one another,—then of course, if you are a relative of the offended party, you are free to rob the house of all its valuables: this is not stealing, it is simple justice.

577 "You should not be so strict, however, with reference to the Ibanag:
609 almost anything is allowed when you deal with them. Plain stealing
421 of course should be avoided, but for the rest it would be hard to qualify anything by the name of injustice, when the Ibanag are in ques-
426 tion. Here, nevertheless, you should make a distinction: you may
437 have good friends among them or they may be your guests, and then of course strictly respect them and keep away from their property.
686 But, deceit in transactions, escaping the payment of a debt, and so
685 on, which would be downright dishonesty if done among ourselves, are just a sign of cleverness on your part, when the Ibanag are concerned. A good Isneg is strictly just with all his friends, with all the people of every village at peace with his own; enemies have no rights in the eyes of an Isneg, and the rights of the Ibanag are far from having the same sacredness as *those of your own people*".

685 Two years ago a Tubungan (near Abbil) man had been robbed of
628 a few of his valuables, while he was away on a trading expedition into Ilocos. After much investigating and lying in wait near the
[694] house of the suspected thief, the owner had become convinced of the latter's guilt, and immediately brought in a complaint, as the ac-
177 cused denied any participation in the theft. I met the plaintiff and his father, on their way to Kabugaw, in the municipal building of Namaltugan. Talking about the matter, I asked them what would

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have happened in the glorious times before the arrival of the soldiery. They quickly retorted that it would have been a case of killing the thief without more ado, from which of course an interminable series of blood feuds would have ensued. I then asked them what they thought the best way to settle such differences, the old or the new one. Both agreed that the actual way of deciding the matter was far superior to the other one. Then, I said this, seemingly as an afterthought: "But among us, to tell the truth, the old days were happy ones, weren't they?" "Of course they were", both exclaimed at once, "see how things would have been done formerly", and both of them picked up a shield and a headax, and started a mock fight. They were so enthusiastic about it that we, the onlookers, had to make room for our two warriors, in order to escape getting a cut from the axes they were brandishing: the old Isneg spirit was seen to have been revived at once; and this was merely for show, there was nothing serious about it of course.

"Truthfulness is a virtue that an Isneg should never lack. You will never amount to anything if you are known as a liar; people will always distrust you. Is there anything more shameful than being known as a man whose word can never be relied upon? Especially when talking about a third person, beware of being a slanderer: this would lead to quarrels, and quarrels would lead to blows or worse, and you would be in the wrong all the time. A little lie in order to make mirth and bring joy to the company, never mind; but be careful to truthfully inform anybody who might take the thing seriously, lest harmful consequences follow. It is perfectly right of course to save yourself or your friend from a bad predicament, even through lying, if that is the surest way; but for the rest cling to truth, and you will be respected all your life. You know very well how much you would resent being told to your face: "*Busidmo (you lie)*"; so never give anybody an occasion to throw such an insult at your head. With your enemies of course, and especially with the Ibanag, it is different, you may do anything to them; and they know very well that they cannot rely upon you. Why should you have any duties toward these people? They have no rights among us, not even that of being told the truth. A friendly Ibanag may be helped, no doubt about that, but then it will be done, not because you are obliged to tell him the truth, but because you want to be faithful to a friend. Do not mislead a wayfarer though, except in case you have the intention of securing his head or taking some

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In short, Isneg religious and magical practices are still firmly adhered to by the generality of old men and women, while with the younger set they tend to be considered as mere superstitions, that are observed more through fear than through conviction, just as among the Christian Iloko, many remnants of the old native religion are still to be found scattered all over the country in the form of superstitious practices. There can be no doubt about the fact that in Apayaw the way is open for the Christian religion to supplant the old native one: the former is considered as a step forward by almost every Isneg, and practically nobody objects to the young people embracing it; in fact, most of the old people themselves insist on having their children baptized and even instructed in the doctrine of the Christians.

The duty of headhunting has perforce to fall into desuetude, as the vigilance of the authorities prevents it from being practised, at least on a large scale. With reference to isolated cases, which do not fail at times to appear sporadically, the guilty parties rarely escape due punishment, as the Isneg live too much in very small scattered communities to be able to hide them successfully. The older people still foster the desire of freedom in their hearts of course, but the younger generation will little by little forget all about it, and the usual ceremonies, although persevering in the form of superstitions, will very soon have lost their significance. Enough already has been said about this, and it is needless to repeat it all over again.

In the question of obedience and respect due to parents and elders, the Isneg usually conform with their teaching on the subject, and the same may be said with reference to loyalty either to friends or to people who are not at enmity with them. Downright disobedience is really very rare, even in the case of grown-up boys and girls, and respect for older people perseveres all through life. A few isolated cases may be encountered occasionally, but they are certainly the exception. Actually of course the same loyalty cannot always be observed as before, namely participation in headhunting expeditions and so on, and now and then a few members of the younger generation will even stand by the Government against malefactors of their own people; but in general it may be said that respect for the law has not yet attained such an ascendency as to cause an Isneg to be a traitor to his friends.

The practice of revenge has also necessarily suffered an important transformation. The duty of revenge remains intact though, and it

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628 is rarely abandoned, whether in small matters among youngsters, or
183 in graver matters among adults; but in the latter case nowadays it
178 mostly takes the form of a lawsuit entered at court. One exception, however is to be noticed: the practice of sacking the houses of special offenders is still faithfully adhered to all over Apayaw. Revenge is exceedingly sweet to an Isneg and it is not easily superseded by the law of charity: indeed the Isneg sucks it in with his mother's milk and his whole life is still intimately pervaded by the fragrance of old and glorious traditions. And so also the Isneg in general, whether small children or grown-up persons, rarely abandon a quarrel in which the right is on their side, for fear of having the epithet of coward thrown at their head. Peace continues to be an unknown entity as long as an Isneg thinks it his duty to leave it in the background.

578 Nevertheless when two Isneg have become estranged from one an-
183 other, one or both of them will occasionally try to adjust the matter amicably, but in such a way as to preclude all possible risk of being shamed or of being considered as acting through fear or cowardice. *Anagalukkáp* (a kind of herb or grass), kept in the palm of one of your hands when you are likely to meet your opponent, is an infallible means to allay his wrath and to change his hate into amity. [431] Once reconciled to your enemy, the best way to settle the matter definitively and to render the ensuing friendship durable is to make him some present: a jar, a headax, or anything you suppose will prove acceptable to him. Such a gift is called *palatád*.

577 The practice of gratitude, generosity and hospitality is generally
576 fairly concordant with Isneg theory, but, as has been stated repeat-
574 edly, the Isneg code does not seem to impose any of these social
183 virtues in a very marked degree. It is very hard, for instance, to translate the expression "thank you" in Isneg, as they possess no term that might be considered as more or less its equivalent.

183 Here I shall cite a case in which at first sight practice flagrantly
574 contradicts Isneg theory in every respect. The incident happened
577 in March 1927, when a captain of the Constabulary, several soldiers and a few civilians, including myself, were on their way to Abra. We had finished ascending the Dagara river and were dropping into Abra, when night overtook us at the settlement of Anayan. Foreseeing that our provisions would not last until the end of the journey, the captain requested the Anayan men, who entirely depend on Apayaw for their daily sustenance, to sell us a small quantity of

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taken its regular course, and the final crisis may have been reached before anybody was fully aware of it: small matters may have been combined into difficulties of huge proportions, disgust on both sides may have led to mistakes on both sides. And so it is usually not an easy matter to decide exactly what has to be done under the circumstances. Hence follow quarrels: the woman's people are loath to part with the *tádug* which, as a matter of course, they have come to consider as their own property, and the parents of the man are overanxious to get it back in order to use it for a future marriage that generally is very near in the offing, and lest they have to pay two *tádug* for one and the same boy.

This whole state of affairs is very well illustrated by what happened in the case of *Kadáw*, previously referred to (Publ. Cath. anthrop. conf., 3: 146). One of *Kadáw*'s sons divorced one of his three wives; the woman went home, married another man, left him again, and then married a third one, namely *Rukkadéñ*, a Baliwanan married man. The *tádug* had been given back to *Kadáw*, except a certain number of jars, six if I remember well. Now *Kadáw*'s party claimed that everything had to be given back, because the woman was in fault: the fact of the woman's multitudinous marriages seemed indeed to lend some color to this. The other party, led by *Pa-rây*, the municipal president of Tawit, claimed that the woman had been practically abandoned by her husband, who had failed to give her the customary attentions and to comply with his most elementary duties in her behalf: this was also the common rumor all over the district. The whole quarrel was settled by the authorities in favor of *Pa-rây*, but the other party did not rest satisfied, and the whole affair culminated in the murder of the unfortunate *Rukkadéñ* by old *Kadáw* himself. While in jail the latter swore to kill one of his sons, as soon as he got free, because they had shown that they had not the blood of the *méñal* (brave) flowing in their veins: they had forced their old father to take revenge in their stead. Incidentally it should be noted that *Kadáw* himself did not show much valor in the whole affair: after a few words of friendly salutation between *Kadáw* and *Rukkadéñ*, both of them had gone in the same direction in the usual Indian file, *Kadáw* walking behind. The latter had administered a vicious blow of his headax on the neck of his intended victim, and when *Rukkadéñ* had turned to face him, he had struck him a second blow in the forehead, after which he had run as fast as he could.

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When *Rukkadéń* ran homewards in order to fetch his gun, *Kadáw* again had followed him hoping to give him the coup de grâce, but when the latter had got hold of his gun, *Kadáw* had fled a second time and hid in the municipal building. *Rukkadéń* had shown at least that he was not a coward: although wounded to death he had faced his adversary and tried to kill him; he died a couple of hours later. The whole Isneg outfit of policemen and soldiers had not made a very brave stand either, as the last scene of the drama was enacted in the public square, and none of them dared approach old *Kadáw*, who had entrenched himself in the building just referred to and refused to lay down his headax reeking with blood. He finally surrendered at the summons of the lieutenant of the constabulary who threatened him with his revolver.

In concluding this account of marriage, the following Isneg expressions may be recorded:

Mańén: Menses.

Maxatáwa: To marry. Said of both men and women.

Maňatáwa: To marry. Said only of men.

Mákiatáwa: To marry. Said only of women.

Meatáwa: To be married. Said only of women.

Maňaduwá: To live in bigamy. From the stem *duwá*, "two", and the complex prefix *maňa*, syncopated for *maň* and *ka*.

Maňa-ló: To have three wives. From the syncopated stem *talló*, "three", and the complex prefix *maňa*.

Dumaládag: To commit adultery, to be in love with another man. Said of married women.

Manaládag: To commit adultery with a married woman. Said of men, whether married or single.

Sumibná: To separate, to go and live in another house. This does not always and necessarily mean divorce; it may also mean that somebody stops living with a certain family in order to go and live somewhere else; for instance, a young married couple who have built themselves a new house, or who go to live in a house different from the one they have previously lived in, provided the latter was inhabited at the same time by another family, who continue to live there after their former companions went away.

834 women around, while the men are in bathing and swimming together, they keep thir private parts covered with one hand while they are out of the water.

186 Community spirit in a *barangay* is strong. They
471 have common interests and often work together in
342 exchange of labor, *pinta*. When one builds a house all the neighbors come and help, making a party of it.

417 Each *barangay* is surrounded by a heavy bamboo picket stockade. The bamboos are filled with small
● 628 stones so they can not be easily cut away. A *baran-*
648 *gay* has all the other *barangays* as enemies; but a
676 peace-pact, *budong*, is often made between two of them.
672 Peace-pact holders are appointed and held personally
721 responsible that it is not broken. Each *barangay* is held accountable for the acts of any of its members. Then they are allies, helping each other in warfare and being mutually responsible for each other's property and personal safety. There is danger of forays at anytime from other barangays. So war is always imminent. There maybe old feuds to be settled and
[554] deaths to be avenged. This is augmented by the fact that each warrior must take at least one head to establish himself, both in society and in the heart of the girl whom he desires.

HEAD HUNTING

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726 When the demand either for revenge or for heads becomes strong, the *maingel* gives the order for a head hunting expedition to the enemy *barangay* selected. He will probably be the leader of the expedition. The warriors who are to go, prepare their weapons: shields, spears, and a special *aliwa*, which has the point on the cutting edge drawn out to make it more effective.

brother to go back home to Dudongan and tell his 000
father that he was dead.

But instead, Abbiwan went to Inpindayan, the 726
home of Himbangonan, to kill her father, Indayo. Upon finding him in the house, Abbiwan thrust his spear at him but missed; and Indayo escaped to the forest.

Then Abbiwan went to Hatan and told him that 000
his son was dead. Afterwards he returned at once to see his dead brother Hinadolan. When Abbiwan reached the iron stockade, he found the people of Dombilan trying to obtain the body of Hinadolan; but not even Abbiwan could reach the top of the iron stockade where Hinadolan was stuck.

As Abbiwan could not obtain the body of Hinadolan, he called on their brother Ewagan to help. By his magical powers, Ewagan turned himself into a firefly and flew up to where Hinadolan still was. The people saw Ewagan as a fire near Hinadolan. Ewagan mourned upon seeing the condition of his brother. Then Ewagan took his brother and flew back down to the ground. When the other brothers had seen Hinadolan, Ewagan called for his friend, Paliahan. When he arrived, Ewagan again carried his brother in his arms to a patch of *sical* grass, where he applied his magic oil all over the body of Hinadolan. All of a sudden Hinadolan was restored to life.

Then the brothers all started for Dombilan to ob- 628
tain revenge. They mingled with the people, who at first did not recognize them. When they did recognize Hinadolan, they became suspicious. Hinadolan was trying to conceal himself. Then Ewagan obtain-

628 ed a jar of *basi* and invited all the people to drink with the brothers. When they were gathered, he asked them all to come into the house. After they were all in, he fastened them in. Then he offered a cup of *basi* to the *maingel*. Instead of letting him take it, Ewagan dashed the *basi* on the head of the *maingel* and killed him. Then the brothers killed all the people and flew with their blood to the river. All the possessions of those people wer collected; and Ewagan, by his magic powers, flew them to Pindayan, his home.

582 Then the brothers went to the house of Himbanganan in Dudongan, bringing her all the heads of the people of Dombilan. Himbanganan was afraid in the presence of all the brothers, and promptly agreed to marry Hinadolan without the necessity of a dowry. She followed the brothers to Pindayan, where she and Hinadolan were married and lived thereafter.

THE ORPHANS

789 Long ago there lived three orphans; two boys and a girl. These orphans were the sons and daughter of a rich family. These brothers and the sister were expert magicians. They did not suffer any hardships. When they became hungry, they just prayed to an *anito* for their needs and their wants would all be [577] provided for. They were very religious. They were humane and helpful to those who were in need.

789 574 One day they wanted to have a feast. So they invited all their relatives, their friends, and all their neighbors. They only prepared one chupa of rice, one

726 584 weapons also; for it was the custom for a man always to carry his spear, shield and *gaod* with him.

He returned to the house of Bandiyang bringing his trophies with him. All the people joyfully came to celebrate the valor of Angyoban, and the marriage took place soon after.

THE FEUD BETWEEN THE PEOPLES OF ALISIT AND KUMAO

628 Many times the peoples of Alisit went to fight the Bulo people. They found no one at home. One time when on their way to Bulo, they became very hungry [476] and stopped in Kumao. It happened that at that time, the people of Kumao were gathering posts for a house. There were many people there to help. They had *basi* to drink. So they offered some to the Alisit people. [517] While sitting on the ground, they talked and had oratorical contests, each contestant telling of their cus- [579] toms. The *maingel of* Kumao was Lindo. They became drunk and got into an angry quarrel. Lindo said [152] to Baliwan, "You are good only for hunting women and not for hunting men." Baliwan became very angry and answered back and struck Lindo with his *gaod*. When Bayao, the son of Lindo, saw Baliwan strike his father, he snatched up his *gaod* to help his father. Then all the warriors were drawn into the fight, and five of the Alisit men were killed. None of the Kumao people were killed.

628 484 Later on, twelve Kumao people were taking a trip to Sulsuna in Ilocos for trading purposes. They

thought that, as they were very few and the people of Alisit were many, the trip would be very dangerous. There were only seven men and three women. So instead of going by the way of Alisit, they went by the way of Langnao to Sulsuna. They reached Sulsuna all right, and on their return trip reached Baliwan; but one man was injured in the foot. The other people wanted to carry him; but he did not like them to as they might meet an enemy, who would kill him as he lay in the sling. So he said that he would walk along slowly. The people of Baliwan were holding a peace-pact feast and wanted the people of Kumao to stay; but they did not want to spend the time or be to the expense. So they went on and came to a field. Some went to get sugar cane and others went to the river. The lame man, Subugay, went on ahead and came into an ambush of Alisit warriors. But they waited until the others came up, and then the many warriors of Alisit attacked. Subugay was wounded in his hand by a spear: but escaped. Two of his companions were killed and three wounded. The Kumao people were all surrounded by the Alisit people; but they managed to get away and hide in the forest. They reassembled, and the Baliwan people helped them to carry their killed and wounded home to Kumao, which they reached about night time.

Then the people of Kumao went to attack the Alisit people. There were many warriors, as they wanted to revenge their relatives. When they reached Bangcarao, they stopped there to wait for anybody who might be passing. Finally two Alisit men came

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726 by. Some of the Kumao warriors wanted to kill the Alisit men; but others objected. However, some threw spears and wounded the two men. But they escaped, ran to the river, and swam across. There they were safe, for the Kumao warriors could not follow.

HOW THE BARANGAY OF BADDUAT GOT ITS NAME

103 During the early days, there was fighting between the southern and northern people of Apayao. One time fighters from both north and south met in a certain place some distance below Lennang and there fought fiercely in hand to hand combat. After the fight, the southern warriors were exhausted for want of food and were lacking in brave men to fight. So they fled for home, scattering for the sake of better safety.

Unfortunately, one of the bravest and most renowned warriors, named Daguit, became confused on the way, as he was weak from hunger and suffering severely from his wounds. For these reasons, Daguit gave up and died in that place. When the other warriors arrived in their homes, he was the one found to be missing. They waited anxiously for him during two days; but in vain. Then they started in search of their missing companion. They found him dead under a tree near a brook which was strange to them. So they named the little brook in honor of Daguit. They called it *Badduat* (meaning—a dangerous place to live) : and so that is its name to this day.

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao OA19
Apayao OA5•
Kalinga OA24
Bontok OA12
Igorot OA20
Benguet

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Map of the Mountain Province and Cordillera Central Region of Northern Luzon in the Philippines.

834 women around, while the men are in bathing and swimming together, they keep thir private parts covered with one hand while they are out of the water.

186 Community spirit in a *barangay* is strong. They
476 have common interests and often work together in
342 exchange of labor, *pinta*. When one builds a house all the neighbors come and help, making a party of it.

417 Each *barangay* is surrounded by a heavy bamboo picket stockade. The bamboos are filled with small
628 stones so they can not be easily cut away. A *baran-*
● 648 *gay* has all the other *barangays* as enemies; but a
676 peace-pact, *budong*, is often made between two of them.
672 Peace-pact holders are appointed and held personally
721 responsible that it is not broken. Each *barangay* is held accountable for the acts of any of its members. Then they are allies, helping each other in warfare and being mutually responsible for each other's property and personal safety. There is danger of forays at anytime from other barangays. So war is always imminent. There maybe old feuds to be settled and
[554] deaths to be avenged. This is augmented by the fact that each warrior must take at least one head to establish himself, both in society and in the heart of the girl whom he desires.

HEAD HUNTING

721 When the demand either for revenge or for heads
411 becomes strong, the *maingel* gives the order for a head
726 hunting expedition to the enemy *barangay* selected. He will probably be the leader of the expedition. The warriors who are to go, prepare their weapons: shields, spears, and a special *aliwa*, which has the point on the cutting edge drawn out to make it more effective.

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837 684 [562] 831 intercourse with other women, that is natural, although it is a dangerous affair; but remember that he is a man, and that you are a woman: between the two there is no possible comparison. A man may take many liberties, while a woman may take none. What are peccadilloes in a man, are crimes in a woman. Beware of deceitful men who would come to entice you away from your rightful owner. Take heed in time, since once the thing is done, there is no longer a remedy, and repentance is too late".

831 834 837 At my first visit to Nagbabalayan, a companion of mine wanted to take the picture of an Isneg woman who was pounding rice near her house. When he invited her to pose for him, she quickly demurred and added: "I am a married woman". She evidently misunderstood him, but the answer sufficiently proved what was her opinion about her responsibilities.

On a certain occasion my catechist, an Iloko Christian, went to light his cigar at that of a woman, who came smoking to the river, in order to draw water. Not knowing about his intentions, I was not able to warn him. Fortunately as he was my servant and a stranger at that, everything went on smoothly, although the woman at first strongly objected. The point was that she was married, and no Isneg is allowed to take such liberties with the wife of another man: in the eyes of an Isneg, acting that way means much more familiarity than an uninitiated person might suspect. This shows how strictly a married woman is hedged in, and how easily a man may be offended by an action that implies the smallest degree of familiarity with his wife.

836 831 562 661 554 On my second visit to Bayag, in July 1929, I met there an Isneg policeman, who was an acquaintance of mine and who was a married man. On the day I was leaving Bayag, he also had to go to a neighboring settlement; so he accompanied me for a part of the road. Here I quote textually what he told me on that occasion, apparently indignant at the occurrence: "This morning I met with a strange case: a Bayag Isneg was scolding his daughter in my presence for having slept with me last night. I asked him if he objected to my using the girl, when she consented. He answered me he did not, of course, but he merely wanted to scold the girl; he said he had nothing against me, his intention was to teach his daughter decent manners. That was all right, of course, but why should he have done so while I was around and could hear him? He should have scolded the girl at a time I was out of earshot. Why! That fellow seemed to resent

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the fact that I had used his daughter. Can you beat it?" Needless to say, the conversation was practically a soliloquy on the part of the policeman. I do not believe though that his action was consonant with the Isneg code of morals; but this incident, and especially the answer of the girl's father, shows clearly how different is the state of man and woman among the Isneg, with reference to sex morality.

It should be added here that the father would probably have objected much more strongly to the man who took such liberties with his daughter, if he had not been a policeman. The latter are supposed to be more or less immune and may take liberties not accorded to others, probably on account of their position. Isneg in general resent that: I have heard them say so more than once; but they are afraid to object too strongly, and so policemen mostly do what they like: their reputation is far from clean all over the district, although I do not believe that they are all equally blamable. Later on I heard that, at the time of the above occurrence, the policeman had intended to make the girl his second wife, an engagement which had been broken off at a subsequent date.

It may be noted in this connection that among the Isneg a man, whether single or married, who commits adultery with a married woman (*manaládag*) is thought to be driven to his crime by some evil spirit. In such a case his guilt would be considerably lessened in our point of view; not so, however, in that of the Isneg: in his eyes, it is only the ultimate act that counts, as has been stated before.

"A fit of anger usually makes a man ridiculous in the eyes of the bystanders. It is true that when there is question of a rightful quarrel, you should never fail to sustain it; to be meek and patient under the circumstances would be mere cowardice. Nevertheless everybody is inclined to laugh at the behavior of an angry man: so, although you be strictly in your right, try to control your anger sufficiently not to cause others to laugh at you.

"You know our belief with reference to people who are wont to laugh at the defects of other persons (*magdóla*): if such people are married, they will be punished by having their children suffer the same defect; if they are still young, the children who will be born to them in the future will be misshapen (*pákań*).

"A certain amount of *básí* is not to be despised, but drinking to excess is always bad. Who respects a drunken man? Besides, think about the consequences: quarrels, fights, bloodshed, revenges, etc. As soon as you feel that you have enough, go away and sleep it off, lest

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593 The family is a very important entity among the Isneg, and their family life is comparatively intense. There is no question of man and wife associating only for the duties incident to the procreation of children. All members of the household keep rather close together until the young people are able to form a new family, and even in this case the latter usually remain with their elders for a considerable period of their married life. To establish a family, if possible with plenty of children around, is the ultimate goal of every Isneg boy and girl. In principle the rights of the individual are subordinate to those of the family, while state paternalism cannot be thought of.

[671]

177 593 It is true that actually the Government often interferes with the native customs of the Isneg, and in many cases it could not very well do otherwise, but the latter consider it as alien and regard its ways as entirely contrary to their traditions; they would most certainly like to get rid of it at the first opportunity. The Isneg submit of course, as the constabulary is supposed to be mostly wide awake, but they generally do so very reluctantly and often under protest; occasionally they even disobey, and sometimes not without reason, especially in cases of interference with their traditional family life.

177 871 582 593 Just to give a couple of examples. The local authorities force the parents to send their children to school; anybody who disregards this rule is punished by being obliged to furnish free labor to the Government. Now the wisdom of this regulation cannot always reasonably be doubted, because, if no strict measures were taken, nobody would go to school. But even children of marriageable age very often fall under this rule, as Apayaw is sparsely populated and the officials are anxious to present decent reports to their superiors; and so Isneg parents who allow their children to marry, face a very disagreeable dilemma: they have either to continue to send to school, in this way breaking up the home as they understand it, or to disobey and be liable to be taken into custody by policemen. It should be noted here that the law of the land recognizes such marriages as valid, but local officials sometimes have little regard for them. By this time, however, the Isneg have found a way out, namely by becoming Christians and contracting marriage before the priest. Such marriages are always duly recorded of course, and so the young people escape forced attendance at school, and the parents avoid trouble with the Government. After all it is the Church that helps the Isneg to keep to his original traditions about the essentials of marriage and home life.

[797]

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574 "Every Isneg should be renowned for his hospitality. Except in case of taboos, never close your gate to a wayfarer; give him a place at your hearth, give him a jar to cook his food in, allow him to sleep in your house; if you are eating, invite him to partake of your meal. Such is the rule. His ordinary needs should always be looked after, that is, all his wants which it does not cost you too much to supply. If your wife shows an inhospitable disposition, and you know facts that positively prove it, then you have a sufficient reason for divorcing her. No woman who refuses a guest the ordinary courtesy of receiving him hospitably should be allowed to share your home. A hospitable woman is an ornament to the house; an inhospitable Isneg is a disgrace to the race."

574 609 Nevertheless the Isneg are usually considered by outsiders as less hospitably disposed than most other inhabitants of northern Luzon. While among other tribes the best things they have are never too good for a guest, the Isneg are comparatively stingy in that respect: they rarely provide a guest with viands to eat with his rice, even though they have a sufficient amount of them at hand, except of course some kinds of vegetables and other eatables that can be found all around without the least exertion. Or is this due again to their evidently distinct way of treating members of other tribes, especially Kagayan? It has been told me indeed very plainly by several Isneg that with the Ibanag, you could do almost no wrong, and that almost everything was allowed with them. I myself have generally been received very kindly by all Isneg, but usually more so by natives who had travelled around and come in contact with other people. At Madatag an old man once called me in and killed a chicken for me: "This is the way", he said, "an honorable guest should be received; I know it, as I have traveled very extensively; those other Isneg, benighted people, they do not know how to treat a guest decently". And so the apparently less hospitable mind of the Isneg may perhaps be ascribed simply to invincible ignorance, instead of to stinginess or to lack of love for the Ibanag.

579 628 "Revenge is sweet to every Isneg. Never let an injury pass by unrevenged. Much has been heard from the Ibanag about forgiveness; that term does not belong to our vocabulary. An Isneg who fails to exact full satisfaction for every misdeed is a coward. If [672] somebody who belongs to an enemy village does you some harm, you have the right to revenge yourself upon anyone belonging to the same village: in such cases we recognize solidarity of guilt. A male-

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factor should never remain unpunished, even though he be of your own kindred; although in the latter case the sacking of his house and properties will usually be sufficient, without having to resort to bloodshed; and then also there will necessarily be no solidarity, except perhaps in the case of his near relatives. An Isneg who allows an injury to pass unpunished has not the blood of the *méñal* (brave) flowing in his veins. Actually of course we cannot always take the law in our own hands, and so we have to resort to the tribunal of the Ibanag. Now you should never fail to do so, whenever there are no other means available for revenging yourself with impunity".

A couple of years ago, an Isneg from Tawit, whose father was supposed to have been killed at Ripang years ago, murdered a Ripang woman at Kabugaw, under the eyes of the constabulary, on the occasion of a garden day celebration. The murder occurred in the evening, when the woman,—who even then was still too young to have had any knowledge of the murder of the Tawit man's father except perhaps from hearsay, and who consequently could not have had the least participation in it,—was sitting as a guest in the house of one of her people, a policeman, who at the time resided at Kabugaw. She was leaning with her back against the wall of the house, when the Tawit man, who stood outside in the dark, pushed a sharpened bamboo rod through the interstices and pierced the woman's side, with the inevitable result that the victim died after a few hours.

Not so long ago our friend *Kadáw* of Lettuakan, who had been badly injured by *Kinagúrān* of Talifugu in the heroic times now seemingly gone forever, one of his hands having been almost totally disabled, came to pay me a visit. He had a few eatables for sale and wanted to get a comparatively large share of the white man's money. At a certain moment our conversation ran in the following vein:

I: *Kinagúrān* is your friend, is he not?

Kadáw: Yes, indeed, we are good friends now.

I: But suppose the soldiers would leave the district.

I had barely finished my sentence when the old headhunter sprang up, his face beaming, his eyes radiant with a fiendish joy, and, swinging his arms, his hands fingering invisible weapons, he exclaimed: "Oh, then you would see some fighting indeed".

"Never pick a quarrel with a friend: such things should be avoided; but in case of somebody wanting to quarrel with you, go ahead. Nobody will keep his peace if he thinks he is right. Would it not be utter cowardice to keep quiet and let the thing go by? No, shut the

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her consent would be utter recklessness or, rather, out of the question: you would never escape unscathed from the place of your crime. For the rest be careful; even if the girl consents, always remember what pregnancy brings in its wake; so the surest way is to keep oneself free from such entanglements.

"Girls should never be very familiar with young men. Boys will tempt you with fine words and beautiful promises, they will bring you clothes and trinkets as gifts, but beware. Never give yourself over to any boy at night, never allow him to touch you indecently when he comes to talk to you in the evening. Do not even allow him to finger your breasts: all this is dangerous play. Just think what it would mean to have a child before marriage; would that not be an eternal shame? And just imagine the scolding you would get from your parents, the turmoil in which the whole settlement would be thrown, and the difficulty you would encounter from now on in looking for a husband. You are allowed to marry young, so let everything take its usual course. Boys will aways be boys; besides they are men, and so they are allowed a certain freedom; but you are a girl, you are a woman, and in your case nothing is allowed. An Isneg girl should never be a flirt. The boys will try to play with you; it is not for you to allow them to do so. Always show your resentment, when they have touched you the wrong way or been otherwise too familiar with you"

To touch a girl's breasts is *magkabbál* in Isneg, and it is said only of men. The existence of a special term like that serves to show that this must be something like a favorite sport among the Isneg. The following anecdote will help to prove the truth of that statement. On a certain occasion an Isneg boy was explaining to me a native term whose meaning was "purpose, intention", and as he could hardly do so without illustrating it by an example, he told me what follows: "Suppose you touch a girl's breasts and she is angry at you, then you say: 'I did not do it intentionally' ", and here he used the term in question.

Chastity is certainly very strictly imposed upon unmarried people, or rather upon people who are not yet engaged, but from the Isneg point of view and with reference to young men, it should rather be defined: not to do anything that might render a girl pregnant. Not that the Isneg know any contraceptive measures, but that the pregnancy of a girl is considered as the thing to be avoided, not fornication as such. Both are very nearly related to one another of

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836 course, and the distinction seems rather to be theoretical than prac-
673 tical: nevertheless that is what is going on in the Isneg mind as far
684 as I understand it. To them purpose and intention mean very little,
672 as will be shown again very soon when I shall refer to killing as a crime: what counts is the result. If a boy chances to sleep with a girl without rendering her pregnant, the Isneg may perhaps not see anything very wrong in the whole affair, but woe to him if fate is against him.

836 Nevertheless with reference to young women, the code is much
684 stricter, although the boy will suffer a much harder immediate punishment for his delinquency than will the girl. A girl should never think of doing anything in that line; a boy might perhaps be inclined to do it, but he should know the consequences, if the result is what it should not be.

834 I have described in my introduction to this paper how certain
626 Isneg parents refused to send their girls to school on account of the notoriously immoral conduct of their teacher, and here is what we read in a little manual of instructions for soldiers of the Philippine Constabulary: "No Isneg woman should be joked with or touched by anyone. Christian cargadores or servants should be cautioned about this, as serious trouble may result".[1]

836 Once I heard a boy of some twelve years old, who was working for
533 wages here at Kabugaw, improvise a little song, probably in order to render the work less heavy and to relieve his tiredness. The song was not what you would call a religious one, but it served to show very nicely the ideas current among these people, and at the same time it proved that even the Isneg understood the meaning of what is called an "occasion of sin" (in this case: the sin of impregnating a girl). I may be permitted to write the song down exactly as I heard it: "Do not approach my vulva, I do not want you to have sexual intercourse with me, I am afraid of becoming pregnant: so say the women".

836 A boy who has made a girl pregnant has to marry her; if he refuses,
684 the raids just referred to take place without exception, and the family of the boy loses everything. The same happens when a married man commits adultery with a girl and impregnates her; in his case of course there is rarely question of marriage, and the raids take place almost without exception. Formerly the boy must have been for-

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[1] Camp John Hay Guide Book. A Trip to Ifugao and Bontoc. By Captain Harrington W. Cochran, Coast Artillery Corps, 1923, p. 28.

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577 lawful revenge for a former injury: a traveler who passes your
609 village is a guest more than anything else, so show him the way with
truth and exactitude, whenever you are questioned about it. In a
683 word, be truthful, whenever you have no grave reason to act other-
574 wise; and, with reference to your enemies and the Ibanag, deceit is
usually lawful: only special circumstances might oblige you to stick
to truth even in their case."

576 Isneg know little of what we understand by courtesy: they rarely
201 come out of their house, for instance, to show you the way. If you
ask them for information, they usually give it to you, truthfully
indeed, but without taking the trouble to appear and show the
direction by gestures, which would ordinarily be much clearer, at
least to a complete stranger, than mere oral indications. Under
this respect a Negrito is generally much more correct, at least
according to our own point of view.

Now let us consider a few vices and crimes more in particular.

682 "Never kill or wound a friend: this is a crime that calls for venge-
577 ance. Perhaps he was far from right in sustaining the quarrel, but
you inevitably put yourself in the wrong by resorting to bloodshed.
A homicide or any kind of severe wounding among friends brings in
its wake at least the customary looting of the house of the culprit.
So beware, control yourself in time, before it is too late to repent.
When you are engaged in some dangerous business,—for instance,
when hunting,—always be prudent and see that no harm befalls any
person. Death by violence is a terrible thing; bloodshed is never
allowed among people who are not at enmity with one another ".

672 Two examples will show very clearly how little the Isneg care
about intention or purpose; the result of your act is the only thing
they consider: if you killed a person, it is wholly immaterial whether
you did it intentionally or not, whether it was premeditated or done
by accident, whether you could have prevented it or not, whether
there was culpable negligence on your part or not.

682 Last year an Isneg soldier from Musimut went to hunt at night
672 with some friends and relatives. He handed his gun to one of his
kinsmen living at Nagbabalayan, gave him the necessary instructions,
and then went the other way to drive the game in the direction of
the man with the gun. When the latter fired at the deer that ran
toward him, he killed the soldier instead: the poor fellow must have
lost all sense of direction or forgotten about the place where he left
his gun; anyhow he died after a few moments. No sooner was the

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deed done but the relatives of the dead soldier mustered together, went to Nagbabalayan, entered the house of the poor involuntary killer and rifled whatever they found of value.

A few months ago at Nagilian (municipal district of Namaltugan), a man ascended a coconut tree in order to gather a few nuts. Unfortunately, while he was dropping them on the ground, a child came running along and received the thump of one of the huge nuts on its head: the child fell down of course and lay unconscious. So soon as the parents and relatives heard about the whole affair, all head-axes were unsheathed, and terrible things might have happened, if the sanitary inspector, who was present at the time, had not assured the people that the child would live.

According to the Christian code, God rewards or punishes thoughts as well as deeds. Ordinary human justice does not bother about mere intentions that are not followed by deeds, but it recognizes the act of a man as a human act, it distinguishes an act done intentionally from one done involuntarily, it differentiates between culpable negligence and unavoidable accident. The Isneg code knows no such distinctions: an act is an act; the result is the only thing taken into consideration. The Isneg language has terms for "doing purposely, intention", and so on; but in practice the fact that something was done unintentionally makes little difference: it is not the guilt of a person that is considered, but only the result of his act.

"Adultery is a shameful crime, especially in women. An Isneg man should content himself with the wife or wives who have been paid for: avoid mixing with other women, such habits bring only woe in their wake. Take care never to make a young girl pregnant; whether the person who commits such a mistake be a married man or a young unmarried man, the result is the same, so I have not to insist upon the matter. Be not less careful when the woman in question is married: to excite the anger of her husband may have dire consequences. If you are caught in the act, who will blame the offended man for killing you? The right will ever remain on his side.

"An unfaithful wife is a thorn in the flesh; keep to your husband, never allow any other man to share your affections. No true Isneg will stand an adulteress: your husband will divorce you and you will have no recourse, your parents will be in duty bound to give back the price they received for you. Who will respect a woman who respects neither herself nor her husband? No excuse will save you from infamy. Your husband may be inclined occasionally to have

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the fact that I had used his daughter. Can you beat it?" Needless to say, the conversation was practically a soliloquy on the part of the policeman. I do not believe though that his action was consonant with the Isneg code of morals; but this incident, and especially the answer of the girl's father, shows clearly how different is the state of man and woman among the Isneg, with reference to sex morality.

It should be added here that the father would probably have objected much more strongly to the man who took such liberties with his daughter, if he had not been a policeman. The latter are supposed to be more or less immune and may take liberties not accorded to others, probably on account of their position. Isneg in general resent that: I have heard them say so more than once; but they are afraid to object too strongly, and so policemen mostly do what they like: their reputation is far from clean all over the district, although I do not believe that they are all equally blamable. Later on I heard that, at the time of the above occurrence, the policeman had intended to make the girl his second wife, an engagement which had been broken off at a subsequent date.

It may be noted in this connection that among the Isneg a man, whether single or married, who commits adultery with a married woman (*manalúdag*) is thought to be driven to his crime by some evil spirit. In such a case his guilt would be considerably lessened in our point of view; not so, however, in that of the Isneg: in his eyes, it is only the ultimate act that counts, as has been stated before.

"A fit of anger usually makes a man ridiculous in the eyes of the bystanders. It is true that when there is question of a rightful quarrel, you should never fail to sustain it; to be meek and patient under the circumstances would be mere cowardice. Nevertheless everybody is inclined to laugh at the behavior of an angry man: so, although you be strictly in your right, try to control your anger sufficiently not to cause others to laugh at you.

"You know our belief with reference to people who are wont to laugh at the defects of other persons (*magdóla*): if such people are married, they will be punished by having their children suffer the same defect; if they are still young, the children who will be born to them in the future will be misshapen (*pákań*).

"A certain amount of *básı* is not to be despised, but drinking to excess is always bad. Who respects a drunken man? Besides, think about the consequences: quarrels, fights, bloodshed, revenges, etc. As soon as you feel that you have enough, go away and sleep it off, lest

women around, while the men are in bathing and swimming together, they keep thir private parts covered with one hand while they are out of the water.

Community spirit in a *barangay* is strong. They have common interests and often work together in exchange of labor, *pinta*. When one builds a house all the neighbors come and help, making a party of it.

Each *barangay* is surrounded by a heavy bamboo picket stockade. The bamboos are filled with small stones so they can not be easily cut away. A *barangay* has all the other *barangays* as enemies; but a peace-pact, *budong*, is often made between two of them. Peace-pact holders are appointed and held personally responsible that it is not broken. Each *barangay* is held accountable for the acts of any of its members. Then they are allies, helping each other in warfare and being mutually responsible for each other's property and personal safety. There is danger of forays at anytime from other barangays. So war is always imminent. There maybe old feuds to be settled and deaths to be avenged. This is augmented by the fact that each warrior must take at least one head to establish himself, both in society and in the heart of the girl whom he desires.

HEAD HUNTING

When the demand either for revenge or for heads becomes strong, the *maingel* gives the order for a head hunting expedition to the enemy *barangay* selected. He will probably be the leader of the expedition. The warriors who are to go, prepare their weapons: shields, spears, and a special *aliwa*, which has the point on the cutting edge drawn out to make it more effective.

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her consent would be utter recklessness or, rather, out of the question: you would never escape unscathed from the place of your crime. For the rest be careful; even if the girl consents, always remember what pregnancy brings in its wake; so the surest way is to keep oneself free from such entanglements. 836 577 684

"Girls should never be very familiar with young men. Boys will tempt you with fine words and beautiful promises, they will bring you clothes and trinkets as gifts, but beware. Never give yourself over to any boy at night, never allow him to touch you indecently when he comes to talk to you in the evening. Do not even allow him to finger your breasts: all this is dangerous play. Just think what it would mean to have a child before marriage; would that not be an eternal shame? And just imagine the scolding you would get from your parents, the turmoil in which the whole settlement would be thrown, and the difficulty you would encounter from now on in looking for a husband. You are allowed to marry young, so let everything take its usual course. Boys will aways be boys; besides they are men, and so they are allowed a certain freedom; but you are a girl, you are a woman, and in your case nothing is allowed. An Isneg girl should never be a flirt. The boys will try to play with you; it is not for you to allow them to do so. Always show your resentment, when they have touched you the wrong way or been otherwise too familiar with you" [431]

To touch a girl's breasts is *magkabbál* in Isneg, and it is said only of men. The existence of a special term like that serves to show that this must be something like a favorite sport among the Isneg. The following anecdote will help to prove the truth of that statement. On a certain occasion an Isneg boy was explaining to me a native term whose meaning was "purpose, intention", and as he could hardly do so without illustrating it by an example, he told me what follows: "Suppose you touch a girl's breasts and she is angry at you, then you say: 'I did not do it intentionally' ", and here he used the term in question. 836 673 684 672

Chastity is certainly very strictly imposed upon unmarried people, or rather upon people who are not yet engaged, but from the Isneg point of view and with reference to young men, it should rather be defined: not to do anything that might render a girl pregnant. Not that the Isneg know any contraceptive measures, but that the pregnancy of a girl is considered as the thing to be avoided, not fornication as such. Both are very nearly related to one another of [842]

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836 course, and the distinction seems rather to be theoretical than prac-
673 tical; nevertheless that is what is going on in the Isneg mind as far
684 as I understand it. To them purpose and intention mean very little,
672 as will be shown again very soon when I shall refer to killing as a crime: what counts is the result. If a boy chances to sleep with a girl without rendering her pregnant, the Isneg may perhaps not see anything very wrong in the whole affair, but woe to him if fate is against him.

836 Nevertheless with reference to young women, the code is much
684 stricter, although the boy will suffer a much harder immediate punishment for his delinquency than will the girl. A girl should never think of doing anything in that line; a boy might perhaps be inclined to do it, but he should know the consequences, if the result is what it should not be.

834 I have described in my introduction to this paper how certain
626 Isneg parents refused to send their girls to school on account of the notoriously immoral conduct of their teacher, and here is what we read in a little manual of instructions for soldiers of the Philippine Constabulary: "No Isneg woman should be joked with or touched by anyone. Christian cargadores or servants should be cautioned about this, as serious trouble may result".[2]

836 Once I heard a boy of some twelve years old, who was working for
533 wages here at Kabugaw, improvise a little song, probably in order to render the work less heavy and to relieve his tiredness. The song was not what you would call a religious one, but it served to show very nicely the ideas current among these people, and at the same time it proved that even the Isneg understood the meaning of what is called an "occasion of sin" (in this case: the sin of impregnating a girl). I may be permitted to write the song down exactly as I heard it: "Do not approach my vulva, I do not want you to have sexual intercourse with me, I am afraid of becoming pregnant: so say the women".

836 A boy who has made a girl pregnant has to marry her; if he refuses,
684 the raids just referred to take place without exception, and the family of the boy loses everything. The same happens when a married man commits adultery with a girl and impregnates her; in his case of course there is rarely question of marriage, and the raids take place almost without exception. Formerly the boy must have been for-

[113]

[2] Camp John Hay Guide Book. A Trip to Ifugao and Bontoc. By Captain Harrington W. Cochran, Coast Artillery Corps, 1923, p. 28.

634 women around, while the men are in bathing and swimming together, they keep thir private parts covered with one hand while they are out of the water.

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648 *gay* has all the other *barangays* as enemies; but a
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HEAD HUNTING

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000 in these jars, together with the beads. The[1] jars are
523 valued up to ₱200 and bead up to ₱150 each. They
[436] are usually inherited in the family as marriage dow-
[431] ries; but may be received as indemnity for injuries.
[425] Sometimes labels, in the ancient script, are chiseled
[589] on these jars. According to authorities, when the
[681] people came here, they had a high culture and read
212 and wrote fluently in the script; but this culture grad-
178 ually lessened from disuse until now there are only
523 a few treasured ancient manuscripts remaining.

415 One type of basket is used. The lip is circuar-
285 formed on rattan. The bottom is drawn out to four corners on which is secured a rattan base. Both wicker and twilled basket weaves are used, and the best ones are ornamented with colored lines and conventional designs. These baskets are woven in different sizes to fit various needs; so that a good housewife has a whole set of them which will nest together There are also some especially shaped baskets for particular uses.

415 At meal time the cooked rice is ladled out on new
264 banana leaves placed on the floor, and the other food may be placed in polished, half-coconut shells. These are also used as water cups, finger bowls, and general containers. The family squat around and help themselves to the food. Their fingers are washed and, being more convenient, are used in place of forks.

262 The rice has a pinkish hue, is sticky, has a good flavor, and is the basic food of the people. With this may be eaten portions of the flesh of fish, shrimp, snails, crabs, crocodiles, lizards, frogs, ants, chickens,
000 birds, or deer. The vegetables may be: tomatoes, egg-

[1] [ancient Chinese -- ANALYST]

226 Sometimes the fish are poisoned with tobacco
[824] or the juice derived from the berries of the *tuba* bush. Also several types of fish traps are used.

224 Deer and wild pigs are hunted with dogs. Wild pigs are also trapped in their runways. The meat thus obtained is divided with fellow hunters and among neighbors. The hunting technique is quite communistic.

SOCIETY

621 The government of the Apayaos is simple. In
622 each family the man rules supreme and orders his wo-
[595] man what to do. This is the unit.

[361] A group of from 15 to 30 families build their houses near each other, *babalay*, being joined together for mutual aid and protection under one head man,
[157] *maingel*, who holds his position because he is the na-
[554] tural leader, is wealthy, and is the stongest and fiercest
622 warrior. The *maingel* wears a red turban on his head
624 and his arms are tattooed to the shoulders. He is absolute ruler; but has several advisory assistants, *pangmarwan*, who likewise have won their position through ability. The next best man to the *maingel*, is his number one assistant and so on. The common man may advise a *pangmarwan*. Upon the death of the *maingel* the number one *pangmarwan* takes his place.
627 The *maingel* and *pangmarwans* sit as a court to judge
692 any one who has broken the common law. Disputes between individuals are settled by intermediary peace
681 makers. It is notable that the fines are not paid to the government, but to the injured party, who receives the suitable indemnity. This may be in the form of jars, beads, animals, and other valuables.

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factor should never remain unpunished, even though he be of your own kindred; although in the latter case the sacking of his house and properties will usually be sufficient, without having to resort to bloodshed; and then also there will necessarily be no solidarity, except perhaps in the case of his near relatives. An Isneg who allows an injury to pass unpunished has not the blood of the *méñal* (brave) flowing in his veins. Actually of course we cannot always take the law in our own hands, and so we have to resort to the tribunal of the Ibanag. Now you should never fail to do so, whenever there are no other means available for revenging yourself with impunity".

A couple of years ago, an Isneg from Tawit, whose father was supposed to have been killed at Ripang years ago, murdered a Ripang woman at Kabugaw, under the eyes of the constabulary, on the occasion of a garden day celebration. The murder occurred in the evening, when the woman,—who even then was still too young to have had any knowledge of the murder of the Tawit man's father except perhaps from hearsay, and who consequently could not have had the least participation in it,—was sitting as a guest in the house of one of her people, a policeman, who at the time resided at Kabugaw. She was leaning with her back against the wall of the house, when the Tawit man, who stood outside in the dark, pushed a sharpened bamboo rod through the interstices and pierced the woman's side, with the inevitable result that the victim died after a few hours.

Not so long ago our friend *Kadáw* of Lettuakan, who had been badly injured by *Kinagúrān* of Talifugu in the heroic times now seemingly gone forever, one of his hands having been almost totally disabled, came to pay me a visit. He had a few eatables for sale and wanted to get a comparatively large share of the white man's money. At a certain moment our conversation ran in the following vein:

I: *Kinagúrān* is your friend, is he not?

Kadáw: Yes, indeed, we are good friends now.

I: But suppose the soldiers would leave the district.

I had barely finished my sentence when the old headhunter sprang up, his face beaming, his eyes radiant with a fiendish joy, and, swinging his arms, his hands fingering invisible weapons, he exclaimed: "Oh, then you would see some fighting indeed".

"Never pick a quarrel with a friend: such things should be avoided; but in case of somebody wanting to quarrel with you, go ahead. Nobody will keep his peace if he thinks he is right. Would it not be utter cowardice to keep quiet and let the thing go by? No, shut the

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577 lawful revenge for a former injury: a traveler who passes your
609 village is a guest more than anything else, so show him the way with
683 truth and exactitude, whenever you are questioned about it. In a
574 word, be truthful, whenever you have no grave reason to act otherwise; and, with reference to your enemies and the Ibanag, deceit is usually lawful: only special circumstances might oblige you to stick to truth even in their case."

576 Isneg know little of what we understand by courtesy: they rarely
201 come out of their house, for instance, to show you the way. If you ask them for information, they usually give it to you, truthfully indeed, but without taking the trouble to appear and show the direction by gestures, which would ordinarily be much clearer, at least to a complete stranger, than mere oral indications. Under this respect a Negrito is generally much more correct, at least according to our own point of view.

Now let us consider a few vices and crimes more in particular.

682 "Never kill or wound a friend: this is a crime that calls for venge-
577 ance. Perhaps he was far from right in sustaining the quarrel, but you inevitably put yourself in the wrong by resorting to bloodshed. A homicide or any kind of severe wounding among friends brings in its wake at least the customary looting of the house of the culprit. So beware, control yourself in time, before it is too late to repent. When you are engaged in some dangerous business,—for instance, when hunting,—always be prudent and see that no harm befalls any person. Death by violence is a terrible thing; bloodshed is never allowed among people who are not at enmity with one another".

672 Two examples will show very clearly how little the Isneg care about intention or purpose; the result of your act is the only thing they consider: if you killed a person, it is wholly immaterial whether you did it intentionally or not, whether it was premeditated or done by accident, whether you could have prevented it or not, whether there was culpable negligence on your part or not.

682 Last year an Isneg soldier from Musimut went to hunt at night
672 with some friends and relatives. He handed his gun to one of his kinsmen living at Nagbabalayan, gave him the necessary instructions, and then went the other way to drive the game in the direction of the man with the gun. When the latter fired at the deer that ran toward him, he killed the soldier instead: the poor fellow must have lost all sense of direction or forgotten about the place where he left his gun; anyhow he died after a few moments. No sooner was the

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deed done but the relatives of the dead soldier mustered together, went to Nagbabalayan, entered the house of the poor involuntary killer and rifled whatever they found of value.

A few months ago at Nagilian (municipal district of Namaltugan), a man ascended a coconut tree in order to gather a few nuts. Unfortunately, while he was dropping them on the ground, a child came running along and received the thump of one of the huge nuts on its head: the child fell down of course and lay unconscious. So soon as the parents and relatives heard about the whole affair, all head-axes were unsheathed, and terrible things might have happened, if the sanitary inspector, who was present at the time, had not assured the people that the child would live.

According to the Christian code, God rewards or punishes thoughts as well as deeds. Ordinary human justice does not bother about mere intentions that are not followed by deeds, but it recognizes the act of a man as a human act; it distinguishes an act done intentionally from one done involuntarily, it differentiates between culpable negligence and unavoidable accident. The Isneg code knows no such distinctions: an act is an act; the result is the only thing taken into consideration. The Isneg language has terms for "doing purposely, intention", and so on; but in practice the fact that something was done unintentionally makes little difference: it is not the guilt of a person that is considered, but only the result of his act.

"Adultery is a shameful crime, especially in women. An Isneg man should content himself with the wife or wives who have been paid for: avoid mixing with other women, such habits bring only woe in their wake. Take care never to make a young girl pregnant; whether the person who commits such a mistake be a married man or a young unmarried man, the result is the same, so I have not to insist upon the matter. Be not less careful when the woman in question is married: to excite the anger of her husband may have dire consequences. If you are caught in the act, who will blame the offended man for killing you? The right will ever remain on his side.

"An unfaithful wife is a thorn in the flesh; keep to your husband, never allow any other man to share your affections. No true Isneg will stand an adulteress: your husband will divorce you and you will have no recourse, your parents will be in duty bound to give back the price they received for you. Who will respect a woman who respects neither herself nor her husband? No excuse will save you from infamy. Your husband m be inclined occasionally to have

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763 In general, it is said of a person who dies without anybody being aware of it (*maániaw*), whether by drowning or otherwise, that some part of his body will invariably appear in his house, and that the said part will tell the relatives the name of the deceased and the news of his death.

761 754 Death by cursing is also to be classified under the same heading. Indeed the Isneg never call it by the term *merânud*, and the kidneys of a person who dies on that account, are supposed to have been devoured as usual. Consequently it seems that, according to the Isneg viewpoint, the curse is not so much the immediate cause of death as a kind of summons to the spirits, by which they are invited to proceed to the stealing of a person's kidneys. To curse (*pakkawân;* past tense: *pinkawân;* from the stem *pakkáw*, "shouting") is done shouting, and in such a way as to cause the adversary to hear the curse pronounced against him. The result is instantaneous; the cursed person gradually becomes thinner and thinner, and finally dies. Nevertheless not all curses are intended to entail the death of a person. It may happen, for instance, if you are a thief, that people will pray that some part of your body become diseased or destroyed; in this case you will be *malbág*, and the person who cursed you is said to *manadál* (to destroy, to deteriorate).

761 753 To resume: the Isneg consider all deaths from disease (including suicide and death by cursing) to be caused by a kidney-eating spirit, while deaths by accident or by violence are considered as natural, there being at the same time a kind of connection between death and the object or person that took part in it, either because this object or person constitutes a kind of mediate (the coconut tree from which a person falls) or immediate cause (the authorities who execute a culprit, a headhunter who kills an enemy), or because it is the final cause, *causa finalis* (God, in the case of a martyr; one's country, in the case of a patriot). All deaths by accident or by violence, except felonious homicide, come under the denomination *merânud*. [682]

B. BURIAL AND MOURNING

1. Death till Burial

763 755 Let us now enter the house of a dying Isneg. The poor man is very sick, it has even been rumored about that he is actually very near death, that he can hardly articulate a sound (*mangassát*). The *dorarákit* or shamaness has used all means in her power to avert the

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have happened in the glorious times before the arrival of the soldiery. They quickly retorted that it would have been a case of killing the thief without more ado, from which of course an interminable series of blood feuds would have ensued. I then asked them what they thought the best way to settle such differences, the old or the new one. Both agreed that the actual way of deciding the matter was far superior to the other one. Then, I said this, seemingly as an afterthought: "But among us, to tell the truth, the old days were happy ones, weren't they?" "Of course they were", both exclaimed at once, "see how things would have been done formerly", and both of them picked up a shield and a headax, and started a mock fight. They were so enthusiastic about it that we, the onlookers, had to make room for our two warriors, in order to escape getting a cut from the axes they were brandishing: the old Isneg spirit was seen to have been revived at once; and this was merely for show, there was nothing serious about it of course.

"Truthfulness is a virtue that an Isneg should never lack. You will never amount to anything if you are known as a liar; people will always distrust you. Is there anything more shameful than being known as a man whose word can never be relied upon? Especially when talking about a third person, beware of being a slanderer: this would lead to quarrels, and quarrels would lead to blows or worse, and you would be in the wrong all the time. A little lie in order to make mirth and bring joy to the company, never mind; but be careful to truthfully inform anybody who might take the thing seriously, lest harmful consequences follow. It is perfectly right of course to save yourself or your friend from a bad predicament, even through lying, if that is the surest way; but for the rest cling to truth, and you will be respected all your life. You know very well how much you would resent being told to your face: "*Busidmo* (you lie)"; so never give anybody an occasion to throw such an insult at your head. With your enemies of course, and especially with the Ibanag, it is different, you may do anything to them; and they know very well that they cannot rely upon you. Why should you have any duties toward these people? They have no rights among us, not even that of being told the truth. A friendly Ibanag may be helped, no doubt about that, but then it will be done, not because you are obliged to tell him the truth, but because you want to be faithful to a friend. Do not mislead a wayfarer though, except in case you have the intention of securing his head or taking some

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lawful revenge for a former injury: a traveler who passes your village is a guest more than anything else, so show him the way with truth and exactitude, whenever you are questioned about it. In a word, be truthful, whenever you have no grave reason to act otherwise; and, with reference to your enemies and the Ibanag, deceit is usually lawful: only special circumstances might oblige you to stick to truth even in their case."

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Two examples will show very clearly how little the Isneg care about intention or purpose; the result of your act is the only thing they consider: if you killed a person, it is wholly immaterial whether you did it intentionally or not, whether it was premeditated or done by accident, whether you could have prevented it or not, whether there was culpable negligence on your part or not.

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The Common Law enjoins that man must not: steal, tell false stories of others, court the wife of another, nor make trouble at a feast. It further enjoins that a man must respect the rights of individuals, give food to visitors, give aid to neighbors, and that parents shall teach children the old customs and legends, as well as correct them in order that they may grow up properly.

The Apayaos have a very complete system of social etiquette which might be characteristic of a high culture. It displays a nice sense of fitness and an innate kindliness of nature. Hispitable customs make the visitor's stay a happy one. There is even no embarrassing sense of indebtedness for gifts of service or materials to be expressed: for the people have no word meaning "thank you" in their dialect. When one goes on a journey, there is no word meaning "good-bye": no sad word of farewell. One just walks away as if he were going down to the river to take a bath. When he returns, even after a long absence there is no word of greeting. He is treated just as if he had only come back from taking his bath. As a matter of fact he may have; for it is the custom to take a bath in the last river crossed before reaching home.

The people keep their houses and surrounding grounds clean and neat. Clothing is kept washed, and daily baths in the river are taken. The bark of the *taplet* tree is used for cleansing purpose.

The Apayaos are remarkedly modest about their persons. A woman must not allow her legs to spread when squatting to a sitting position nor allow her tapis to go above her knees. Even when there are no

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577 834 291 particular, although it would certainly be utterly immodest for any grown-up woman purposelessly to take off her tapis completely, even though seen only from behind; and going around half-naked is not to be recommended, even to a married woman, when in the presence of outsiders."

In 1927, while on my way to Karagawan, I followed the course of the river which I had to cross at every turn; so my Isneg carrier took off his G-string at the first crossing and did not put it on again, except on a certain occasion, when we were approaching a house. "Wait a moment", he said, "I shall put on my G-string, as who knows but there may be some women at home there espying me".

At the teachers' house I had a talk with the mother of one of the Iloko teachers, and, in the course of the conversation, she related to me how astonished the Isneg women of that place had been, when she had told them that she wore no G-string. "But suppose your saya came off, would not your genitalia be exposed to view?" they had exclaimed, with horror painted all over their faces. The Isneg have a special qualifying term for an Isneg woman who wears no G-string: she is called *pańńáw*.

577 834 291 177 Several years ago, there came an order, I believe from the Bureau of Education, that all school children should pass a physical examination before the physician of the district; but very soon the order had to be revoked, as otherwise it was feared that an uprising would occur among our Mountain people. The Isneg in particular could find no plausible reason for any man causing a girl to take off her garments in his presence.

836 577 684 "All Isneg boys should be careful not to render a girl pregnant: this is one of the delinquencies that are abhorred more than anything else among the Isneg. You may be inclined to sow your wild oats; that is but natural, but here you have to look out. You should never under any pretext impregnate a girl whom you could not marry afterwards, and even though you could make her your wife, it would still be a dangerous thing to do; suppose some obstacle comes in the way, you know the consequences; you know very well that the relatives of the offended girl will get the *adát*: they will raid your house and carry away your precious jars, your beads and all that is valuable. There is no mercy for a boy who has committed a crime like that; so do not be rash: fornication is a dangerous thing. When you go to court the girls (*mamabáy*) in the evening, use love charms and try to win the girl you love; to force her against

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her consent would be utter recklessness or, rather, out of the question: you would never escape unscathed from the place of your crime. For the rest be careful; even if the girl consents, always remember what pregnancy brings in its wake; so the surest way is to keep oneself free from such entanglements.

"Girls should never be very familiar with young men. Boys will tempt you with fine words and beautiful promises, they will bring you clothes and trinkets as gifts, but beware. Never give yourself over to any boy at night, never allow him to touch you indecently when he comes to talk to you in the evening. Do not even allow him to finger your breasts: all this is dangerous play. Just think what it would mean to have a child before marriage; would that not be an eternal shame? And just imagine the scolding you would get from your parents, the turmoil in which the whole settlement would be thrown, and the difficulty you would encounter from now on in looking for a husband. You are allowed to marry young, so let everything take its usual course. Boys will aways be boys; besides they are men, and so they are allowed a certain freedom; but you are a girl, you are a woman, and in your case nothing is allowed. An Isneg girl should never be a flirt. The boys will try to play with you; it is not for you to allow them to do so. Always show your resentment, when they have touched you the wrong way or been otherwise too familiar with you"

To touch a girl's breasts is *magkabbál* in Isneg, and it is said only of men. The existence of a special term like that serves to show that this must be something like a favorite sport among the Isneg. The following anecdote will help to prove the truth of that statement. On a certain occasion an Isneg boy was explaining to me a native term whose meaning was "purpose, intention", and, as he could hardly do so without illustrating it by an example, he told me what follows: "Suppose you touch a girl's breasts and she is angry at you, then you say: 'I did not do it intentionally' ", and here he used the term in question.

Chastity is certainly very strictly imposed upon unmarried people, or rather upon people who are not yet engaged, but from the Isneg point of view and with reference to young men, it should rather be defined: not to do anything that might render a girl pregnant. Not that the Isneg know any contraceptive measures, but that the pregnancy of a girl is considered as the thing to be avoided, not fornication as such. Both are very nearly related to one another of

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836 673 684 672 course, and the distinction seems rather to be theoretical than practical: nevertheless that is what is going on in the Isneg mind as far as I understand it. To them purpose and intention mean very little, as will be shown again very soon when I shall refer to killing as a crime: what counts is the result. If a boy chances to sleep with a girl without rendering her pregnant, the Isneg may perhaps not see anything very wrong in the whole affair, but woe to him if fate is against him.

836 684 Nevertheless with reference to young women, the code is much stricter, although the boy will suffer a much harder immediate punishment for his delinquency than will the girl. A girl should never think of doing anything in that line; a boy might perhaps be inclined to do it, but he should know the consequences, if the result is what it should not be.

834 626 I have described in my introduction to this paper how certain Isneg parents refused to send their girls to school on account of the notoriously immoral conduct of their teacher, and here is what we read in a little manual of instructions for soldiers of the Philippine Constabulary: "No Isneg woman should be joked with or touched by anyone. Christian cargadores or servants should be cautioned about this, as serious trouble may result".[1]

836 533 Once I heard a boy of some twelve years old, who was working for wages here at Kabugaw, improvise a little song, probably in order to render the work less heavy and to relieve his tiredness. The song was not what you would call a religious one, but it served to show very nicely the ideas current among these people, and at the same time it proved that even the Isneg understood the meaning of what is called an "occasion of sin" (in this case: the sin of impregnating a girl). I may be permitted to write the song down exactly as I heard it: "Do not approach my vulva, I do not want you to have sexual intercourse with me, I am afraid of becoming pregnant: so say the women".

836 684 A boy who has made a girl pregnant has to marry her; if he refuses, the raids just referred to take place without exception, and the family of the boy loses everything. The same happens when a married man commits adultery with a girl and impregnates her; in his case of course there is rarely question of marriage, and the raids take place almost without exception. Formerly the boy must have been for-

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[1] Camp John Hay Guide Book. A Trip to Ifugao and Bontoc. By Captain Harrington W. Cochran, Coast Artillery Corps, 1923, p. 28.

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tunate if it stopped at that, as the whole affair usually became a *casus belli*.

This whole state of affairs tends very much to make one believe that solitary vice is considered as lawful and not at all forbidden to young men. One day while listening to a conversation among Isneg boys, I heard them talk about flashlights, which at the time had a very great vogue and were very much sought after. The youngsters in question wanted such a light in order to find their way when going to have sexual intercourse with girls in the evening: this was literally what they said. But would they really dare do it so often as they seemed to imply? In many cases would it not be rather to indulge themselves in company with the girls, without always taking the risk of making them pregnant?

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On a similar occasion I saw a young man stretch himself out upon a heap of sand and mimick the conjugal act in the presence of several other young men who merely smiled at his behavior.

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Would it be possible for young men to live chastely on such a principle namely, that the only crime in that line is making a girl pregnant? And this seems to be the Isneg view about the matter. With girls, I repeat it, the code is much stricter: they are allowed nothing. They should conserve their body pure and undefiled, even from the mere contact of young men. It is true that the only punishment, in case of pregnancy, would be a severe scolding, but their conduct is censured whenever something untoward happens, and besides the ultimate result, that of being rejected as a prospective bride by any decent young man, must certainly serve as a powerful deterrent.

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"Honesty is an imperative virtue for every Isneg. Stealing should be loathed by all right-minded people. Never touch the property of others, do not take what does not belong to you. Why should you covet your neighbor's goods? Did you work in order to obtain them? Would you like others to rob you of the fruit of your labor? Another man's property should always be safe in your hands. Never allow anybody to suspect you of being dishonest; a thief is branded with an indelible mark that will make people distrust him at his mere approach. Never destroy the property of your neighbor; you have no right to do so: revenge would quickly follow your rash deed. If you find something that does not belong to you, give it back to the owner, it is still his, unless of course you know positively that it has been abandoned. Should the owner find his lost goods hidden in your

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deed done but the relatives of the dead soldier mustered together, went to Nagbabalayan, entered the house of the poor involuntary killer and rifled whatever they found of value.

A few months ago at Nagilian (municipal district of Namaltugan), a man ascended a coconut tree in order to gather a few nuts. Unfortunately, while he was dropping them on the ground, a child came running along and received the thump of one of the huge nuts on its head: the child fell down of course and lay unconscious. So soon as the parents and relatives heard about the whole affair, all head-axes were unsheathed, and terrible things might have happened, if the sanitary inspector, who was present at the time, had not assured the people that the child would live.

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According to the Christian code, God rewards or punishes thoughts as well as deeds. Ordinary human justice does not bother about mere intentions that are not followed by deeds, but it recognizes the act of a man as a human act, it distinguishes an act done intentionally from one done involuntarily, it differentiates between culpable negligence and unavoidable accident. The Isneg code knows no such distinctions: an act is an act; the result is the only thing taken into consideration. The Isneg language has terms for "doing purposely, intention", and so on; but in practice the fact that something was done unintentionally makes little difference: it is not the guilt of a person that is considered, but only the result of his act.

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"Adultery is a shameful crime, especially in women. An Isneg man should content himself with the wife or wives who have been paid for: avoid mixing with other women, such habits bring only woe in their wake. Take care never to make a young girl pregnant; whether the person who commits such a mistake be a married man or a young unmarried man, the result is the same, so I have not to insist upon the matter. Be not less careful when the woman in question is married: to excite the anger of her husband may have dire consequences. If you are caught in the act, who will blame the offended man for killing you? The right will ever remain on his side.

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"An unfaithful wife is a thorn in the flesh; keep to your husband, never allow any other man to share your affections. No true Isneg will stand an adulteress: your husband will divorce you and you will have no recourse, your parents will be in duty bound to give back the price they received for you. Who will respect a woman who respects neither herself nor her husband? No excuse will save you from infamy. Your husband may be inclined occasionally to have

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837 intercourse with other women, that is natural, although it is a dangerous affair; but remember that he is a man, and that you are a woman: between the two there is no possible comparison. A man may take many liberties, while a woman may take none. What are peccadilloes in a man, are crimes in a woman. Beware of deceitful men who would come to entice you away from your rightful owner. Take heed in time, since once the thing is done, there is no longer a remedy, and repentance is too late".

831 834 837 At my first visit to Nagbabalayan, a companion of mine wanted to take the picture of an Isneg woman who was pounding rice near her house. When he invited her to pose for him, she quickly demurred and added: "I am a married woman". She evidently misunderstood him, but the answer sufficiently proved what was her opinion about her responsibilities.

On a certain occasion my catechist, an Iloko Christian, went to light his cigar at that of a woman, who came smoking to the river, in order to draw water. Not knowing about his intentions, I was not able to warn him. Fortunately as he was my servant and a stranger at that, everything went on smoothly, although the woman at first strongly objected. The point was that she was married, and no Isneg is allowed to take such liberties with the wife of another man: in the eyes of an Isneg, acting that way means much more familiarity than an uninitiated person might suspect. This shows how strictly a married woman is hedged in, and how easily a man may be offended by an action that implies the smallest degree of familiarity with his wife.

836 831 562 661 554 On my second visit to Bayag, in July 1929, I met there an Isneg policeman, who was an acquaintance of mine and who was a married man. On the day I was leaving Bayag, he also had to go to a neighboring settlement; so he accompanied me for a part of the road. Here I quote textually what he told me on that occasion, apparently indignant at the occurrence: "This morning I met with a strange case: a Bayag Isneg was scolding his daughter in my presence for having slept with me last night. I asked him if he objected to my using the girl, when she consented. He answered me he did not, of course, but he merely wanted to scold the girl; he said he had nothing against me, his intention was to teach his daughter decent manners. That was all right, of course, but why should he have done so while I was around and could hear him? He should have scolded the girl at a time I was out of earshot. Why! That fellow seemed to resent

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the fact that I had used his daughter. Can you beat it?" Needless to say, the conversation was practically a soliloquy on the part of the policeman. I do not believe though that his action was consonant with the Isneg code of morals; but this incident, and especially the answer of the girl's father, shows clearly how different is the state of man and woman among the Isneg, with reference to sex morality.

It should be added here that the father would probably have objected much more strongly to the man who took such liberties with his daughter, if he had not been a policeman. The latter are supposed to be more or less immune and may take liberties not accorded to others, probably on account of their position. Isneg in general resent that: I have heard them say so more than once; but they are afraid to object too strongly, and so policemen mostly do what they like: their reputation is far from clean all over the district, although I do not believe that they are all equally blamable. Later on I heard that, at the time of the above occurrence, the policeman had intended to make the girl his second wife, an engagement which had been broken off at a subsequent date.

It may be noted in this connection that among the Isneg a man, whether single or married, who commits adultery with a married woman (*manalâdag*) is thought to be driven to his crime by some evil spirit. In such a case his guilt would be considerably lessened in our point of view; not so, however, in that of the Isneg: in his eyes, it is only the ultimate act that counts, as has been stated before.

"A fit of anger usually makes a man ridiculous in the eyes of the bystanders. It is true that when there is question of a rightful quarrel, you should never fail to sustain it; to be meek and patient under the circumstances would be mere cowardice. Nevertheless everybody is inclined to laugh at the behavior of an angry man: so, although you be strictly in your right, try to control your anger sufficiently not to cause others to laugh at you.

"You know our belief with reference to people who are wont to laugh at the defects of other persons (*magdóla*): if such people are married, they will be punished by having their children suffer the same defect; if they are still young, the children who will be born to them in the future will be misshapen (*pákań*).

"A certain amount of *bási* is not to be despised, but drinking to excess is always bad. Who respects a drunken man? Besides, think about the consequences: quarrels, fights, bloodshed, revenges, etc. As soon as you feel that you have enough, go away and sleep it off, lest

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one, the two first-mentioned children will receive each one fourth, and the other four each one eighth of the inheritance.

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In case of divorce we have to consider two eventualities:

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1. All children are married. In this case, which is almost purely theoretic, as Isneg husbands and wives are not in the habit of obtaining a divorce so late in life, there is little to be said, as there is no more property to be divided.

2. Some children or all of them are still unmarried. Married children may be left out of consideration, as they will have received their share at the time of their marriage. Unmarried children inherit from the parent whom they followed, and not from the other one. Now little children always follow their mother, while grown-ups are free to throw in their lot with either of their parents.

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With reference to the division of property at the time of divorce, only belongings common to both husband and wife, as *tádug* and so on, come under consideration, as is clear from what has been previously stated. It should, however, be noted that, if *tádug* have already been received, which means that at least one of the daughters has married, a divorce is a comparatively rare occurrence among the Isneg. Anyhow only three eventualities are possible:

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1. Common property is divided between the two by mutual agreement; and this is not at all common among the Isneg;

2. The husband is the culprit, and the woman gets everything, except of course the man's personal belongings;

3. The woman is in fault, and the husband becomes the exclusive owner of everything that was possessed in common by both of them up to the time of divorce.

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In case a married couple has no children, and one of the two dies, the survivor inherits all common property. Personal belongings, however, go to the nearest relatives of the deceased: if the parents are still alive, they get the preference; if they are dead already, the inheritance goes to brothers and sisters, uncles and aunts, nephews and nieces, cousins, etc., mostly in the order named.

After the death of the surviving party, provided no second marriage took place, his or her whole inheritance goes to his or her nearest relatives, in the same order as mentioned above. If the survivor remarries, he or she may either have children or remain childless: in both cases nothing has to be added to the preceding treatment of Isneg law.

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587 Among the Isneg, widowers rarely remain in that state for any
888 length of time, and they never fail to find somebody to share their
887 home for the rest of their days. The same may be said in general
171 with reference to young widows. An elderly widow, on the contrary, is not always so anxious to contract again the bonds of matrimony, but she will not be the less respected for that. Among the Bontok Igorot, a miserable hut, much poorer even than their ordinary dwellings, is built apart from the rest for a childless old widow, and there she lives practically abandoned by everybody. Such things do not happen in the Isneg country: the old women never fail to find somebody who is willing to give them shelter; they are as much respected as anybody else, and if they happen to be shamanesses, even more than the rest. Divorced persons are in the same condition as widows and widowers as far as the question of remarriage is concerned.

765 Widows and widowers, or polygamous husbands who mourn the
587 death of one of their wives, are forbidden to remarry as long as they wear their mourning weeds, and it is only after the ceremony connected with their change of garments that they are again free in this respect.

3. *Divorce*

586 Much has been said already about questions related to divorce,
684 and I shall not repeat it here. The statement has also been made and the evidence therefor given that, among the Isneg, the absence of children is not a reason for divorce, while the contrary is true with almost all other natives of the Mountain Province, among whom the lack of children is the chief reason for permanent separation with subsequent freedom to marry somebody else.

Among the Isneg the general rule is that people marry and live together maritally until the end of their days; nevertheless divorce is far from being infrequent. The following are the most important reasons for dissolution of the marriage relation:

By the husband:

586 1. Adultery of the woman. Among the Isneg an unfaithful wife is
684 not readily forgiven, and a young husband rarely fails to watch his
837 wife if he has some solid ground for suspecting her fidelity.

586 2. Habitual laziness. At the time of his marriage, an Isneg man
684 is far from expecting to have to do most of the work himself, as the
461 division of labor is ruled by custom, and the share of the women is very considerable, as has been stated in the preceding pages. Be-

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sides, the most cogent social reason for an Isneg to enter the state of matrimony is an economic one, as recorded at the beginning of this chapter: he wants his wife to feed him and to relieve him of most all solicitude and anxiety with reference to his daily sustenance and that of his children. Now if he happens to be frustrated in his expectations, there is no reason why he should not turn his eyes elsewhere and try to make a better choice, abandoning his old love and embarking on a new matrimonial venture.

3. Lack of hospitality. This is another reason why an Isneg man may abandon his wife. He will not suffer the shame of having his house shunned by strangers because his partner does not show the customary courtesy to a guest. This certainly lays a strong curb upon the habitual crabbedness of many Isneg women, who are not renowned for sweetness of temper. Their irritability is understandable, however, as the habitual drudgery, which is their common lot, is far from conducive to softening of temper.

By the wife:

1. Adultery of the man. An Isneg husband is allowed much more freedom in this respect than his wife, but things may come to such a pass that even the most patient woman is unable to stand it. Besides, a certain incompatibility may have been present from the beginning, and then of course a husband's mistakes, which under ordinary circumstances are regarded as petty faults, may become a sufficient reason for breaking the tie altogether.

2. Habitual laziness. An Isneg wife rarely expects too much with reference to her husband's activity. But if he regularly fails to comply with the few duties that fall to his share, and does not give his wife the necessary help without which she cannot reasonably comply with her own part of the work, then of course the easiest way for her is to try her luck elsewhere, or to wait for a better opportunity, in the meantime leaving her former husband to his own devices.

Needless to say, divorce happens much more often in the case of couples who have been forced into matrimony by their parents, than in that of young people who have arranged everything on their own initiative.

Again divorce rarely happens late in life, when husband and wife have been living together for many years, and have perhaps married not a few of their children. Indeed, a woman who has proved faith-

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586 ful for many years, rarely becomes an adulteress in her old age, and, on the other hand, a young wife is much more jealous of the exclusive love of her husband than an older one; and people who were industrious during the first years of their married life, rarely give their partner a reason for divorce on that score later in life, when several children may perhaps be helping them to lighten the burden. 586 With reference to lack of hospitality on the part of the woman, this 574 also will rarely be a reason for permanent separation after many years of cohabitation; because the woman does not as a rule change with years in her habitual politeness toward guests of the house, or, if she does, her husband will in all probability have become more lenient in that respect and forgive her more easily any breach of hospitality that may happen at a time when the former good reputation of the house will hardly be impaired by a little grumbling on the part of a woman advanced in years.

586 To separate (*maxadi*) is usually a very easy matter, as regards 684 husband and wife. A few hard words may occasionally accompany the ultimate breaking of the marriage tie, but in general both of them merely go their own way. The woman goes back to her parents and the husband stays where he is, or, in case the latter is still living at the house of his parents-in-law, he leaves and she stays; and there the matter rests as far as they are concerned. With reference to the children, the little ones follow the mother, and the others are free to do as they please: they may take sides with either their father or their mother according to their own wishes. If the *tádug*, or price paid for the bride, is to be returned to the parents of the groom, these have to look out for it by themselves, and to agree about the matter with the parents of their former daughter-in-law. The divorced couple had no hand in the whole affair at the time of their marriage, and they never obtained any advantages on that account, so why should they bother about it at this stage and enter into discussions which could bring them only trouble without the smallest prospect of any emolument?

Isneg law is very simple in this respect. If the husband is at fault, nothing is returned, and besides the culprit is often heavily fined (*xúsi* jars, beads, etc.) by the angered relatives of the girl. If the wife is the guilty party, everything has to be given back. But in practice it is sometimes very hard to decide whether the blame is or is not all on one side. Except in a few cases, as in that of flagrant adultery on the part of the woman and so on, everything may have

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taken its regular course, and the final crisis may have been reached before anybody was fully aware of it: small matters may have been combined into difficulties of huge proportions, disgust on both sides may have led to mistakes on both sides. And so it is usually not an easy matter to decide exactly what has to be done under the circumstances. Hence follow quarrels: the woman's people are loath to part with the *tádug* which, as a matter of course, they have come to consider as their own property, and the parents of the man are overanxious to get it back in order to use it for a future marriage that generally is very near in the offing, and lest they have to pay two *tádug* for one and the same boy.

This whole state of affairs is very well illustrated by what happened in the case of *Kadáw*, previously referred to (Publ. Cath. anthrop. conf., 3: 146). One of *Kadáw*'s sons divorced one of his three wives; the woman went home, married another man, left him again, and then married a third one, namely *Rukkadčú*, a Baliwanan married man. The *tádug* had been given back to *Kadáw*, except a certain number of jars, six if I remember well. Now *Kadáw*'s party claimed that everything had to be given back, because the woman was in fault: the fact of the woman's multitudinous marriages seemed indeed to lend some color to this. The other party, led by *Pa-rdy*, the municipal president of Tawit, claimed that the woman had been practically abandoned by her husband, who had failed to give her the customary attentions and to comply with his most elementary duties in her behalf: this was also the common rumor all over the district. The whole quarrel was settled by the authorities in favor of *Pa-rdy*, but the other party did not rest satisfied, and the whole affair culminated in the murder of the unfortunate *Rukkadčú* by old *Kadáw* himself. While in jail the latter swore to kill one of his sons, as soon as he got free, because they had shown that they had not the blood of the *mčúal* (brave) flowing in their veins: they had forced their old father to take revenge in their stead. Incidentally it should be noted that *Kadáw* himself did not show much valor in the whole affair: after a few words of friendly salutation between *Kadáw* and *Rukkadčú*, both of them had gone in the same direction in the usual Indian file, *Kadáw* walking behind. The latter had administered a vicious blow of his headax on the neck of his intended victim, and when *Rukkadčú* had turned to face him, he had struck him a second blow in the forehead, after which he had run as fast as he could.

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When *Rukkqdéń* ran homewards in order to fetch his gun, *Kadáw* again had followed him hoping to give him the coup de grâce, but when the latter had got hold of his gun, *Kadáw* had fled a second time and hid in the municipal building. *Rukkadéń* had shown at least that he was not a coward: although wounded to death he had faced his adversary and tried to kill him; he died a couple of hours later. The whole Isneg outfit of policemen and soldiers had not made a very brave stand either, as the last scene of the drama was enacted in the public square, and none of them dared approach old *Kadáw*, who had entrenched himself in the building just referred to and refused to lay down his headax reeking with blood. He finally surrendered at the summons of the lieutenant of the constabulary who threatened him with his revolver.

In concluding this account of marriage, the following Isneg expressions may be recorded:

Mañén: Menses.

Maxatáwa: To marry. Said of both men and women.

Maŋatáwa: To marry. Said only of men.

Makiatáwa: To marry. Said only of women.

Meatáwa: To be married. Said only of women.

Maŋadnwá: To live in bigamy. From the stem *dnwá*, "two", and the complex prefix *maña*, syncopated for *maŋ* and *ka*.

Maña-ló: To have three wives. From the syncopated stem *talló*, "three", and the complex prefix *maña*.

Dumaládag: To commit adultery, to be in love with another man. Said of married women.

Manaládag: To commit adultery with a married woman. Said of men, whether married or single.

Sumibná: To separate, to go and live in another house. This does not always and necessarily mean divorce; it may also mean that somebody stops living with a certain family in order to go and live somewhere else; for instance, a young married couple who have built themselves a new house, or who go to live in a house different from the one they have previously lived in, provided the latter was inhabited at the same time by another family, who continue to live there after their former companions went away.

The Common Law enjoins that man must not: 685
steal, tell false stories of others, court the wife of an- 683
other, nor make trouble at a feast. It further enjoins 684
that a man must respect the rights of individuals, 689
give food to visitors, give aid to neighbors, and that 867
parents shall teach children the old customs and legends, as well as correct them in order that they may grow up properly.

The Apayaos have a very complete system of so- 576
cial etiquette which might be characteristic of a high 192
culture. It displays a nice sense of fitness and an innate kindliness of nature. Hispitable customs make the visitor's stay a happy one. There is even no embarrassing sense of indebtedness for gifts of service or materials to be expressed: for the people have no word meaning "thank you" in their dialect. When one goes on a journey, there is no word meaning "goodbye": no sad word of farewell. One just walks away as if he were going down to the river to take a bath. When he returns, even after a long absence there is no word of greeting. He is treated just as if he had only come back from taking his bath. As a matter [515] of fact he may have; for it is the custom to take a bath in the last river crossed before reaching home.

The people keep their houses and surrounding 356
grounds clean and neat. Clothing is kept washed, 515
and daily baths in the river are taken. The bark of [824]
the *taplet* tree is used for cleansing purpose.

The Apayaos are remarkedly modest about their 516
persons. A woman must not allow her legs to spread 834
when squatting to a sitting position nor allow her tapis to go above her knees. Even when there are no 834

844 woman, making her delivery so hard that she will die. They are kept there until the woman is strong enough to go outdoors again.

846 As soon as she is able, the woman goes to the river to wash, accompanied by a male relative holding an *aliwa* on which is ginger. On the way he must always be in the rear, as the *aliwa* and ginger are guarding the woman from some *anito* which desires to cut off her head and cause her death. If the *anito* succeeds, she will die suddenly upon reaching home.

When they arrive home, the man places the ginger with the *pungan* and *igad* at the door. These are kept there until the woman is strong enough to go to work. During that time it is strictly prohibited that anyone outside of the family shall enter the house. It means death to do so. This strong taboo is observed until the woman says that she is ready to receive a visitor. The wife seldom leaves her home and work.

586 The marriage bond is permanent; but it may be
[461 broken by the man if he finds that his wife performs
684] very little farm labor. Even though they have children, he is entitled to divorce her upon giving her a
[587] small portion of the conjugal property. Both are
[584 then free to marry again. The woman must impli-
83] citly obey her husband and be absolutely true to him:
684 no little flirting with other men. If she is found guilty of any offence, her fine is heavy. If she commits adultery with another man, both should be killed: the man by the relatives of the wife, and the wife by the relatives of the husband. However, if there are extenuating circumstances and the death sentence is not imposed, both guilty parties are sentenced

to pay heavy indemnities to the relatives of the injured husband. When the husband is so inclined, he may take one or more wives, provided that he is wealthy enough to support them. However, the wife controls in marriage, her own inherited property.

When the husband dies, the woman retains only her clothing and returns to her relatives. All the property is divided equally among the children. If they are young, the man's relatives take and raise them, keeping the property in trust. Upon marriage each child receives his share.

RELIGION

The Apayao name for a god is "*anito.*" Now, it is hard for anyone to explain how all the "acts of God" are the activity of one single personality; as some "acts" are benevolent and others are malevolent. The Apayaos believe that different "acts" are the doings of differents *anitos*, some benevolent and others malevolent. Natural phenomena are explained as being the work of some *anito*. Each occurrence or activity of a person is governed by some certain *anito*. Therefore they may number up into the thousands. Thus one is constantly aware of his relations with the *anitos*, and the Apayao is very religious. For instance if he is setting a trap for wild pig in the forest, he will ask one *anito* to forgive him for trying to trap the pig; another *anito* to let the pig be guided into the trap; and another *anito* that the trap will spring and catch the pig.

Many *anitos* live in natural objects; but the most prominent ones dwlel in *Guynetban* in the sky. Each

THE PREGNANT WOMAN

000 *There were two brothers, Dinkoan and Linado-*lan; and two sisters, Dommaria and Lananan. While the two sisters were bathing in the river, it happened that they saw a burning bundle of rice. It was like puffed rice; so Lananan ate some. The burnt rice had been thrown into the river by Enoy, who was taking a bath above them in the river.

● 684 When the brothers found out that their sister
836 was pregnant, they were ashamed, and they decided
[152] to put her in the thick forest. So they took her to gather bark for G-strings. As Lananan gathered the bark of a tree for the G-string, it became cloth; but the bark which the brothers gathered remained bark. When they saw this, they became jealous and asked her for some cloth. She did not like to share the cloth; so all the rest became angry and ran away from her. She shouted and shouted; but no one answered her. She kept hunting for the way to go home; but could not find it. At night-fall she found a flat stone on which she slept.

789 After sleeping a few hours, she awoke and saw several fine houses nearby and there was a fire burning. When she looked further, she saw a number of granaries full of rice. She entered one of the houses and found a stick of sugar cane. She peeled it, cut it into pieces, threw them out the door, and prayed: "May each of these pieces become a pig." They did so. Thus Lananan become a rich woman.

000 Her brothers became very anxious to see her, as they missed her. They asked their cousins, Ewagan

THE PUNISHMENT OF AN ADULTEROUS COUPLE

837 A long time ago there was a man. His name was Manaboc and the name of his son was Laguesad. The son had a wife, Adud. Laguesad took Adud and went with a party to Sulsuna for trading purposes. One night on the way, at Alisit in Naguilian, one of the men of Alisit went and slept with Adud. He did this for several nights. Manoboc observed that they were together as he saw the smoke of their cigars. One day he went to the river and gathered many leaves which he dried thoroughly. Then that night he piled up the leaves in the house. When he saw the two together, he set the leaves afire. The flame blazed up and disclosed that the two were having intercourse. The man was frightened and ran away, leaving all his belongings, even his G-string.

684 Manaboc and his son agreed to kill the lover and Adud. They called all of the people of Alisit in Naguilian together for a feast. When all the people were in the house, Manaboc ordered his son to fasten shut all of the windows and throw a pot full of water on the fire so that the people in the house would start fighting in the darkness. The son did so, and Manaboc and his son went outside and closed the door. The people shut inside, became panicky and starter a fierce fight against each other. More than a hundred were thus killed. Adud, the adulterous wife of Laguesad, was killed because she was the cause of all the trouble.

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tunate if it stopped at that, as the whole affair usually became a *casus belli*.

This whole state of affairs tends very much to make one believe that solitary vice is considered as lawful and not at all forbidden to young men. One day while listening to a conversation among Isneg boys, I heard them talk about flashlights, which at the time had a very great vogue and were very much sought after. The youngsters in question wanted such a light in order to find their way when going to have sexual intercourse with girls in the evening: this was literally what they said. But would they really dare do it so often as they seemed to imply? In many cases would it not be rather to indulge themselves in company with the girls, without always taking the risk of making them pregnant?

[177
833]

On a similar occasion I saw a young man stretch himself out upon a heap of sand and mimick the conjugal act in the presence of several other young men who merely smiled at his behavior.

[834]

Would it be possible for young men to live chastely on such a principle namely, that the only crime in that line is making a girl pregnant? And this seems to be the Isneg view about the matter. With girls, I repeat it, the code is much stricter: they are allowed nothing. They should conserve their body pure and undefiled, even from the mere contact of young men. It is true that the only punishment, in case of pregnancy, would be a severe scolding, but their conduct is censured whenever something untoward happens, and besides the ultimate result, that of being rejected as a prospective bride by any decent young man, must certainly serve as a powerful deterrent.

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"Honesty is an imperative virtue for every Isneg. 'Stealing should be loathed by all right-minded people. Never touch the property of others, do not take what does not belong to you. Why should you covet your neighbor's goods? Did you work in order to obtain them? Would you like others to rob you of the fruit of your labor? Another man's property should always be safe in your hands. Never allow anybody to suspect you of being dishonest; a thief is branded with an indelible mark that will make people distrust him at his mere approach. Never destroy the property of your neighbor; you have no right to do so: revenge would quickly follow your rash deed. If you find something that does not belong to you, give it back to the owner, it is still his, unless of course you know positively that it has been abandoned. Should the owner find his lost goods hidden in your

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577 possession, he will rightfully suppose you to be a thief. Anything
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685 can lay hands upon it: so if you locate bees on a tree and see that the latter has been marked, leave them, they are not yours to take any more, the person who marked the tree will sooner or later come to claim
577 his property. Pay your debts faithfully, never forget about them.
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437 of course strictly respect them and keep away from their property.
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685 are just a sign of cleverness on your part, when the Ibanag are concerned. A good Isneg is strictly just with all his friends, with all the people of every village at peace with his own; enemies have no rights in the eyes of an Isneg, and the rights of the Ibanag are far from having the same sacredness as those of your own people".

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628 a few of his valuables, while he was away on a trading expedition into Ilocos. After much investigating and lying in wait near the
[694] house of the suspected thief, the owner had become convinced of the
177 latter's guilt, and immediately brought in a complaint, as the accused denied any participation in the theft. I met the plaintiff and his father, on their way to Kabugaw, in the municipal building of Namaltugan. Talking about the matter, I asked them what would

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848 183 178 177 vogue here now tends to retard marriage; but its introduction is still too recent and it is still too much the privilege of the few, to be able sensibly to affect the standard of morality among our Isneg.

837 183 184 As to conjugal fidelity, it may be said that an unfaithful wife is the exception among the Isneg; but with reference to the men, the situation is not so bright. Even polygyny is not always sufficient to put a curb to the husband's license: indeed only the rich can afford to take more than one wife, and these at the same time usually enjoy the greatest freedom on account of their wealth and social influence.

577 183 171 836 To sum up the situation, it may be said that open immorality and indecency is much less frequent among the Isneg than among several other Mountain tribes, but, although more or less well concealed, loose morals are rather the rule than the exception among young unmarried people, and among married people the state of affairs leaves much to be desired. "Doing that which may make a girl pregnant" is not what the Isneg abhors, but "making a girl actually pregnant".

577 183 685 858 867 With reference to honesty, the Isneg generally observes the rules laid down by his own code, and transgressions are rare. Isneg thieves are not at all common, and downright robbery, even from the Ibanag or the *idammán* (enemies of his own tribe), is a rare occurrence. This is true of children as well as of adults, although the former may occasionally try to pilfer fruits or other eatables, in which, nevertheless, they are never encouraged by their elders, who rarely fail to scold them and even to punish them.

577 867 158 183 811 Truthfulness also is quite ordinary among adult Isneg, but many youngsters need frequent correction on the subject. In this connection, however, we should bear in mind the existence of two inveterate habits not only among the Isneg, but also among the generality of Malays with whom I have come in contact. And first, whenever he is caught at something that might elicit from you even the smallest reprimand, he has always an excuse ready at the tip of his tongue, and any excuse will do, however preposterous it may be; he never reasons about it, the truth is not what he aims at, but the plain presentation of an excuse, be it real or imaginary. These people are certainly experts in that line.

577 158 183 811 Just to give a few examples. One day I was very much astonished to find that all my bananas had disappeared, although they were carefully stored away in a closed press, so I suspected, and not without reason, that one of my Isneg boys had found them to his taste. At the first occasion I bluntly asked the fellow what had happened to

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Some tobacco, or some of the ingredients used in the chewing of betel nut (betel nut, leaves of the betel pepper, and lime), according to the former habits of the deceased. 764

To these may be added:

A bottle of *básІ;*
One or more spears;
One or more shields;
Some coins;
Some favorite musical instrument of the deceased; etc.

One of the following objects is also usually present, and, in the case of a rich man, all of them:

A *saxabán* (string of beads worn around the head);
A string of beads (worn around the neck);
A *xúsi* jar containing some *básІ* (in which case there is no bottle of *básІ*).

Everything is placed inside the coffin, the *xúsi* excepted, which is buried in the hole especially dug for it.

These objects, even though some of them are very precious in the eyes of the Isneg, are never interfered with; they always remain where they are. The desecration of a grave by robbers or other malefactors is something unknown in Apayaw. 764 769 685

Sometimes it happens that an ill-intentioned person (never one of the relatives), probably moved by a desire for revenge, when unobserved, stealthily places some herbs in the coffin, alongside the body. He does this with the purpose of forcing the body to leave its abode at night in the shape of a *balańóbāń*, and to roam around playing havoc among the chickens of the neighbors. 764 754 775

Before the body is placed in the grave, the bottom of the latter is strewn with ashes, obtained by burning an *anańá*, which is a kind of raincoat made of palm leaves. This ceremony is supposed to serve a double purpose: the raincoat will render good service to the deceased in the other world, and the ashes will prevent the dead body, either from leaving its grave in the shape of a *balańóbāń* or ghost, or at least from frightening the neighbors.

Lest the *balańóbāń* scare the relatives of the deceased or the women of the neighborhood who daily repair to their work, the Isneg usually put some *takkág* vines inside the coffin, alongside the body. The *takkág* is a schizaeaceous fern (Lygodium sp.), which differs from 764 824

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other, nor make trouble at a feast. It further enjoins 684
that a man must respect the rights of individuals, 689
give food to visitors, give aid to neighbors, and that 867
parents shall teach children the old customs and legends, as well as correct them in order that they may grow up properly.

The Apayaos have a very complete system of so- 576
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culture. It displays a nice sense of fitness and an innate kindliness of nature. Hispitable customs make the visitor's stay a happy one. There is even no embarrassing sense of indebtedness for gifts of service or materials to be expressed: for the people have no word meaning "thank you" in their dialect. When one goes on a journey, there is no word meaning "goodbye": no sad word of farewell. One just walks away as if he were going down to the river to take a bath. When he returns, even after a long absence there is no word of greeting. He is treated just as if he had only come back from taking his bath. As a matter [515]
of fact he may have; for it is the custom to take a bath in the last river crossed before reaching home.

The people keep their houses and surrounding 356
grounds clean and neat. Clothing is kept washed, 515
and daily baths in the river are taken. The bark of [824]
the *taplet* tree is used for cleansing purpose.

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4. *Actual Moral Behavior*

And now I come to the consideration of Isneg practice as compared with theory. I always promise to be brief, but I rarely live up to my promises; so I shall see what I can do about it now.

The Isneg are far less fanatical in matters religious than, for instance, the Kankanay. Their religious practices are also comparatively few and far between, and the women usually play the most important rôle. A person who disobeys (*saúran*) any injunction of the shaman is not considered as being a traitor; he is mostly left to his own devices, although his disobedience is not exactly lauded as an act of virtue. Nevertheless not only the old women, but also the old men are usually very punctual in complying with all directions of the shaman and in observing whatever their religious convictions impose upon them. I purposely say "old" men and women, as among the younger generation, this respect for the heathen practices of their tribe seems to be on the wane. The influence of the schools which are supposed to be neutral, is a decided factor in this matter. The teachers, being Christians, have no sympathy with what they call the superstitions and ridiculous practices of the Isneg. Although perhaps they keep these sentiments to themselves during school hours, the sparseness of the population in a district where schoolboys and schoolgirls very often live far from the schoolhouse, forces many of the latter to remain in the immediate neighborhood of the teacher's house for five consecutive days every week, which necessarily allows the influence of the Christian schoolmaster to be very far-reaching.

Besides, Christians are entering Apayaw in large numbers every year, some to stay, others as transient guests. Since the country is practically pacified, nothing keeps them back any more, and so they also exert an undermining influence on all matters that relate to Isneg religion as such. This immigration coupled with Isneg temporary emigration, tends to teach the people the futility and even the error of their beliefs. Indeed an Isneg who enters the Iloko or Kagayan country, and stays there for a certain time, cannot fail to bring back a spirit of indifference with reference to his native religion.

It may be the place here to say a few words anent the relations of the Isneg with the Catholic missionary. In general it must be said that all over the Mountain Province the priest has usually met with the sympathy of the natives. During the Philippine Revolution against Spain, when Spanish friars were taken into custody by the

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Not only the absence of initiation ceremonies, but even that of any customs that might aim to teach or mold moral conduct, as dieting, fasting and so on, is a great drawback to the efficient training of Isneg youth. I repeat it, young people are taught to avoid hardship much more than to get inured to it, and this seemingly has much to do with keeping our Isneg in habitual indolence, and rendering them easily dejected at the smallest difficulty or the slightest pain.

Here now I shall enumerate the virtues and acts of virtue that are formally taught according to the Isneg moral code, and those that are less formally taught, and shall give a few supplementary details. It should be stated once for all that all, or almost all, training in this line is done directly; I mean that the Isneg rarely, if ever, use stories or fables in order to inculcate the principles that regulate moral conduct. Some of their tales might perhaps have such a very desirable effect, but the generality have not, and I really wonder if, even in the case of those that have a kind of moral attached to them, the Isneg really use them for the purpose of teaching right behavior. The tales seem to be much more a means of teaching the youngsters the traditions of the race, especially with reference to spirits and kindred subjects, and very often also they are simply a pastime for people who have few means of diversion and amusement.

The teaching of religious practices has been explained at length in a preceding paragraph, and here I have nothing to add on that subject. Headhunting as a duty has rarely been taught ex professo: all the traditions of the people and the paramount importance of this custom in the life of an Isneg tended formerly to impress it very strongly upon the mind of the child. Actually of course the taking of heads, which is fast disappearing, has no more the same appeal to the members of the younger generation; so this part of the Isneg moral code is bound to lapse sooner or later, provided the Government can keep the people in control for a sufficiently long period of time. This is what happened with the Ibaloy, among whom by this time headhunting is an unknown quantity, and with the Kankanay, among whom the same custom is almost completely rooted out.

Obedience and respect for their elders is very formally taught to the children, not only by father and mother, but also by other members of the older generation. Besides small boys and girls learn by practical experience the necessity of obeying and respecting their elders, as it is not a rare occurrence to see a whipping follow in the wake of a transgression of this most important duty of a child.

The Common Law enjoins that man must not: steal, tell false stories of others, court the wife of another, nor make trouble at a feast. It further enjoins that a man must respect the rights of individuals, give food to visitors, give aid to neighbors, and that parents shall teach children the old customs and legends, as well as correct them in order that they may grow up properly. 685 683 684 689 867

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226 Sometimes the fish are poisoned with tobacco
[824] or the juice derived from the berries of the *tuba* bush. Also several types of fish traps are used.

224 Deer and wild pigs are hunted with dogs. Wild pigs are also trapped in their runways. The meat thus obtained is divided with fellow hunters and among neighbors. The hunting technique is quite communistic.

SOCIETY

621 The government of the Apayaos is simple. In
622 each family the man rules supreme and orders his wo-
[595] man what to do. This is the unit.

[361] A group of from 15 to 30 families build their houses near each other, *babalay*, being joined together for mutual aid and protection under one head man,
[57] *maingel*, who holds his position because he is the na-
[554] tural leader, is wealthy, and is the stongest and fiercest
622 warrior. The *maingel* wears a red turban on his head
624 and his arms are tattooed to the shoulders. He is absolute ruler; but has several advisory assistants, *pangmarwan*, who likewise have won their position through ability. The next best man to the *maingel*, is his number one assistant and so on. The common man may advise a *pangmarwan*. Upon the death of the *maingel* the number one *pangmarwan* takes his place.
627 The *maingel* and *pangmarwans* sit as a court to judge
692 any one who has broken the common law. Disputes between individuals are settled by intermediary peace
681 makers. It is notable that the fines are not paid to the government, but to the injured party, who receives the suitable indemnity. This may be in the form of jars, beads, animals, and other valuables.

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taken its regular course, and the final crisis may have been reached before anybody was fully aware of it: small matters may have been combined into difficulties of huge proportions, disgust on both sides may have led to mistakes on both sides. And so it is usually not an easy matter to decide exactly what has to be done under the circumstances. Hence follow quarrels: the woman's people are loath to part with the *tádug* which, as a matter of course, they have come to consider as their own property, and the parents of the man are overanxious to get it back in order to use it for a future marriage that generally is very near in the offing, and lest they have to pay two *tádug* for one and the same boy.

This whole state of affairs is very well illustrated by what happened in the case of *Kadáw*, previously referred to (Publ. Cath. anthrop. conf., 3: 146). One of *Kadáw*'s sons divorced one of his three wives; the woman went home, married another man, left him again, and then married a third one, namely *Rukkadčń*, a Baliwanan married man. The *tádug* had been given back to *Kadáw*, except a certain number of jars, six if I remember well. Now *Kadáw*'s party claimed that everything had to be given back, because the woman was in fault: the fact of the woman's multitudinous marriages seemed indeed to lend some color to this. The other party, led by *Pa-rây*, the municipal president of Tawit, claimed that the woman had been practically abandoned by her husband, who had failed to give her the customary attentions and to comply with his most elementary duties in her behalf: this was also the common rumor all over the district. The whole quarrel was settled by the authorities in favor of *Pa-rây*, but the other party did not rest satisfied, and the whole affair culminated in the murder of the unfortunate *Rukkadčń* by old *Kadáw* himself. While in jail the latter swore to kill one of his sons, as soon as he got free, because they had shown that they had not the blood of the *mánal* (brave) flowing in their veins: they had forced their old father to take revenge in their stead. Incidentally it should be noted that *Kadáw* himself did not show much valor in the whole affair: after a few words of friendly salutation between *Kadáw* and *Rukkadčń*, both of them had gone in the same direction in the usual Indian file, *Kadáw* walking behind. The latter had administered a vicious blow of his headax on the neck of his intended victim, and when *Rukkadčń* had turned to face him, he had struck him a second blow in the forehead, after which he had run as fast as he could.

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When *Rukkadéń* ran homewards in order to fetch his gun, *Kadáw* again had followed him hoping to give him the coup de grâce, but when the latter had got hold of his gun, *Kadáw* had fled a second time and hid in the municipal building. *Rukkadéń* had shown at least that he was not a coward: although wounded to death he had faced his adversary and tried to kill him; he died a couple of hours later. The whole Isneg outfit of policemen and soldiers had not made a very brave stand either, as the last scene of the drama was enacted in the public square, and none of them dared approach old *Kadáw*, who had entrenched himself in the building just referred to and refused to lay down his headax reeking with blood. He finally surrendered at the summons of the lieutenant of the constabulary who threatened him with his revolver.

In concluding this account of marriage, the following Isneg expressions may be recorded:

Mańćn: Menses.

Maxatáwa: To marry. Said of both men and women.

Mańatáwa: To marry. Said only of men.

Makiatáwa: To marry. Said only of women.

Mcatáwa: To be married. Said only of women.

Mańaduwá: To live in bigamy. From the stem *duwá*, "two", and the complex prefix *mańa*, syncopated for *mań* and *ka*.

Mańa-ló: To have three wives. From the syncopated stem *talló*, "three", and the complex prefix *mańa*.

Dumaládag: To commit adultery, to be in love with another man. Said of married women.

Manaládag: To commit adultery with a married woman. Said of men, whether married or single.

Sumibuá: To separate, to go and live in another house. This does not always and necessarily mean divorce; it may also mean that somebody stops living with a certain family in order to go and live somewhere else; for instance, a young married couple who have built themselves a new house, or who go to live in a house different from the one they have previously lived in, provided the latter was inhabited at the same time by another family, who continue to live there after their former companions went away.

773 it struck the sky. The sky became frightened and
821 raised up, causing a great commotion, and the trees were torn out of the ground.

776 To the family of Hatan, I will add the names of
[771] some other *anitos*. The tendency is for them to lessen in scope, in number, and in interest (i.e.—toward monagony). First I will mention some good *anitos*.

776 *Kaybacan* is the guardian of the house. A feast,
577 *pildap*, is given to him upon completion of a new house.
342 Small spears are placed there in the house where he stays. Whenever there is meat, a small portion is placed on the spears. Otherwise the family will get
[704] sick. No eels, deer, or mud fish are brought into the house; for the *anito* dislikes their smell and would run away, leaving the family to sicken and die.

776 *Pilay* is the guardian of the farm. He lives in
241 the granary. If a stranger touches it, he becomes lame. A small feast, *pespes*, is given to him at the beginning of the harvest.

Ambungan is the guardian of the rice harvest. Before harvest one must mix some burnt rice with shredded coconut and eat it under a certain big tree
[821] where he is. If the owner does not do this, strong winds and rain will come and blow down the grain.

776 *Danag* is the guardian of the fishermen and hunters; while *Ayan* induces the wild pig to run into the trap; but *Siwasion* helps the wild pig and deer to avoid the hunters.

Daguan makes one strong to work, and *Manglanbang* is the guardian of the warrior; while *Panugatang* is the guide. *Sangasan* guards the entrance to the *barangay*.

105, 113, 131, 142, 157, 161, 177, 262, 291, 302, 304, 721, Apayao OA5

[For information on location, physical type, personality, population, acculturation, diet, clothing, toilet, tatooing and headhunting, see 58: Barton, OA1 Philippines, category 116, pp. 300-301.]

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181 supernatural for the time to come. Nature, however, is not theirs
771 to direct; they know this all too well, and so why bother about the
789 future. Besides, there will always be something to eat, there is no
152 winter in the tropics, vegetation is luxuriant, and the Isneg are not
777 particular. Nature is ruled by the supernatural, not by human beings. All the latter can do is to influence the supernatural. Man has no direct control over rain and sunshine, sickness and death, but the spirits have; and these have to be moved to pity or to be frightened into submission, as the case may be.

753 An Isneg will say: "What is the use of medicine? If it has been
181 decreed that a person will die, he will do so, medicines or no medi-
777 cines". But nevertheless he will comply with all possible prescrip-
152 tions of the shaman, and if the person dies notwithstanding all
771 precautions have been taken to protect him from the spirits, then: "It was his fate", and that ends the matter.

777 If the locusts are devastating the fields, an Isneg will resign himself
181 to his fate. He has worked diligently, he has observed all possible
152 omens and has broken no taboos; why should he worry, why should
731 he try to destroy these pests. The Government will force him to do
177 so of course, and he will obey as long as he remains under the eagle eye of his rulers, but he will say: "What is the use; if we destroy these, others will take their place, provided it be decreed that way: and if not, it is perfectly useless to tire ourselves for nothing".

777 Such and similar states of mind are not confined to the Isneg. I
181 remember very well how on a certain occasion, in 1914, I was assisting
152 an Iloko Christian on his deathbed. Wanting to impress upon him
771 the great necessity of a deep sorrow for his sins, I described to him
177 as vividly as possible the horrors of hell, and told him how anxious he
781 should be to avoid an eternity of such pains and torments; but his only answer was an act of absolute conformity to the Divine Will: "If God wants me to go to hell, I am perfectly willing". And that man was far from wanting to be disrespectful to the Deity; his words simply illustrated how little he cared about what the future had in store for him. Pagan Isneg lay the blame for every untoward happening, either merely on fate, or on the intervention of some ill-intentioned imp, while a happy turn of events is usually considered to be the result either of fate pure and simple, or of some special clever means by which the machinations of the spirits have been counteracted. Nowadays the Government, the Ibanag, as they call all Christians, has generally to bear the blame of any public calamity

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that may occur, as it is the ultimate cause of the anger of the spirits, who are deprived of their usual offerings through the abolition of headhunting.

But let us come back to our original purpose of describing the Isneg life cycle, and leave those digressions about fate and spirits for some other time. I shall first treat birth; second, education and home life; third, marriage; and fourth, death and burial.

I. Birth and Infancy

The birth of a child is as a matter of course a very important event, not only for the individual in question, but also for everybody concerned. Any addition to the household is hailed with delight by each and every member of the family, and children are considered as a very precious asset by all Isneg. Some five years ago, at the very beginning of my residence among the Isneg, while I was chatting one day with the justice of the peace of Kabugaw at the latter's house, an Isneg woman came to see him in order to ask him to allow her to divorce her husband. When the judge remonstrated and tried to convince her not to resort to such a drastic procedure, by describing its bad effects more especially on her own self, the woman merely replied that she could stand anything from now on, as during her short married life she had been given "gain" (she used the Spanish term *ganancia*); and when the judge asked her what kind of gain she meant, she merely showed him her child. While in the eyes of most persons a child would be an obstacle to the easy divorce of its parents, in the eyes of this Isneg mother, the child that had been given to her was considered as a treasure that would compensate all hardships incident on the separation from her husband.

A. Pregnancy and Gestation

In order to promote pregnancy, some married Isneg women buy what some of them call "medicine" either from the Christian Ilokо or from other married people among their own tribe. This "medicine" usually consists of one or more kinds of herbs which are the secret of the seller. The buyer carries them on her body, tying them to her girdle in front, either above the right thigh or above the left one. The *ciawanâ-*, a herb that grows on trees, is chewed by Isneg women for the same purpose.

A kind of small herb, called *âma-dâ*, is occasionally used by Isneg women in order to stop bearing children. Somebody goes to the

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577 771 portant and whenever it is customary to do so; in a word, you should lead a good religious life. Indeed what can you expect from a man who does not live according to his convictions, or rather to the convictions of the generality of his tribesmen? Do you think that the spirits will leave you at rest if you do not do what is necessary, either to propitiate them or to put them to flight? Do you think you will be fortunate in your enterprises if you fail to observe, either the usual signs that will prevent you from entering upon dangerous enterprises, or the taboos which custom has told you not to transgress? It would be considered as the acme of bad behavior to live as a freethinker in matters religious. You may say you do so to a stranger, you may appear not to believe our laws any more, when in the presence of an Ibanag,[2] otherwise he might laugh at you; but among us these things are very serious and they should be observed by all means. If you are a true Isneg, believe as an Isneg and practise your religion".

577 177 771 The Isneg, however, seem to be much less fanatical in matters religious than the Kankanay, the Bontok Igorot, and others. I have known Kankanay men to whip their Christian children for refusing to attend heathen sacrifices; such things would rarely, if ever, happen here. I shall come back to this again when comparing theory with practice.

577 829 721 "Headhunting is a glorious practice. If you are a real Isneg, you should take a few heads during your lifetime or at least help your companions in doing so. Never forego the occasion of participating in a raid planned by your friends, whether into the lowlands among Christian Iloko and Kagayan, or among Negritos, Kalinga and other Isneg at enmity with your people. If you have the opportunity to take the head of an enemy unawares, be it that of a woman or child, there you have a splendid occasion of becoming a *mĕñal*, a brave, without too much trouble and with very little danger. Not everybody has that chance, not everybody will become a brave, but you should at least try your very best to be one. What a glory

101 192 104 [2] Ibanag is the language of the Kagayan, but in an Isneg mouth the term means "anybody who is not an Isneg". What we express by saying "to become a Christian" is translated by the Isneg as "to become an Ibanag". It is almost impossible to convince them that an Isneg can become a Christian and remain an Isneg. Similar ideas obtain among the Christian tribes: they call themselves *Christiano* whatever tribe they belong to, and all pagans in their eyes are Igorot, Kalinga, Itneg or Isneg; once baptized the latter have ceased to be anything like that; they have become Christians pure and simple.

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for you if you can show the girls an *andóri* tattooed on your arm; will they not be eager to get the attentions of such a warrior? Will they not vie with one another in making themselves attractive and pleasing to him? Such a man will be renowned all over the country, and at every public *sáy-ám* sacrifice he will recount his brave deeds. Even when he is tottering with old age, people will respect him as they will nobody else, and after he has long been dead, his name will still be pronounced with reverence and given to children as a remembrance of his great deeds, so that his spirit will continue to live on earth in the members of the younger generation who are called by his name. In the realm of the dead his soul will live encircled by the same aureole of a glorious and immortal fame. It is true that actually you can hardly aspire to such great glory: strangers have taken possession of the land, people who know nothing about Isneg heroism and justice, people who would punish you for such an act of courage, people who do not understand that an enemy has no rights, that his head is acceptable to the spirits. But we of the older generation, we at least should not abandon our glorious traditions; and if it might please the spirits or an all-powerful fate to return to us our lost freedom and rid us of constabulary and judges, then, yes, you should not forget that you are an Isneg, that a head is the most precious offering that you can make to the spirits, that taking the head of an enemy, whoever he be, whether dead or alive, will give you a crown not to be equalled by anything else. You know how often these last years we have been visited by locusts and famine. Whose fault is it? Nobody else's but the cursed Ibanags': they forbid us to propitiate the spirits who are craving for human heads, and what can the *anito* do but punish us for our negligence?"

A couple of years ago, a poor Negrito, Kalisto by name, who had just escaped from jail, from which he would have been released very soon as he was innocent of the crime imputed to him, was killed at Tawit by an Isneg, who gave the pygmy's threatening attitude as a pretext for killing him. But after the body had been disinterred and examined, it was found out that a part of the skull was lacking and that it had been severed from the rest by a cutting instrument: this proved to everybody's satisfaction that the case was a headhunting affair and nothing else.

"Every Isneg child should be obedient to its parents. As long as you are unmarried, you have the bounden duty to comply with the wishes of your parents, and not only with those of your parents, but

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Not only the absence of initiation ceremonies, but even that of any customs that might aim to teach or mold moral conduct, as dieting, fasting and so on, is a great drawback to the efficient training of Isneg youth. I repeat it, young people are taught to avoid hardship much more than to get inured to it, and this seemingly has much to do with keeping our Isneg in habitual indolence, and rendering them easily dejected at the smallest difficulty or the slightest pain.

Here now I shall enumerate the virtues and acts of virtue that are formally taught according to the Isneg moral code, and those that are less formally taught, and shall give a few supplementary details. It should be stated once for all that all, or almost all, training in this line is done directly; I mean that the Isneg rarely, if ever, use stories or fables in order to inculcate the principles that regulate moral conduct. Some of their tales might perhaps have such a very desirable effect, but the generality have not, and I really wonder if, even in the case of those that have a kind of moral attached to them, the Isneg really use them for the purpose of teaching right behavior. The tales seem to be much more a means of teaching the youngsters the traditions of the race, especially with reference to spirits and kindred subjects, and very often also they are simply a pastime for people who have few means of diversion and amusement.

The teaching of religious practices has been explained at length in a preceding paragraph, and here I have nothing to add on that subject. Headhunting as a duty has rarely been taught ex professo: all the traditions of the people and the paramount importance of this custom in the life of an Isneg tended formerly to impress it very strongly upon the mind of the child. Actually of course the taking of heads, which is fast disappearing, has no more the same appeal to the members of the younger generation; so this part of the Isneg moral code is bound to lapse sooner or later, provided the Government can keep the people in control for a sufficiently long period of time. This is what happened with the Ibaloy, among whom by this time headhunting is an unknown quantity, and with the Kankanay, among whom the same custom is almost completely rooted out.

Obedience and respect for their elders is very formally taught to the children, not only by father and mother, but also by other members of the older generation. Besides small boys and girls learn by practical experience the necessity of obeying and respecting their elders, as it is not a rare occurrence to see a whipping follow in the wake of a transgression of this most important duty of a child.

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In short, Isneg religious and magical practices are still firmly adhered to by the generality of old men and women, while with the younger set they tend to be considered as mere superstitions, that are observed more through fear than through conviction, just as among the Christian Iloko, many remnants of the old native religion are still to be found scattered all over the country in the form of superstitious practices. There can be no doubt about the fact that in Apayaw the way is open for the Christian religion to supplant the old native one: the former is considered as a step forward by almost every Isneg, and practically nobody objects to the young people embracing it; in fact, most of the old people themselves insist on having their children baptized and even instructed in the doctrine of the Christians.

The duty of headhunting has perforce to fall into desuetude, as the vigilance of the authorities prevents it from being practised, at least on a large scale. With reference to isolated cases, which do not fail at times to appear sporadically, the guilty parties rarely escape due punishment, as the Isneg live too much in very small scattered communities to be able to hide them successfully. The older people still foster the desire of freedom in their hearts of course, but the younger generation will little by little forget all about it, and the usual ceremonies, although persevering in the form of superstitions, will very soon have lost their significance. Enough already has been said about this, and it is needless to repeat it all over again.

In the question of obedience and respect due to parents and elders, the Isneg usually conform with their teaching on the subject, and the same may be said with reference to loyalty either to friends or to people who are not at enmity with them. Downright disobedience is really very rare, even in the case of grown-up boys and girls, and respect for older people perseveres all through life. A few isolated cases may be encountered occasionally, but they are certainly the exception. Actually of course the same loyalty cannot always be observed as before, namely participation in headhunting expeditions and so on, and now and then a few members of the younger generation will even stand by the Government against malefactors of their own people; but in general it may be said that respect for the law has not yet attained such an ascendency as to cause an Isneg to be a traitor to his friends.

The practice of revenge has also necessarily suffered an important transformation. The duty of revenge remains intact though, and it

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SCHEMA II

Passing the mountains between Bayag and Kabugaw

(B)	Bayag:	*makbisi-*	*agoxńp*	*xoxó*
(M)	Dangla:	*magbisi-*	*ayońp* [5]	*oó*
(M)	Kabugaw:	*magbisi-*	*axońp*	*oó*
(M)	Tawit:	*magbisi*	*axońp* [4]	*oó*

In this connection I should like to warn the reader that the text of a given informant does not always and in every particular render faithfully his own special dialect or branch of a dialect, and this for the following reasons:

1. On the part of the informant:

Communication between the different parts of the subprovince is increasing at a rapid pace; and so, except for old women (who are rarely available informants for investigators) and a few exceptionally backward persons (from whom no reliable information can be obtained), the Isneg tends to adopt, at least occasionally, a pronunciation which is not strictly his own. At first, marriage and marriage ceremonies were almost the only means of bringing together persons who pronounced their gutturals in a different way. Later on, however, more extensive travelling brought male representatives of every district into contact with one another. This was mostly due to the gradual elimination of headhunting raids and, although in a less marked degree, to the building of better roads. Now again, with the opening of schools in the larger centers and the introduction of compulsory education, boys and girls flock together from all parts of the subprovince, and differences in pronunciation tend to become obliterated, or rather, the language actually spoken by most of them offers to the ear a confused medley of gutturals.

Besides, an educated Isneg, and, incidentally, a good many others who can lay no claim to education, very often affect the use of Iloko words and sentences, pronounced as in Iloko (*x* none, glottal catch rare), or at least affect the pronunciation of the gutturals as in Iloko, although using pure Isneg words.

[5] This is the *y* of the Anthropos alphabet. For the sake of uniformity, however, and to avoid confusion (as we use the sign *y* for another consonant), we always write *x* for all texts in M of the O dialect, even for those that originated in Dangla and surrounding villages.

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is who finds a means to keep the wolf from the door. On occasions like these, it is clearly apparent how training and experience have rendered the Isneg girl fit for meeting almost any kind of emergency, while the customary indolence of the male makes him an easy prey to downheartedness, so much so that he becomes utterly unable to save himself and his family from the pangs of hunger.

If we come to consider the situation from the point of view of the Isneg, it is not to be wondered at that nowadays famines are of rather frequent occurrence in Apayaw. Indeed, foreign authorities have invaded the land: not understanding the position of the Isneg with reference to the tutelary spirits of the country, they have all but extirpated headhunting. What can be expected after this? Being denied their usual offerings, the spirits stop protecting the crops. It is true that the Isneg does not cease to propitiate them by all possible means, but the great sacrifice has been rendered almost impossible, and so the fields have become a prey to evil imps, while the protectors of the rice, the purveyors of the Isneg, have become either powerless or indifferent.

Nevertheless, under ordinary circumstances, the average Isneg raises enough rice to last him and his family for a year. He may not be able to store it up for future consumption, but what he has usually keeps him alive from one harvest to the next, and besides almost always allows him to offer an occasional sacrifice to the spirits and to invite his relatives and neighbors to the ceremony. Such is the normal state of affairs with the great majority of the people.

Now in almost every agglomeration one will find at least one man who is styled "rich" (*ba-nán*), a man who raises rice in abundance (*aragammáy*) and consequently is able to offer one or more solemn sacrifices every year and to provide food to the inhabitants of several villages for days at a time. However, these so-called rich people do not fare any better than the average citizen, as their surplus is easily consumed at their *sáy-ám* or solemn sacrifices.

On the other hand, there are always a few who may be called poor (*nakimrút*): their rice, if they raise any at all, never lasts them the whole year round, and, in the meanwhile, they have to content themselves with Indian corn, yams, taro and the rest; but only in times of famine, are they obliged to feed on coconut flowers and other outlandish foods. Others again seem never to be able to make both ends meet: these are the *síbud*; their rice, which should be sufficient for ordinary persons, is usually gone almost before they are aware of it,

women around, while the men are in bathing and swimming together, they keep thir private parts covered with one hand while they are out of the water.

Community spirit in a *barangay* is strong. They have common interests and often work together in exchange of labor, *pinta*. When one builds a house all the neighbors come and help, making a party of it.

Each *barangay* is surrounded by a heavy bamboo picket stockade. The bamboos are filled with small stones so they can not be easily cut away. A *barangay* has all the other *barangays* as enemies; but a peace-pact, *budong*, is often made between two of them. Peace-pact holders are appointed and held personally responsible that it is not broken. Each *barangay* is held accountable for the acts of any of its members. Then they are allies, helping each other in warfare and being mutually responsible for each other's property and personal safety. There is danger of forays at anytime from other barangays. So war is always imminent. There maybe old feuds to be settled and deaths to be avenged. This is augmented by the fact that each warrior must take at least one head to establish himself, both in society and in the heart of the girl whom he desires.

HEAD HUNTING

When the demand either for revenge or for heads becomes strong, the *maingel* gives the order for a head hunting expedition to the enemy *barangay* selected. He will probably be the leader of the expedition. The warriors who are to go, prepare their weapons: shields, spears, and a special *aliwa*, which has the point on the cutting edge drawn out to make it more effective.

It is called a *gaod*. The people down stream use bows 721
and arrows, knowledge of which they have learned 411
from the Negritos. When all are ready, they gather 726
and hold a feast called a *magboto* to which their *anito*. *Manglangbang*, is invited. Manglangbang is the fierce *anito* who guides the warriors. He directs them whom to kill. Upon his order a warrior must even kill a companion. At the *magboto* the warriors swear to stand by each other, and a dog is killed, which a warrior carries on their journey, *cavao*, to the place of the enemy.

At the close of the *magboto* the warrior band sets 726
out. It is followed for a distance by the women, who shout. The warriors also shout and continue on their journey guided by the *anito*, *Panugtang*. As they enter the country of the enemy, the warriors move silently and keep under cover, for the attack must be a complete surprise. Upon arriving near the place of the enemy, the warriors hide in the forest, cooking their food with fire concealed, and in that place pass the night.

While it is still dark, the party moves up and silently surrounds the *barangay* of the enemy. They keep well-hidden until the occupants start to come out. Those going to their fields or on other errands are ambushed and their heads taken. The object of the [721]
expedition is to take as many heads as possible. All heads have the same value; those of men, women, children or babies, whether taken in a fair fight or by stealth. Each one has the required magical vital energy. There may be quite a fight, with numbers of 727
warriors killed or wounded on both sides. Occasion-

yaos after the principal river in their country. Some say the word Apayao was originated in their fierce battle cry *"Ma-ap-ay-ao."* During this call the hand is clapped rapidly over the mouth so that the cry sounds much like the American Indian war-whoop. This cry is also used at a feast: when a new visitor comes, when the basi is brought in, and when a pig is killed.

I will endeavor to describe, from personal observation of its still numerous cultural remains, something of the life of the Apayaos as it no doubt existed little changed during the long centuries during which their folktales were formed.

The life of these people has much to do with the streams of the country along which most of them live. They do not live on the river flats, but on the mountain sides for safety. Many of their communities are named after the streams near which they are located. A considerable part of the food is obtained from the streams; and they are used for washing, bathing and swimming, as well as for scenery. Much of the transportation is on the streams, and the men are expert boatma nand raftsmen. During the heavy rainy season transportation on swollen rivers is perilous; but it is carried on somewhat. The result is that many a banca has over-turned in the roaring rapids; much valuable merchandidse still lies in the deep pools at the feet of those rapids; and many of family mourns the loss of a loved one. Therefore stories of the streams often occur in the legends of the people.

The people on each stream were isolated from each other for many centuries so that there has come to be quite a difference in their customs and dialects.

534 women around, while the men are in bathing and swimming together, they keep thir private parts covered with one hand while they are out of the water.

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417 628 648 676 672 721 Each *barangay* is surrounded by a heavy bamboo picket stockade. The bamboos are filled with small stones so they can not be easily cut away. A *barangay* has all the other *barangays* as enemies; but a peace-pact, *budong*, is often made between two of them. Peace-pact holders are appointed and held personally responsible that it is not broken. Each *barangay* is held accountable for the acts of any of its members. Then they are allies, helping each other in warfare and being mutually responsible for each other's property and personal safety. There is danger of forays at anytime from other barangays. So war is always imminent. There maybe old feuds to be settled and [554] deaths to be avenged. This is augmented by the fact that each warrior must take at least one head to establish himself, both in society and in the heart of the girl whom he desires.

HEAD HUNTING

721 411 726 When the demand either for revenge or for heads becomes strong, the *maingel* gives the order for a head hunting expedition to the enemy *barangay* selected. He will probably be the leader of the expedition. The warriors who are to go, prepare their weapons: shields, spears, and a special *aliwa*, which has the point on the cutting edge drawn out to make it more effective.

It is called a *gaod*. The people down stream use bows 721
and arrows, knowledge of which they have learned 411
from the Negritos. When all are ready, they gather 726
and hold a feast called a *magboto* to which their *anito*. *Manglangbang*, is invited. Manglangbang is the fierce *anito* who guides the warriors. He directs them whom to kill. Upon his order a warrior must even kill a companion. At the *magboto* the warriors swear to stand by each other, and a dog is killed, which a warrior carries on their journey, *cavao*, to the place of the enemy.

At the close of the *magboto* the warrior band sets 726
out. It is followed for a distance by the women, who shout. The warriors also shout and continue on their journey guided by the *anito*, *Panugtang*. As they enter the country of the enemy, the warriors move silently and keep under cover, for the attack must be a complete surprise. Upon arriving near the place of the enemy, the warriors hide in the forest, cooking their food with fire concealed, and in that place pass the night.

While it is still dark, the party moves up and silently surrounds the *barangay* of the enemy. They keep well-hidden until the occupants start to come out. Those going to their fields or on other errands are ambushed and their heads taken. The object of the [72]
expedition is to take as many heads as possible. All heads have the same value; those of men, women, children or babies, whether taken in a fair fight or by stealth. Each one has the required magical vital energy. There may be quite a fight, with numbers of 727
warriors killed or wounded on both sides. Occasion-

000 of no food. When Ewagan saw him, he applied his miraculous oil all over the body of Imlang; so that he became well immediately. When all the brothers became well, they had a great feast in the house of Ewagan in Pindayan. The others persuaded Ewagan to return to the house of Hatan in Nagiasian. He said he would; but the journey must be made in the night. Thro his magical powers they moved the house through the sky with a noise like thunder. While the house was moving, all the trees on the way bent over because they were afraid of Ewagan. When the house reached Naglasian, the house of Hatan became frightened and went sykward.

726 When they were now in Pandayan, Ewagan called upon all his brothers to go and kill Dimamowyan, the man who is covered with iron. So they started for Dampilan, the home of Dimamowyan. When they reached the outskirts of Dampilan they were stopped by an iron stockade topped with fire. Ewagan sprayed the stockade with his miraculous oil and it was laid flat. Then all the brothers crossed the stocade with that miraculous aid; but encountered great waves of water in the way. Ewagan ran on top of the waves. The brothers could not follow and called for help. So Ewagan came back, sprayed more oil on the waves, which disappeared, so that the brothers again went forward. They rushed toward the houses, where the inhabitants met them fighting. With the first thrust of his spear, Ewagan killed nine of the enemy. The brothers then killed all the warriors.

The women and children cried for help from Dimanowyan and ran toward his house. When he saw

them coming, he closed all the windows and the door 726
and would not let them in. After all the people had gathered under the house, Hinadolan killed all of them. Seeing this, Dimanowyan heavily barricaded all the openings in the hous. However, the brothers forced the door and brought him down to he ground. They gave him a shield and sword and selected Hinadolan to fight with him. During the fight, both of their shields were cut to pieces; but the *gaod* of Hinadolan was useless to cut the iron clothing of Dimanowyan. On the other side, Dimanowyan could not harm Hinadolan because of the miraculous oil which Ewagan had poured on him.

When Ewagan saw that his brother was nearly 000
exhausted, he commanded his helper Paliahan, to go to the aid of his brother. The helper took hold of the man in iron, tied his feet together, and threw him to the ground. Because they were loathe to ruin their *gaods* on the iron, Ewagan ordered them to bring the hammers. The moment a hammer struck the iron, it turned to fire. When Ewagan saw that the man in iron was exhausted with the pounding, he had pity, untied his legs, and removed the iron with his magic oil. To his surprise the skin of the man inside was as black as charcoal. Ewagan ordered his brothers to carry this black man to Hatan; but the brothers refused. So Ewagan took him up and threw him to Hatan. When Dimanowyan arrived at the house of Hatan, he told Hatan that Ewagan, his son, had already shown up.

When everything was settled in Dombilan, the brothers started for the house of Hatan in Naglasian.

are. I am going to chop down the tree," said he. So he ran home to get his large *aliwa* and returned in a trice. Then he began to chop down the tree. The courageous brothers could only wish that the *aliwa* would strike his legs. So for every chop at the tree, his legs were chopped instead. Then he roared helplessly, calling his wife. Soon the wife came with another *aliwa*. Upon seeing her weakening husband, she began to chop the tree also. For every chop at the tree her legs were struck instead. Then both became helpless, and happiness for them finally ended. So the two brothers came down from the tree and lived in Guisorab's house enjoyably.

THE PINDAYAN PEOPLE

During the ancient times there lived in Pindayan six brothers, all of whom were daring warriors. The roof of their house was formed of a great hive of native bees, which served as the defense against neighboring aggressors. The bees would hover over the place whenever the enemy came near. This made Pindayan an impregnable place. It became renowned because the neighboring aggressors failed to subjugate it.

One bright morning the brothers gathered in Ewagan's house to arrange plans for the invasion of Nagcolman. A great feast was held. The priests performed the ceremony to the *anito*, using live and bright colored snakes as their turbans. Gongs and drums were played. Men and women all wore their best costumes. They danced and danced: couple after

couple. Nothing but joy was displayed in that fare-well party to the departing warriors. 726

With glittering spears, *gaods*, and shields painted red and black, they started for Nagcolman. But soon they must stop for a while at the sacred tree to have their prayers said there; because their guiding *anito* dwelt in that tree. After the prayers, they rose into the air and were soon out of sight. Shortly afterward they were seen in Sagian, a place overlooking Nagcolman. There they must make a generous offering of betel nut to Balaniban, the *anito* in Sagian. The betel nut had to be offered on a shining *aliwa*. Had they failed to do so, Balaniban must deceive them. 726 782

The direction to Nagcolman was then determined, and they vanished into the air; thus arriving by the riverside of their objective. Imlang, the youngest brother and the most handsome, proceeded directly to a certain house in Nagcolman, while the rest stopped at the riverside. Imlang's going to that house was contrary to the brothers' plan; for he himself desired to find a very charming lady who was hidden in the chimney of the house. A great feast was being held there when the invaders arrived; but their arrival was still unknown. Imlang vanished from his seat in the house unnoticed by the people. He was with the fair lady, Naglalanaoan, in the chimney, obtaining her love. No difficulty was offered him in winning the love of the acknowledged belle of the *barangay*. He came to know her by enchantment. 000 [832]

Thereupon, Imlang and his expected bride, as well as the invaders still by the river, prayed that all that was being used in the feast must be brought by en-

000 chantment to the riverside. And so it was done. The Nagcolman people were much surprised that such a wonderful event should happen. Imlang and his sweetheart joined the party, but she was put into a bag, so that no one could know of her presence.

726 Not long after this, Imlang led his brothers to the place where the lady lay in his bag. The warriors rushed to the house where the feast was being held, without advance warning to the enemy. The enemy were thus caught by surprise. Imlang did not participate in the fight lest the one in the bag might disappear. The whole place then became a deep lake.

727 All the captured property along with the two prisoners, Gaoan and Dawilian, were sent ahead to the impregnable Pindayan. Live snakes and irons were used as the hand cuffs of the prisoners, who were Naglalanaoan's brothers.

The victors returned to their home with blood all over their bodies, excepting their eyes. Then Gaoan was tied to a tree while Dawilian was tied to a ladder. Another feast was then held in honor of the victory. A bird, *Bulaoitan*, bearing a betel nut and a betel nut leaf was sent out to invite countless people to attend the feast and the execution of the prisoners. Immediately, a great number of people were present.

When the people had all entered the house, late in the evening, Imlang opened his bag and out sprang the chaste Naglalanaoan. The house was brightened by her presence just as if it were a bright moonlight night. Great quantities of food and jars of wine were served. But the quantity remained just as if nothing had been eaten or drunk.

000 ing wife might vanish; but before the break of day, he discovered that his much beloved wife had gone out of sight. Since then she has never been located; even by the bird Bulaoitan, which was instructed to go to every nook and corner of the surrounding country. But that loss never weakened the morale of the six Pindayan warrior brothers.

Still, in spite of mishaps, they held firm their stand against all aggressive enemies with the aid of the great bees which roofed their house, the only house in Pindayan.

THE COURTSHIP OF HINADOLAN.

582 Hatan told Hinadolan to marry Himbangonan, who lived in Dudongan, and stay in her house. Indayo, the father of Himbangonan, told her that they could not be married unless Hinadolan presented him with the head of a freeman.

726 Hinadolan, accompanied by his brother Abbiwan, went to hunt the head. They started for Dombilan. When the people of Dombilan saw the two brothers coming, they knew at once that they were coming to fight. So the people sought shelter within their great, high iron stockade. But Hinadolan, using his magical powers, jumped high into the air over the stockade and landed in front of the enemy so that the fight began at once. Hinadolan killed many of the enemies
000 and started back with one head in his hands. Again he attempted to jump over the iron stockade; but he caught on top of it. He bawled and bawled and struggled to get away; but he could ont. So he told his

brother to go back home to Dudongan and tell his father that he was dead. 000

But instead, Abbiwan went to Inpindayan, the home of Himbangonan, to kill her father, Indayo. Upon finding him in the house, Abbiwan thrust his spear at him but missed; and Indayo escaped to the forest. 726

Then Abbiwan went to Hatan and told him that his son was dead. Afterwards he returned at once to see his dead brother Hinadolan. When Abbiwan reached the iron stockade, he found the people of Dombilan trying to obtain the body of Hinadolan; but not even Abbiwan could reach the top of the iron stockade where Hinadolan was stuck. 000

As Abbiwan could not obtain the body of Hinadolan, he called on their brother Ewagan to help. By his magical powers, Ewagan turned himself into a firefly and flew up to where Hinadolan still was. The people saw Ewagan as a fire near Hinadolan. Ewagan mourned upon seeing the condition of his brother. Then Ewagan took his brother and flew back down to the ground. When the other brothers had seen Hinadolan, Ewagan called for his friend, Paliahan. When he arrived, Ewagan again carried his brother in his arms to a patch of *sical* grass, where he applied his magic oil all over the body of Hinadolan. All of a sudden Hinadolan was restored to life.

Then the brothers all started for Dombilan to obtain revenge. They mingled with the people, who at first did not recognize them. When they did recognize Hinadolan, they became suspicious. Hinadolan was trying to conceal himself. Then Ewagan obtain- 628

(meaning: continuously houses). There it is still existing up to this day. That is how it got its name. 103

HOW ANGYOBAN STARTED HEAD-HUNTING

Many years ago in Madatag there lived a man named Angyoban. He was regarded as the bravest and most handsome of the young men. There was also a very good girl named Bandiyang whom Angyoban admired very much. He began to court her and loved her greatly; but he was not successful in his courtship. However, Angyoban was so determined to marry the girl that he continud to court her during twelve long years. 584

Then one evening in desperation, he went to the house of Bandiyang and fiercely demanded that Bandiyang should marry him. She refused, and the argument went on with Angyoban threatening more and more. At last Bandiyang said, "You shall have your demand if you obey what I tell you. Go to the land of our enemies and return with an enemy's head, shield, and *gaod*."

So Angyoban set out to go to the land of their enemies. When he had come near to the houses, he hid in ambush by one of the trails leading to the fields. This was very early in the morning. When an enemy came on his way to work, Angyoban sprang up and obtained his prize in an easy fashion. He had the 726 584

726 584 weapons also; for it was the custom for a man always to carry his spear, shield and *gaod* with him.

He returned to the house of Bandiyang bringing his trophies with him. All the people joyfully came to celebrate the valor of Angyoban, and the marriage took place soon after.

THE FEUD BETWEEN THE PEOPLES OF ALISIT AND KUMAO

628 Many times the peoples of Alisit went to fight the Bulo people. They found no one at home. One time when on their way to Bulo, they became very hungry [476] and stopped in Kumao. It happened that at that time, the people of Kumao were gathering posts for a house. There were many people there to help. They had *basi* to drink. So they offered some to the Alisit people. [517] While sitting on the ground, they talked and had oratorical contests, each contestant telling of their cus- [579] toms. The *maingel of* Kumao was Lindo. They became drunk and got into an angry quarrel. Lindo said [152] to Baliwan, "You are good only for hunting women and not for hunting men." Baliwan became very angry and answered back and struck Lindo with his *gaod*. When Bayao, the son of Lindo, saw Baliwan strike his father, he snatched up his *gaod* to help his father. Then all the warriors were drawn into the fight, and five of the Alisit men were killed. None of the Kumao people were killed.

628 484 Later on, twelve Kumao people were taking a trip to Sulsuna in Ilocos. for trading purposes. They

thought that, as they were very few and the people of Alisit were many, the trip would be very dangerous. There were only seven men and three women. So instead of going by the way of Alisit, they went by the way of Langnao to Sulsuna. They reached Sulsuna all right, and on their return trip reached Baliwan; but one man was injured in the foot. The other people wanted to carry him; but he did not like them to as they might meet an enemy, who would kill him as he lay in the sling. So he said that he would walk along slowly. The people of Baliwan were holding a peace-pact feast and wanted the people of Kumao to stay; but they did not want to spend the time or be to the expense. So they went on and came to a field. Some went to get sugar cane and others went to the river. The lame man, Subugay, went on ahead and came into an ambush of Alisit warriors. But they waited until the others came up, and then the many warriors of Alisit attacked. Subugay was wounded in his hand by a spear: but escaped. Two of his companions were killed and three wounded. The Kumao people were all surrounded by the Alisit people; but they managed to get away and hide in the forest. They reassembled, and the Baliwan people helped them to carry their killed and wounded home to Kumao, which they reached about night time.

Then the people of Kumao went to attack the Alisit people. There were many warriors, as they wanted to revenge their relatives. When they reached Bangcarao, they stopped there to wait for anybody who might be passing. Finally two Alisit men came

628
726 by. Some of the Kumao warriors wanted to kill the Alisit men; but others objected. However, some threw spears and wounded the two men. But they escaped, ran to the river, and swam across. There they were safe, for the Kumao warriors could not follow.

HOW THE BARANGAY OF BADDUAT GOT ITS NAME

103 During the early days, there was fighting between the southern and northern people of Apayao. One time fighters from both north and south met in a certain place some distance below Lennang and there fought fiercely in hand to hand combat. After the fight, the southern warriors were exhausted for want of food and were lacking in brave men to fight. So they fled for home, scattering for the sake of better safety.

Unfortunately, one of the bravest and most renowned warriors, named Daguit, became confused on the way, as he was weak from hunger and suffering severely from his wounds. For these reasons, Daguit gave up and died in that place. When the other warriors arrived in their homes, he was the one found to be missing. They waited anxiously for him during two days; but in vain. Then they started in search of their missing companion. They found him dead under a tree near a brook which was strange to them. So they named the little brook in honor of Daguit. They called it *Badduat* (meaning—a dangerous place to live) : and so that is its name to this day.

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for you if you can show the girls an *andôri* tattooed on your arm; will they not be eager to get the attentions of such a warrior? Will they not vie with one another in making themselves attractive and pleasing to him? Such a man will be renowned all over the country, and at every public *sây-âm* sacrifice he will recount his brave deeds. Even when he is tottering with old age, people will respect him as they will nobody else, and after he has long been dead, his name will still be pronounced with reverence and given to children as a remembrance of his great deeds, so that his spirit will continue to live on earth in the members of the younger generation who are called by his name. In the realm of the dead his soul will live encircled by the same aureole of a glorious and immortal fame. It is true that actually you can hardly aspire to such great glory: strangers have taken possession of the land, people who know nothing about Isneg heroism and justice, people who would punish you for such an act of courage, people who do not understand that an enemy has no rights, that his head is acceptable to the spirits. But we of the older generation, we at least should not abandon our glorious traditions; and if it might please the spirits or an all-powerful fate to return to us our lost freedom and rid us of constabulary and judges, then, yes, you should not forget that you are an Isneg, that a head is the most precious offering that you can make to the spirits, that taking the head of an enemy, whoever he be, whether dead or alive, will give you a crown not to be equalled by anything else. You know how often these last years we have been visited by locusts and famine. Whose fault is it? Nobody else's but the cursed Ibanags': they forbid us to propitiate the spirits who are craving for human heads, and what can the *anito* do but punish us for our negligence?"

A couple of years ago, a poor Negrito, Kalisto by name, who had just escaped from jail, from which he would have been released very soon as he was innocent of the crime imputed to him, was killed at Tawit by an Isneg, who gave the pygmy's threatening attitude as a pretext for killing him. But after the body had been disinterred and examined, it was found out that a part of the skull was lacking and that it had been severed from the rest by a cutting instrument: this proved to everybody's satisfaction that the case was a headhunting affair and nothing else.

"Every Isneg child should be obedient to its parents. As long as you are unmarried, you have the bounden duty to comply with the wishes of your parents, and not only with those of your parents, but

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out. It is followed for a distance by the women, who shout. The warriors also shout and continue on their journey guided by the *anito*, *Panugtang*. As they enter the country of the enemy, the warriors move silently and keep under cover, for the attack must be a complete surprise. Upon arriving near the place of the enemy, the warriors hide in the forest, cooking their food with fire concealed, and in that place pass the night.

While it is still dark, the party moves up and silently surrounds the *barangay* of the enemy. They keep well-hidden until the occupants start to come out. Those going to their fields or on other errands are ambushed and their heads taken. The object of the [72]
expedition is to take as many heads as possible. All heads have the same value; those of men, women, children or babies, whether taken in a fair fight or by stealth. Each one has the required magical vital energy. There may be quite a fight, with numbers of 727
warriors killed or wounded on both sides. Occasion-

727 ally the houses are burnt. The attacking warriors withdraw after a time and start for home with what heads they have secured.

If the warriors have secured some heads, they start shouting in triumph while still some distance from home. The women answer and come out to meet them. There is much victorious clamour. Each successful warrior hacks his heads in pieces and either places them on bamboos in front of his house, or else hangs them in the convenient large tree sacred to his especial *anito*. They are decorated with flowers. Then the people hold a feast, called *boda*, at which they eat and drink; but do not dance. The main event is the [537] triumphal shouting of the warriors. Each relates in a chant the mighty deeds which he has done.

MARRIAGE

582 A youth is free to select and woo the girl of his 584 choice—with his nose flute, *baling*, or a kind of jews- [534] harp, *oribao*, or by other means common to youth the [836] world over. If she is agreeable, the courtship becomes serious and they enter into an arrangement, *aluloy*, whereby the sleep together for a period of from three months to a year. They are in earnest in this affair. for they know that, if it does not result in marriage, they must pay a heavy fine. Their object is pregnancy.

583 When the youth decides to have the marriage, he 584 requests his parents to deliver several baskets of rice cakes to the house of the girl. All the relatives of both parties are notified and assemble in the house to arrange for the wedding. They have a feast: rice.

000 chantment to the riverside. And so it was done. The Nagcolman people were much surprised that such a wonderful event should happen. Imlang and his sweetheart joined the party, but she was put into a bag, so that no one could know of her presence.

726 Not long after this, Imlang led his brothers to the place where the lady lay in his bag. The warriors rushed to the house where the feast was being held, without advance warning to the enemy. The enemy were thus caught by surprise. Imlang did not participate in the fight lest the one in the bag might disappear. The whole place then became a deep lake.

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When the people had all entered the house, late in the evening, Imlang opened his bag and out sprang the chaste Naglalanaoan. The house was brightened by her presence just as if it were a bright moonlight night. Great quantities of food and jars of wine were served. But the quantity remained just as if nothing had been eaten or drunk.

Early in the morning the beheading of the captives was announced. So the crowd went to the place of execution and seated themselves on the great golden chairs. Suddenly, upon the appearance of Naglalanaoan in the crowd, the morning became absolutely dark. The sun's rays had been blotted out by the consummately beautiful Naglalanaoan. (*Naglalanaoan* means refreshing). She herself had prayed that the mighty sun might send her bright rays. And it had done so. The fair bride did not witness the activities very long, as she had been requested to stay in the chimney so that she should not see her brothers beheaded. Otherwise she would vanish. 727

Soon Ewagan untied Gaoan and allowed him to refresh himself for a while. They exchanged glasses of *basi*. But alas, the time came for them to clash. There they clashed with spears, *gaods*, and shields; but now Gaoan's head was off, and the victim ran about headless. At last he fell dead. Next out sprang Gadulan and Dawilian like two eagles fighting in the air. The crowd was in deep excitement when Dawilian was seen running headless and then collapsing breathless. Shouts for joy and cries of sorrow were heard everywhere. The captives heads were placed on the fan-shaped tops of bamboo poles put by the wayside, a practice which is still adhered to in Apayao today.

The time came for the people to disperse, each 000 with different feelings in his heart. All that were left in the place were the victors. When everybody was fast asleep, the bride began to blame the bridegroom for the execution of her brothers. The bridegroom did not dare to reply for fear that his charm-

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181 supernatural for the time to come. Nature, however, is not theirs
771 to direct; they know this all too well, and so why bother about the
789 future. Besides, there will always be something to eat, there is no
152 winter in the tropics, vegetation is luxuriant, and the Isneg are not
777 particular. Nature is ruled by the supernatural, not by human beings. All the latter can do is to influence the supernatural. Man has no direct control over rain and sunshine, sickness and death, but the spirits have; and these have to be moved to pity or to be frightened into submission, as the case may be.

753 An Isneg will say: "What is the use of medicine? If it has been
181 decreed that a person will die, he will do so, medicines or no medi-
777 cines". But nevertheless he will comply with all possible prescrip-
152 tions of the shaman, and if the person dies notwithstanding all
771 precautions have been taken to protect him from the spirits, then: "It was his fate", and that ends the matter.

777 If the locusts are devastating the fields, an Isneg will resign himself
181 to his fate. He has worked diligently, he has observed all possible
152 omens and has broken no taboos; why should he worry, why should
•731 he try to destroy these pests. The Government will force him to do
177 so of course, and he will obey as long as he remains under the eagle eye of his rulers; but he will say: "What is the use; if we destroy these, others will take their place, provided it be decreed that way; and if not, it is perfectly useless to tire ourselves for nothing".

777 Such and similar states of mind are not confined to the Isneg. I
181 remember very well how on a certain occasion, in 1914, I was assisting
152 an Iloko Christian on his deathbed. Wanting to impress upon him
771 the great necessity of a deep sorrow for his sins, I described to him
177 as vividly as possible the horrors of hell, and told him how anxious he
781 should be to avoid an eternity of such pains and torments; but his only answer was an act of absolute conformity to the Divine Will: "If God wants me to go to hell, I am perfectly willing". And that man was far from wanting to be disrespectful to the Deity; his words simply illustrated how little he cared about what the future had in store for him. Pagan Isneg lay the blame for every untoward happening, either merely on fate, or on the intervention of some ill-intentioned imp, while a happy turn of events is usually considered to be the result either of fate pure and simple, or of some special clever means by which the machinations of the spirits have been counteracted. Nowadays the Government, the Ibanag, as they call all Christians, has generally to bear the blame of any public calamity

[72]

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The laziness of the Isneg man has become almost proverbial in Apayaw; he resents it of course, but what can be done about it? The Isneg are living in one of the richest provinces of the Philippines agriculturally, and nevertheless these last years, famine has desolated the land at every turn.

Once while at Alumani, I went to visit a few friends: three of them, the father and his two sturdy sons, the older one a widower, the younger one a bachelor, were living together in a house surrounded by the most fertile fields imaginable; and still they complained and said that they were starving to death, because there were no women to till the soil.

The year 1928 was a lean one almost all over the province, but Karagawan men preferred to squat down in their houses and feed on the flowers of the coconut tree rather than come to Kabugaw and earn a ganta (three liters) of rice a day by doing work that could easily be done by boys of twelve years of age: this work was too hard for them.

About the same time I had to go to Bayag, which is some forty miles distant from Kabugaw, a two days' walk. I sent my carriers one day ahead and gave them rations of rice for two days, in order to preclude any excuse for their not reaching their destination at least at the same time as myself. The next day I met the fellows about noon, sitting in a little hut some ten miles from home and cooking their last meal but one. Having rice they did not care for anything else. They had passed a day and a half walking ten miles, cooking rice, chewing betel nut, and . . . resting.

I could adduce a score of examples like this, all from personal experience. But after all why should we blame the Isneg for it? They were reared in years of plenty, when the smallest amount of work brought the largest possible returns; at the beginning of the lean years they consumed all the rice that had been hoarded up for years; and now the hard times have come: when a tree has been growing in a slanting direction for several years, can you make it lean to the other side in its old age? The Bontok Igorot is industrious and always ready to handle a job that may bring him some money; but he is living among rocks and cliffs, where even weeds and grasses refuse to thrive. The Isneg on the contrary are living in an exceedingly fertile country: up to recent times their district was closed to the outside world for lack of roads, and this prevented them from conducting active trade on any large scale and from selling the surplus

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855 comes for the boys to follow their father and for the girls to be left to her care. The best viands are always reserved for the little ones and dainties are stored away (*maxalúmid*) for their future use. If a child gets sick, the parents will do their utmost to relieve the little sufferer; and if it is its fate, as the Isneg put it, to die, its elders' lamentations will follow it to the grave.

• 731 In times of famine the children are of course the biggest sufferers,
858 not that the Isneg does not share with them whatever food he can lay
597 hands on, but because growing boys and girls lack the sustenance they badly need at their age, which rarely fails to be followed by results that affect them unfavorably for the rest of their life. I have heard once of a hard-pressed Isneg who sold a child for money: this is certainly a rare exception, and, as all circumstances are not known to me (I am not even sure that it was his own child), I am not free to pronounce judgment on the transaction. What I know is that the family by whom the child was adopted would certainly not cause it to regret its former life, as far as material advantages are concerned; nevertheless this is not a sufficient excuse for such an act.

855 It may be asked if families differ much in their solicitude for the
867 proper moral upbringing of children, if some families are more reli-
184 gious-minded than others, if some families are more concerned than others in watching over their children and in safeguarding them in
124 sex morality. What can I answer to such questions? I should like to make the following invitation to my inquirers: let them choose a certain district of the United States, say in Kansas or in Indiana or in whatever state they prefer, a district where there are no densely populated sections and where some ten thousand people are scattered over a comparatively large area, and then let them tell me the result of their investigations among inhabitants of that district with reference to the above questions. I am sure that their task would not be easier or more difficult than mine, in order to give a satisfactory survey of the situation. Nevertheless I shall try to give a few concrete instances that have come to my personal notice and which I can recall just now, leaving aside the Kankanay, among whom I resided from 1909 to 1915, and confining myself exclusively to the Isneg, with whom I have been living since 1925.

855 Take the settlement of Baliwanan. A Baliwanan girl was living
184 with the family of my catechist at Kabugaw, where she took care of
836 the children, washed the clothes, and did other little chores. On a certain day somebody told her father that a boy had entered the house

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of the soil that are cultivated among the Isneg. This little treatise on Isneg agriculture might have been written by a native, as I try to put myself as much as possible in the place of the Isneg.

I. Isneg Farming in General

It is freely stated all over Apayaw that, in former times, rice was always abundant in each and every village. Not to have old rice (*kópag*) in store, meaning "rice that had been reaped one or more years previously",[1] was the exception rather than the rule; and there were always in existence a goodly number of granaries where rice was kept that had been harvested up to four years back.

A famine (*dasmág* or *ulát*), under the circumstances, might be called an unknown entity, were it not that *dasmág* and *ulát* are genuine Isneg terms, and so that the thing they refer to must have made its appearance at least occasionally. Actually, however, every few years one hears about a famine devastating the land and bringing in its wake a tremendous amount of distress and misery. The children, of course, are usually the most to be pitied, as they are liable to be permanently affected by the lack of sufficient nourishment.

It might be objected that Apayaw is a rich agricultural country, that it is covered with vegetation throughout the year, that rice is not the only crop that can be raised with advantage, that there is an abundance of tropical forests containing plenty of trees and plants of which one or more parts are edible, and consequently that starvation must be impossible. To this I must answer that the cause is not to be found in the soil or in the climatic conditions of the country, but in the character of its inhabitants. The Isneg is easily dejected, he cannot stand adversity; if his ordinary means of sustenance fail, he is at a loss what to do, he just sits down and moons. Even when remunerative work is offered to him, an Isneg who has not the usual amount of rice at his disposal has rarely the courage to perform it: he is simply down.

Fortunately the average Isneg woman shows herself much more courageous, and, where her husband proves a dismal failure, she it

[1] Rice that has been kept for one or two years, because its owners, being in mourning for a dead child, abstained from eating it, is called *dasmág*. In native words occurring in the present paper the accent (′) is placed over the accented vowel. Accented n (n̂) denotes the ng sound in English "bring". For full phonetic key, see M. Vanoverbergh. The Isneg, Publ. Cath. Anthrop. Conf., 1932, v. 3, no. 1, pp. 3-4.

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is who finds a means to keep the wolf from the door. On occasions like these, it is clearly apparent how training and experience have rendered the Isneg girl fit for meeting almost any kind of emergency, while the customary indolence of the male makes him an easy prey to downheartedness, so much so that he becomes utterly unable to save himself and his family from the pangs of hunger.

If we come to consider the situation from the point of view of the Isneg, it is not to be wondered at that nowadays famines are of rather frequent occurrence in Apayaw. Indeed, foreign authorities have invaded the land: not understanding the position of the Isneg with reference to the tutelary spirits of the country, they have all but extirpated headhunting. What can be expected after this? Being denied their usual offerings, the spirits stop protecting the crops. It is true that the Isneg does not cease to propitiate them by all possible means, but the great sacrifice has been rendered almost impossible, and so the fields have become a prey to evil imps, while the protectors of the rice, the purveyors of the Isneg, have become either powerless or indifferent.

Nevertheless, under ordinary circumstances, the average Isneg raises enough rice to last him and his family for a year. He may not be able to store it up for future consumption, but what he has usually keeps him alive from one harvest to the next, and besides almost always allows him to offer an occasional sacrifice to the spirits and to invite his relatives and neighbors to the ceremony. Such is the normal state of affairs with the great majority of the people.

Now in almost every agglomeration one will find at least one man who is styled "rich" (*ba-náń*), a man who raises rice in abundance (*aragammáy*) and consequently is able to offer one or more solemn sacrifices every year and to provide food to the inhabitants of several villages for days at a time. However, these so-called rich people do not fare any better than the average citizen, as their surplus is easily consumed at their *sáy-ám* or solemn sacrifices.

On the other hand, there are always a few who may be called poor (*nakimrút*): their rice, if they raise any at all, never lasts them the whole year round, and, in the meanwhile, they have to content themselves with Indian corn, yams, taro and the rest; but only in times of famine, are they obliged to feed on coconut flowers and other outlandish foods. Others again seem never to be able to make both ends meet: these are the *síbud*; their rice, which should be sufficient for ordinary persons, is usually gone almost before they are aware of it,

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When you have to start a certain work and want it finished quickly, go and look for a little herb, called *tagalázat* in Bayag: it is about five or six inches tall, has comparatively long leaves, and grows almost anywhere. After you have found it, take it along and put it down somewhere near the place where you begin working: in less than no time you will be through with everything.

In order to assure the healthy growth of any kind of plant, before you start sowing or planting, stick some part of a *litáw* in the ground somewhere at the place where you begin. The stem and the leaves of the *litáw*, which is a climbing plant, are both of the same color: they are uniformly green.

When your plants have taken root (*naggamót*), or, which amounts to the same, if they live (*mabiyág*), it is the farmer's duty to see that they become strong. The surest way to obtain such a result is to go and look for a herb, called *tagabílag* at Bayag, and to attach it to one of the plants in question. It causes the whole field or garden to be covered with the most luxuriant vegetation and to produce a growth that can weather almost any storm. The *tagabílag* may be found all over the district: it is rather tall, some ten inches, and bears white flowers and red fruits.

Another herb, called *gátud* at Bayag, of the same habitat as the preceding, but rather low, may be used with profit in connection with the gathering of crops. It should be tied to one of the plants that have to be reaped, and if nothing untoward intervenes, the farmer may rest assured that his soil will yield a most bountiful harvest.

To avoid the occurrence of landslides, which often play havoc not only with plantations, but with dwellings and granaries as well, the Isneg plant *nagbăyúgan* on or near the spot they want to protect: one single plant is sufficient, and it is not necessary to have it multiply. The *nagbăyúgan* is a stout herb, usually some two feet tall: it spreads a very agreeable odor, has comparatively long leaves, and, according to the natives, bears no flowers.

But the enemies of a man's fields and gardens are numerous and powerful: some of them are able to destroy in less than one hour what it has taken you weeks and months to build up. Therefore all Isneg farmers should know who they are and make a thorough study of all the means at their disposal for combating them and protecting the fruit of their labor. The dangers that threaten the life or growth of any particular kind of plant will be treated in their proper place.

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One of the greatest enemies of the Isneg farmer is the locust (*dódon*), and consequently it will not seem strange that he is usually well acquainted with the names of several varieties of rice that can withstand these pests most effectually. We have, among others:

The *paturây*, without awns (*ibo*);

The *ortó-*, also awnless, and with rather small kernels: it is said by the Isneg to remain on the field even though all other varieties be consumed by locusts;

The *kuritây*, which has very tough leaves, no awns, and thin elongated kernels: it is comparatively rare and often used for purposes of divination. Knead a ball of cooked *kuritây*-rice and throw it a certain distance: if it falls down in a compact mass, you are sure to live long; should it break up or be smashed to pieces, the span of your life will be a short one.

In the same line may be mentioned the *binoóxān*, which is supposed to be immune from the depredations of wild animals.

Then we have the *madíliya* (evidently from the Spanish *medalla*, "medal", which may be the reason why it is used for an amulet, as will be seen under the description of the preparation of seeds for planting), a kind of *dékat* or oily rice. The sweets made from this variety remain soft for a considerable time, even to the third and fourth "night", as the Isneg puts it, who counts by nights, not by days.

The tallest and largest variety of rice is called *tăyútăy*: its husk is very light-colored.

The *xirxirá-* is the despair of the housewife, as it is exceedingly hard to pound: its husk is variegated and it has no awns.

It sometimes happens that the Isneg plants several varieties of rice or palay [18] in one and the same field; but, if he does so, he is always careful to keep each variety to its own patch of ground and not to plant them indiscriminately all over the field. In this case, each variety is known by the name of *xánan*. Thus, when the Isneg says that he has three *xánan* in his field, he means that his field is divided into three sections, each of them planted with a different variety of palay. It should be noted though that the name *xánan* is applied to the rice that grows there and not to the patch of soil in which it is planted.

[18] A name which is used extensively all over the Islands and means "rice in the husk or paddy".

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243 Then accompany her when she goes to place it in your field: the next
787 time that deer comes again, it will die inside your *kómān*.

The *sakórāń* is a section of a bamboo stem that has been split at the top into many narrow strips, which in turn have been spread open so as to take the shape of a funnel. A *sakórāń* is very often stuck upright in the center of a rice field in order to frighten away wild boars and deer. It is even more effective if you furnish it with an herb, some twelve inches tall, also called *sakórāń*, and growing in forested areas.

131 The worst enemy of your field, however, is the locust (*dódon*; young
789 locust: *annón*), and this subject needs a more extensive treatment.
243 Swarms of locusts have infested the district, every four or five years, ever since the occupation of Apayaw in 1913, and whenever they pass at the time of the year when rice fields are clothed in green, which is usually the time when they do, it means famine for the country. These pests clip the paddy (*ratudán*) as nicely as a lawn mower, so that nothing remains but the *ratúd* (what remains after the grass has been cut close to the ground), and the field is *naratudán*. What has been left untouched is called the *íńāb* of the locust.

Everybody knows that prevention is better than cure, and so, in order to save your field from the alighting of the locusts, whose presence has been ascertained in the district, make immediate use of one or both of the following amulets: the *anódon*, a creeping herb found in almost any place, which, when placed in the *kómān*, prevents it from alluring the locusts; leafy branches of the *alsít*, a hesperidious shrub bearing small bitter fruits, not larger than a fingerlet, and growing in forests: when stuck in the soil of your field, they keep the locusts at a distance.

In case they are already very near, you may have recourse to either or both of the following expedients:

Place some *tagága* (Bayag pronunciation) in your field to prevent them from alighting. The *tagága* is an asclepiadaceous vine, clinging to trees, and much used for decorating purposes: its opposite leaves growing close together on both sides of the stem give it the appearance of a thick ribbon, deeply indented all along its edges.

Go and put *takkír álig* [35] in the place where the locusts are for the moment, so that they fly away out of your own neighborhood. The *takkír álig* is a low herb that grows in forests.

[35] Literally: with which the *álig* drives away its companions. The *álig*-bee is supposed to keep ants at a distance.

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Should they come along anyhow, either through negligence on your part, or because you have been taken unawares, as soon as they start alighting in your field, take a *balanddn*-blanket,[36] the first one of its corners in the end of a long pole, which you have split for the purpose, and erect this improvised flag somewhere in your *kómān*. The higher the pole the easier it will be to frighten the locusts away. If there is no pole at hand, tie the blanket to the top of one of the trees that have been left standing, provided it be a tall one. This stratagem is called *magdattág*.

Once the locusts have taken possession of your rice field, the only way to drive them off is to throw *aksumég* (Bayag pronunciation) among them: this is a low herb with small hairy leaves that grows all over the district.

Here in Apayaw the Isneg do not live close enough together to be able to imitate the inhabitants of other parts of the Mountain Province, where large groups of people, equipped with small nets, go to attack the enemy. But, after all, these expeditions are rarely very effective, and usually the only result, perhaps the most important in the eyes of the improvident natives, is the catching of a large amount of viands without any cost and with comparatively little trouble. The Isneg also considers a locust as a dainty and may for a few days look with dry eyes on the disaster that has been wrought in his beloved *kómān*, only to expiate later on by a prolonged fast the few happy hours of satiated gourmandizing

But let us revert to our rice fields, and see how the Isneg tackles the problem of defending them against the jealousy of his neighbors, who either use natural means to destroy the paddy, which they rarely dare to attempt, or resort to occult powers to play havoc in a *kómān*, which is of much more frequent occurrence.

If you mix the barks of the *pannó*, a forest tree, and of the *karrán*, a leafless plant, some twelve inches tall, growing in forests (the name means "scaring away"), and place this mixture in your field, the person who ventures to harm your crops, will die instantly and without any previous illness, as soon as he gets home.

If, instead of the barks, you use *annopá*, a low herb growing in forests, the villain will be killed in an accident.

Now it may happen that you think about it only after some harm has been done already. In such a case insert a *binusíran*, a kind of

[36] Indigo, ornamented with purple thread at the seams.

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the fact that I had used his daughter. Can you beat it?" Needless to say, the conversation was practically a soliloquy on the part of the policeman. I do not believe though that his action was consonant with the Isneg code of morals; but this incident, and especially the answer of the girl's father, shows clearly how different is the state of man and woman among the Isneg, with reference to sex morality.

It should be added here that the father would probably have objected much more strongly to the man who took such liberties with his daughter, if he had not been a policeman. The latter are supposed to be more or less immune and may take liberties not accorded to others, probably on account of their position. Isneg in general resent that: I have heard them say so more than once; but they are afraid to object too strongly, and so policemen mostly do what they like: their reputation is far from clean all over the district, although I do not believe that they are all equally blamable. Later on I heard that, at the time of the above occurrence, the policeman had intended to make the girl his second wife, an engagement which had been broken off at a subsequent date.

It may be noted in this connection that among the Isneg a man, whether single or married, who commits adultery with a married woman (*manaládag*) is thought to be driven to his crime by some evil spirit. In such a case his guilt would be considerably lessened in our point of view; not so, however, in that of the Isneg: in his eyes, it is only the ultimate act that counts, as has been stated before.

"A fit of anger usually makes a man ridiculous in the eyes of the bystanders. It is true that when there is question of a rightful quarrel, you should never fail to sustain it; to be meek and patient under the circumstances would be mere cowardice. Nevertheless everybody is inclined to laugh at the behavior of an angry man: so, although you be strictly in your right, try to control your anger sufficiently not to cause others to laugh at you.

"You know our belief with reference to people who are wont to laugh at the defects of other persons (*magdóla*): if such people are married, they will be punished by having their children suffer the same defect; if they are still young, the children who will be born to them in the future will be misshapen (*pákaṅ*).

"A certain amount of *básí* is not to be despised, but drinking to excess is always bad. Who respects a drunken man? Besides, think about the consequences: quarrels, fights, bloodshed, revenges, etc. As soon as you feel that you have enough, go away and sleep it off, lest you commit regrettable deeds.

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is who finds a means to keep the wolf from the door. On occasions like these, it is clearly apparent how training and experience have rendered the Isneg girl fit for meeting almost any kind of emergency, while the customary indolence of the male makes him an easy prey to downheartedness, so much so that he becomes utterly unable to save himself and his family from the pangs of hunger.

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Nevertheless, under ordinary circumstances, the average Isneg raises enough rice to last him and his family for a year. He may not be able to store it up for future consumption, but what he has usually keeps him alive from one harvest to the next, and besides almost always allows him to offer an occasional sacrifice to the spirits and to invite his relatives and neighbors to the ceremony. Such is the normal state of affairs with the great majority of the people.

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On the other hand, there are always a few who may be called poor (*nakimrút*): their rice, if they raise any at all, never lasts them the whole year round, and, in the meanwhile, they have to content themselves with Indian corn, yams, taro and the rest; but only in times of famine, are they obliged to feed on coconut flowers and other outlandish foods. Others again seem never to be able to make both ends meet: these are the *síbud*; their rice, which should be sufficient for ordinary persons, is usually gone almost before they are aware of it,

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and, in any case, it is much too easily consumed to allow them any degree of comfort.

Several reasons may be assigned for the exceptional poverty of these people. The spirit *Lańdúsān* is very often the culprit. If it happens through his machinations that people are brought to the verge of starvation, the latter are said to be *malańdúsān*. Sometimes, too, a want of civic spirit that has been observed in a certain person, may induce other people to pray the spirits to have his plants consumed by animals, and consequently to cause him to become poor. In such a case, the enemies of this unworthy citizen are said to *maglábuy*. Other people are simply *nakurmáń*, they are unlucky: they cannot raise anything on their fields, and the result is wretchedness and want of food.

It may also happen that some people are unable to complete any kind of work in their rice fields: they are *nadannág*. Whatever they try to accomplish, whether planting or weeding, whether clearing a field or fencing it, they can never bring it to a finish. This, of course, almost inevitably leads to poverty and ultimately ends in the lack of the necessary livelihood. Nevertheless there is an easy remedy to this sad situation: the only thing to be done is to prepare *inapúxān* (betel for chewing), and to offer it to the spirit in charge by laying it down somewhere within his reach, at the same time reciting the following prayer, which was given me by *Púlog* from Dangla (O dialect, Main branch):[2]

Iápugko iáw aníto ta dinā- pagdandannaxán (I offer betel [for chewing] to you, spirit, so that you do not make me lazy).[3]

A rather remote, but very real cause of destitution, is a person's habit of being late (*nekábut*) whenever some work has to be done. In such a case the only means for him to escape being numbered sooner or later among the needy is to shake off his inbred torpor and to imitate his more diligent companions.

In this connection I should be allowed to mention the lines of the hand, as the art of palmistry is far from being unknown among the Isneg, and a person who is *rappád*, which means that one of the lines

[2] The way to prepare *inapúxān* will soon be explained at length. For explanation of Isneg dialects and branches, see M. Vanoverbergh, Isneg Life Cycle, II, Marriage, Death, and Burial, Publ. Cath. Anthrop. Conf., 1938, v. 3, no. 3, pp. 261-64.

[3] Lest I be prevented from finishing my work. This is said only of work in the rice fields: clearing land, planting rice, etc.

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of the hand crosses the palm from one side to the other continuously and without interruption, is absolutely unable to raise a large amount of rice.[4]

Nobody, however, should feel dismayed, as the Isneg possess a cure even for the direst poverty. It consists in having recourse to the use of a very powerful amulet, which has been designed most especially for the needy by the ever merciful spirits, namely the *taxa-rút*, a small herb that grows in the forest. The only question is to know it and to find it.

As will be made plain in the course of this paper, the Isneg firmly believe in a strict division of labor. Each sex has its own work to do, and generally no member of the opposite sex would dare encroach upon this age-long custom. Nevertheless there are a few male individuals who form an exception to this rule: these are the *tăyyén* and the *takowáń*. The *tăyyén* (pronounced *tăyyán* in Bolo) do not know how to handle a hatchet, while, on the other hand, they use a woman's *ikó*-knife as easily as if it were a tool specifically their own; even in their gait, they take over everything that is characteristic of woman. The *takowáń* dress like women and perform all kinds of work usually done by the latter: they plant, weed and pound rice as well as the most experienced member of the fair sex. But, I repeat it, these are exceptions.

No true Isneg man goes to work without his headaxe or *aliwá*, usually stuck in his G-string from beneath, at one side, with the helve uppermost.[5] This is his constant companion and also the sole tool he needs when at work in the field. It will not be amiss to give here a detailed description of the *aliwá* of the Isneg.

The headaxe or *aliwá* consists of a kind of hatchet with a very broad blade and a comparatively thin long helve (*alupítăn*).

The helve is made of hard wood furnished by several trees that grow all through the Isneg country, for instance the *taggáy* (a kind of molave), the *bańlát*, the *kanúmăy* (a kind of ebony), etc. The end of the helve, opposite to the head in which the blade is fixed, is called *aguwáy*. The blade is attached to the helve by means of a tang or spike (*otáń*) that fits into the head of the helve, which is surrounded by a comparatively long iron ring (*palóbo* or *paraddál*).

[4] The *rappád* also easily resorts to murder: he is a dangerous person.

[5] Cf. Publ. Cath. Anthrop. Conf., v: 1, no. 5, Dress and Adornment in the Mountain Province of Luzon, Philippine Islands, p. 217, fig. 36.

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cock, in order to prepare breakfast, which early preparation is called *magsira*.

Actually children who attend school continue to follow the general Isneg rule, and leave home early in the morning, before having taken any breakfast. As they have to wait until noon before partaking of their first meal, it is needless to say that such conditions will hardly improve the health of the next generation.

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Divisions of day and night as known to the Isneg:

Mawarnit: Immediately before sunrise.

Pagmakát: Morning, from sunrise till about ten o'clock a. m.

Alxáw: Day.

Xídam: Evening, from about five o'clock p. m. till darkness sets in.

Xabí: Night.

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Whereas a banquet is almost always a part of the ceremony, and *bási* usually flows freely, it is not to be wondered at that a few altercations and occasional hot words are interspersed in the conversation at regular intervals. Both parties of course look for their own interests: the one tries to get the largest possible amount of valuables, while the other is bent on reducing them to a minimum. Although the whole affair usually ends in a mutual agreement, nevertheless it may happen that at this juncture the meeting is broken up and that no further steps are taken toward the final marriage. Here, however, one has again to reckon with the two young people themselves, who may have set their minds very firmly on the attainment of their hearts' desire, and so an agreement may have to be reached, even though one of the parties is loath to conform. If nevertheless the *amómān* miscarries, the reason is usually to be found in the all too high price exacted by the parents of the girl, or on the all too low value at which the girl is esteemed by those of the boy. But here also the engaged couple may act on their own initiative, as has been explained when stating the case in which the girl's parents refused the *simbá-* beads during the *sumpád* ceremony.

It should be noted here that the relatives of the groom who take part in the *amómān* would hardly dare to start on this important expedition without having provided themselves with the customary amulets, lest some harm befall them. These amulets are called *talimúñay*, and consist of certain herbs that remain the secret of the shaman.

Although by this time the Isneg know very well the use and value of currency, nevertheless in matrimonial contracts they stick to the old way of paying in kind, and so the *tádug* consists of what the Isneg prize above anything else, namely jars and beads. To these are sometimes added plates, clothes, etc., according to the agreement reached by both parties at the *amómān*. It would be very hard to say what is the regular price paid for an Isneg girl, as everything depends on the means at the disposal of the interested party, but one *xúsi* jar at least and a few beads should be considered as the very smallest amount that could be exacted by the girl's parents. It is not the place here to enumerate the numerous kinds of *xúsi* jars and beads, each with its own native name, that are known to the Isneg. Suffice it to say that not a few of these jars will be valued at fifty dollars, although from our viewpoint they may be worth less than one tenth of that amount; but our evaluation is not that of the Isneg,

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766 inside its lower half, a certain amount of clothes being pushed between the sides of the jar and the *innát* in order to keep the latter straight and to prevent it from falling forwards or backwards and from leaning to either side.

But these are exceptional cases and happen only to the very rich (Musimut, Nagbabalayan, etc.) or to persons that stand very high in the estimation of their people (Lettuakan, Bayag, etc.). At Musimut and so on, very rich people may be kept two days like that before they are finally interred. At Lettuakan, a few years ago, *Antón*, who does not seem to have been either rich or influential, was kept in a sitting posture for three days. At Bayag also, three days usually elapse before the jar is buried with its contents. I believe, however, that formerly such bodies would have been kept from burial for a much longer time. This opinion is based, not only on analogy with similar customs that obtain among other tribes, but also on information received in Apayaw with reference to the time that elapses between death and burial, all of which will be mentioned later on.

764 Among the Isneg there is no question of preservation of the body
171 either by mummification or by the use of any other means. Abandonment of the coffined body under some large rock in the neighborhood of the settlement, which obtains among the Kankanay and the Bontok Igorot, burial in elaborate monuments, as is customary among the rich Kalinga, cremation, etc., are all unknown in Apayaw. The body is simply interred, as will be explained presently.

764 After the death of a person, one of his relatives (all of whom are called *matáyán*) goes to announce (*magba-ba-nán*) the sad news to the absent members of his kindred. As long as the body remains unburied, friends and neighbors come and go, men and women showing in their own way their participation in the sorrow of the be-
[824 reaved relatives. Women who go to the house of the deceased, usually
751 take along with them some *anúlut* (a kind of herb) as a precaution, lest the *balańóbāń* of the person they go to mourn for be following them in the future. The *bási* that is abundantly distributed on such occasions, proves a very strong attraction to some of the men, and, in case the deceased was a man of means, the pigs that are slaughtered are also a powerful incentive and inevitably induce our Isneg to flock to the house of the dead (*makixánat* or *mepaxinnatáy*) and
764 participate in the ceremonies connected with mourning. No real
782 sacrifices (*pildáp*, etc.), however, are offered, and no *maxoníto* is per-

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its preparation. In case he were not, he would be wise enough to invoke the help and counsel of other men, who are always willing to offer their services in this respect.

But I believe I am anticipating, and so let us begin with the beginning. The *taxímmatón* or sign for the *si-dúg* or burning of the fields is the *lumbá-*, a tree mentioned before, when it is covered with fruits. This generally happens in April or, at the earliest, about the end of March.

Should it happen that one of the trees that were left standing in the *kómăn*, is inhabited by *Danág*-spirits, the Isneg, before beginning to burn his field, goes and looks for a *bátań*, a kind of rather large bracket fungus in the shape of an ear, very hard and not edible, that grows on trees. This he hangs somewhere in the tree inhabited by the *Danág* in question, with the inevitable result that the latter get frightened and either decamp or, at least, leave the owner in peace.

Before applying the torch, the Isneg pronounces the word *sílăm* so that all canes and branches be nicely burnt and there remain as little residue as possible. If he fails to pronounce this magic term, he might have to spend several days in gathering and burning the remainder of the rubbish.

Let us now make the acquaintance of a spirit who is a big help to a farmer in possession of a field under clearance. His name is *Alipugpúg* and he occasionally shows his presence in the *kómăn* in the shape of a little whirl of wind or eddy (which is also the meaning of his name), that causes leaves and small twigs to whirl around. If he is seen playing in the rice field at any time after the *si-dúg* or burning, this presages a lusty and robust growth of plants. Never forget though that the day following the appearance of this favorable omen must be kept as a holiday: you must stay at home and stop all work, whether you be man or woman.

In case *Alipugpúg* shows himself immediately after the burning of the field, with the fresh ashes turning in a circle, go immediately to meet him and get some of the whirling ashes, applying them to your forehead, as a prophylactic against the headache. Then, on the next day, observe the customary holiday.

And now the Isneg farmer may contemplate with pride the result of his exertions. The field is almost ready for the women to start their work: nothing remains but a few dry half-burnt sticks scattered all aroumd, a few heaps of partly consumed canes of bamboo grass, and

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it; after a comparatively short time the hole will have become a well and, in some cases, even a small pond.

Now before I give a detailed account of the process of growing rice, I shall try to make clear a few things the knowledge of which is of paramount importance to every Isneg farmer.

This has to do with the *Pílăy* or *Ilăy*. Merely to say that they are the tutelary spirits of the palay would be putting it much too mildly, as will be seen presently. The *Pílăy* (in some places called *Ilăy*, in others known by both names) are spirits, some of them female, others male, and all of them young, in fact mere children, but they have a tremendous power either for good or for evil. Here are some names of *Pílăy*-spirits: *Aggăyén, Kano-nit, Darikokkó, Kópań, Rukkiná-, Lapindy, Dapindy, Ruppitá-, Alindodóăy*, etc. The latter is a female *Pílăy*, as she is said to carry palay on her head (*magtotón*) which is the way for women to carry loads; men carry theirs on their shoulders (*mańagtó*). These *Pílăy* will be mentioned over and over later on, but here I shall give their special characteristics, their habitat, a few general means for winning their favor, etc.

Although there are many of them, the *Pílăy* are never gregarious, and so it never happens that two of them are met together in one and the same spot: each of them keeps to his or her own place. Some of them protect the *kómăn*, others reside in granaries, and in every Isneg house a *Pílăy* takes his abode near the post of the house that is next to one of the four corners of the hearth, either at its base, just above the floor, or more especially on the *páza*, a shelf that is fixed over the hearth.

Pílăy (a term that also means "lame") is not the name of any of the ruling spirits, nevertheless he it is who guards your rice and punishes with lameness any stranger who dares touch a granary that does not belong to him, even though he does so without any malicious intent. Not only does *Pílăy* guard your palay, but he even causes it to increase, and, to accomplish this, he does not shrink from stealing rice for you from people who are not his votaries. One of these *Pílăy* rice thieves is called *Ruńád*. Whosoever is not able to walk, whosoever walks with difficulty, is supposed to have been struck by *Pílăy*, who punishes people not only for touching their neighbor's granary, but also for other acts that may be displeasing to him. Some of *Pílăy*'s victims are *madapindy*, one of their legs is shorter than the other; others are *pákań*, these can hardly walk and their pace is quite irregular; others again are *dapilán*, they crawl over the ground on their

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knees; and finally there are the *páñol*, who are expressly believed to have been punished by *Pílăy*, not for having trespassed on somebody else's property by touching palay which was not their own, but for having done something of which he does not approve: the *páñol* are unable to walk or almost so on account of their legs being swollen at the knees.

Whenever an Isneg prepares rice pudding or sweets made from *díkat*-rice, he never fails to give a share to the *Pílăy* who resides in the shelf over the hearth: usually a very small portion is sufficient. Should a shaman do the cooking and at the same time pronounce the following words:

"*Batbattuzám ni N.*" (Satiate N.), *Pílăy* will throw things (pebbles, etc.) at the boy or girl in question as soon as the sweets are being cut into pieces, and this will prove a blessing to the child, as, with *Pílăy's* help, it will be favored with an abundance of palay at the next harvest.

One of *Pílăy's* assistants is the *agammáy, ag-agammáy* or *ugammáy*, a kind of mantis, which usually lives in rice fields, where it helps *Pílăy* increase the palay. These mantes thrive in full security as no Isneg would dare kill such valuable insects.

Here follow a few formulas of prayers that may profitably be addressed to the *Pílăy* at any time, provided they be accompanied with the offering of sweets, that are usually made from *díkat*-rice with the addition of sugar, coconut meat, etc.:

Ne uwámo pílăy séno batbattuzánnaami péyañ (Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you be always satiating us).

Ne uwámo pílăy ta dímo pagtaitán de balbalásañ (Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you do not make the girls sick).

Ne uwámo pílăy ta tuplámmo ka ammáy dăyá ómănmi (Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you fill our rice fields with rice).

Ne uwámo pílăy ta pannowámmo peyapéyañ dăyá álañmi (Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you always fill our granaries).

Ne uwámo pílăy dínaami pagtaitán (Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you do not make us sick).

Ne uwámo pílăy aduwámmo ya ammáymi ya ómăn se ya álañmi (Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you increase our rice on our rice fields and in our granaries).

Ne uwámo pílăy dímo balbalsiánan dăyá tólăy no umáñ kiyá sízăy (Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you do not make the persons sick when they come to the hut [in the field]).

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supernatural for the time to come. Nature, however, is not theirs to direct; they know this all too well, and so why bother about the future. Besides, there will always be something to eat, there is no winter in the tropics, vegetation is luxuriant, and the Isneg are not particular. Nature is ruled by the supernatural, not by human beings. All the latter can do is to influence the supernatural. Man has no direct control over rain and sunshine, sickness and death, but the spirits have; and these have to be moved to pity or to be frightened into submission, as the case may be.

An Isneg will say: "What is the use of medicine? If it has been decreed that a person will die, he will do so, medicines or no medicines". But nevertheless he will comply with all possible prescriptions of the shaman, and if the person dies notwithstanding all precautions have been taken to protect him from the spirits, then: "It was his fate", and that ends the matter.

If the locusts are devastating the fields, an Isneg will resign himself to his fate. He has worked diligently, he has observed all possible omens and has broken no taboos; why should he worry, why should he try to destroy these pests. The Government will force him to do so of course, and he will obey as long as he remains under the eagle eye of his rulers, but he will say: "What is the use; if we destroy these, others will take their place, provided it be decreed that way: and if not, it is perfectly useless to tire ourselves for nothing".

Such and similar states of mind are not confined to the Isneg. I remember very well how on a certain occasion, in 1914, I was assisting an Ilоko Christian on his deathbed. Wanting to impress upon him the great necessity of a deep sorrow for his sins, I described to him as vividly as possible the horrors of hell, and told him how anxious he should be to avoid an eternity of such pains and torments; but his only answer was an act of absolute conformity to the Divine Will: "If God wants me to go to hell, I am perfectly willing". And that man was far from wanting to be disrespectful to the Deity; his words simply illustrated how little he cared about what the future had in store for him. Pagan Isneg lay the blame for every untoward happening, either merely on fate, or on the intervention of some ill-intentioned imp, while a happy turn of events is usually considered to be the result either of fate pure and simple, or of some special clever means by which the machinations of the spirits have been counteracted. Nowadays the Government, the Ibanag as they call all Christians, has generally to bear the blame of any public calamity

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know how to keep *Talomásim* at a distance, in the case of this nameless spirit they are absolutely powerless: the only way for a young Isneg mother to avoid him is to stay in the house at night.

Fire (*apúy*) plays a very important role whenever a new Isneg citizen has been born on our planet. Leaving aside the question of the place of the mother near the hearth of the house which has just been mentioned, I should like to draw attention to the following:

1. Although, even under ordinary circumstances, the fire of the hearth is rarely extinguished completely, it is of paramount importance that it should not be let go out for a single moment during the whole period that immediately follows the birth of a child, which period lasts until the mother has recovered sufficient strength to move around freely, in fact, I believe, as long as the mother has to sleep near the hearth at night.

2. At least on the first day, that is before the child is one day old, it is absolutely forbidden for anybody to take fire or firebrands (*alitán*) from the hearth: this is strictly taboo (*kanuáw*).

3. No alien fire may be brought inside the house on that day.

4. Three other taboos have also probably to do with the respect shown to fire on such an occasion: again at least during the first day, it is strictly forbidden to use green bamboos (*namáta ńa bólo*) to feed the fire. The same prohibition is extended to the passing of green leaves over the fire in order to soften them: this is very often done with young banana leaves, young palm leaves, etc. that will be used for packing and other purposes; the fire renders them very supple and easily pliable, in such a way preventing them from splitting at every turn. A third taboo concerns anything green (*namáta*), not dry: nothing of the kind is allowed to be brought into the house. Should any of these three taboos be infringed, the Isneg firmly believe that the babe will become thin and emaciated, it will be *malandtān*.

A woman in childbed, wherever she be situated inside the house, is assisted by all women who belong to the same household, and even little girls are allowed to witness the birth of a child. Experienced old women of the neighborhood are called in to take the lion's share in bringing the event to a happy issue, in some places always, in others whenever the inmates of the house prove incapable of the task or when the mother has much difficulty in bringing forth her baby. Midwives are called *mańa-lón* in Isneg.

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854 As soon as the mother is allowed to attend to her ordinary duties,
431 her first concern is to take her child and visit her relatives, her own
796 as well as those of her husband. These are then obliged by custom to give the little one a small bracelet, which consists in a string of beads and is called *battá-*. In each house that is entered for that purpose, one such *battá-* is placed over the wrist of the babe. Besides, the relatives who live in the same settlement with the parents of the child, have to perform the *maxaníto* ceremony (communication with the spirits), at which a chicken is offered by the shaman, before the arrival of mother and child. This *maxaníto*, however, is dispensed with in the case of people who live in different agglomerations.

853 The mother (*magtaxíbi*) gives her child (*taxíbi*) the breast (*magpasóso*; in Ilоko, *sóso* means "breast"; in Isneg "breast" is *xátat*) at every turn, and the little one has always its mother's milk at its disposition. No sooner does the baby cry than this is done, since, for an Isneg, the only plausible explanation is that it is hungry As a rule, a child suckles its mother's breasts as long as it has not cut its first tooth, but even then you cannot call it really weaned: a little youngster running around freely may sometimes be seen partaking
[262] of the same food as his newborn brother or sister. On the other hand the little babe is given cooked rice to eat very early, usually after five days; however, as a matter of course, this solid food has been chewed by the complacent parent before it is put into the infant's mouth.

854 The baby when at rest is lying down either stretched out on a mat or a piece of cloth on the floor, or more frequently in a *dóyan*, which is a rectangular piece of cloth doubled up lengthwise so as to form a kind of pouch, each end of which is suspended from some part of the house, like a hammock, by means of two strings or strips of rattan, so that it can be used as a swing.

854 If Isneg parents have to leave a little child alone in the house,
776 they usually confide it to the care of *Daraxodán*, a kind spirit, who is always at hand in such a predicament: he looks after the babe, without its elders knowing anything about it, and the little one never cries as long as he remains with it. Another spirit, *Laglagtmiń*, who has the shape of a bird, is supposed to bring up any babies who are not well cared for by their parents; but although such children do not
[753] die while *Laglagtmiń* looks after them, they always remain thin and
856] emaciated, which, of course, the Isneg do not consider as an ideal condition for an infant.

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Iloko, means "communication, participation"; but in Isneg the term is very hard to translate. I shall give a couple of examples to illustrate its meaning: 761 192

In the case of death by accident, e.g., falling from a coconut tree: *neránud xapó kiyá iyúq*, he died (!) on account of the coconut tree.

Christian Isneg explain Christian martyrdom in the same way: *ni San Pedro neránud xapó kiyá ápó Dios*, St. Peter died (!) on account of (or: for) the Lord God.

Students say: *ni Rizal neránud xapó kiyá ilina*, Rizal (the Filipino hero executed by the Spaniards in 1896) died (!) on account of (or: for) his country.

The other kind of death, which is obviously the most frequent and ordinary one, I call "supernatural" because the Isneg ascribe its cause to the intervention of the spirits. Death, in this case, is caused by the loss of the kidneys (*bokál*): some spirit, who is certainly to be classed under the malevolent ones, deprives a person of his kidneys and devours them, death being the inevitable result. 761 753 776

Among the spirits that are addicted to this destructive practice may be cited:

Libuwát, who lives in bushy thickets;

Xasilá- or *Xasilaw:* after having devoured the kidneys, this spirit besmears with blood the leaves of the trees and herbs that grow on the mountain on which he has fixed his abode;

Ápó, who devours the kidneys of people who die of what we call dysentery;

Mañlatóñ: this is the real angel of death; he does away with the kidneys of all people who die on that account, except of course those that have been bereft of their kidneys by some other spirit. *Mañlatóñ* kills all those that are spurned by others, he is the kidney-eater and executioner *par excellence*.

The error of such a belief might easily be ascertained, but autopsy is unknown among the Isneg, and so it stands. The better to understand Isneg mentality, it should be borne in mind that sickness as such is never considered as the sole or immediate cause of death, and this for obvious reasons. The Isneg know only diseases that appear outwardly, as skin diseases (*busí* "tetter", *rasá*, "itch"), *daxdñ*, "fever", dysentery, beriberi, and so on, while diseases with no or only slight outward signs are entirely unknown to the natives. And so if a person dies from cardiopathy, pneumonia, diabetes, etc., the Isneg do not doubt for a single moment that some ill-minded imp [763]

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must have intervened. With reference to the former class of ailments, some of them never cause death, except if they are coupled with further complications, while in the rest the symptoms (as passing of blood in dysentery, general swelling of the body in beriberi) are considered as the visible effect of the work initiated by a spirit inside the body.

In the same way, whenever some dangerous sickness fails to prove fatal and is overcome either by the strong constitution of the patient, or by some medicine, the Isneg attribute the cure, not to its real cause, but to the superior force of some spirit in league with the shaman, or to magic, all of which has subdued for the time being or completely driven away the terrible kidney-eater, who on that account has been unable to finish the work he began.

After what has been said here, it should not be wondered at that doctors and nurses have a very difficult time with these people, who have little or no faith in their ministrations and consider medicines as either operating through magic (in case of a cure) or entirely useless. Most of the time, however, medicines are given no credit at all, and the cure is merely attributed to the work of the shaman, whose help is always invoked, even in those rare cases in which recourse has been had to natural means.

Suicide (*magbanól*, "to commit suicide") must be listed in the second class: its victims are supposed to die through the action of a kidney-hunter. Suicide, however, by hanging oneself (*magpatól*) or otherwise, not by jumping into the water (*malimát*, "to be drowned"), is rare among the Isneg. I know of only one case in recent times: a few years ago a person hanged himself at Utul, but I have not been able to discover the reason. Drowning oneself would certainly be shunned by Isneg, on account of the probability of the *innát* being lost and deprived of its necessary preparation for the acceptance of the *kaduduwá* by *Kútaw*. It is universally believed by the natives that the relatives of a person who died by drowning, whether voluntary or accidental, will continually dream about him at night; this seems to be a kind of revenge on the part of the deceased, probably out of spite for encountering so many difficulties on his way to the other world. That is one of the reasons why the Isneg so sedulously try to find the body of a drowned person even for weeks at a time; if the body is recovered and buried, no such dreams affect the relatives of the deceased.

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In general, it is said of a person who dies without anybody being aware of it (*maáñaw*), whether by drowning or otherwise, that some part of his body will invariably appear in his house, and that the said part will tell the relatives the name of the deceased and the news of his death.

Death by cursing is also to be classified under the same heading. Indeed the Isneg never call it by the term *meránud*, and the kidneys of a person who dies on that account, are supposed to have been devoured as usual. Consequently it seems that, according to the Isneg viewpoint, the curse is not so much the immediate cause of death as a kind of summons to the spirits, by which they are invited to proceed to the stealing of a person's kidneys. To curse (*pakkawán;* past tense: *piíkawán;* from the stem *pakkáw*, "shouting") is done shouting, and in such a way as to cause the adversary to hear the curse pronounced against him. The result is instantaneous; the cursed person gradually becomes thinner and thinner, and finally dies. Nevertheless not all curses are intended to entail the death of a person. It may happen, for instance, if you are a thief, that people will pray that some part of your body become diseased or destroyed; in this case you will be *malbág*, and the person who cursed you is said to *manaddál* (to destroy, to deteriorate).

To resume: the Isneg consider all deaths from disease (including suicide and death by cursing) to be caused by a kidney-eating spirit, while deaths by accident or by violence are considered as natural, there being at the same time a kind of connection between death and the object or person that took part in it, either because this object or person constitutes a kind of mediate (the coconut tree from which a person falls) or immediate cause (the authorities who execute a culprit, a headhunter who kills an enemy), or because it is the final cause, *causa finalis* (God, in the case of a martyr; one's country, in the case of a patriot). All deaths by accident or by violence, except felonious homicide, come under the denomination *meránud*.

B. BURIAL AND MOURNING

1. Death till Burial

Let us now enter the house of a dying Isneg. The poor man is very sick, it has even been rumored about that he is actually very near death, that he can hardly articulate a sound (*mañgassát*). The *dorarákit* or shamaness has used all means in her power to avert the

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776 764 *Buńdd:* a spirit who invariably approaches the house at the death of one of its inmates. He looks like a big tree, and at his arrival the whole house shakes.

Xánat: a kind of giant who is to be seen roaming around, either at the house of a dead person, or along some road leading to it.

Tuktukkál: a whole swarm of spirits who come to mourn and weep at the house of a dead person, especially if the latter is a child.

[851 753] The Isneg strictly forbid all children to play noisily anywhere in the settlement where an *inádt* is awaiting burial; if any youngster should disobey this injunction, he would invariably become afflicted with *bońkál* (wens).

765 A person who arrives from some other agglomeration bringing in a new jar at the time a corpse is present in one of the houses, may be sure not to be able to enjoy the use of his jar for a long time: the latter is *ma-dammán.*

764 As has been stated previously, the body has to be watched night and day. At night, when most of the mourners are sleeping, from one to three persons must always remain awake, and when the latter feel very sleepy, others must take their place, lest the punishment which has already been referred to be meted out to one of their number.

In case the deceased is a married man, the widow (*bálo*) has to stay near the corpse of her husband, as soon as the body has been dressed and placed in the required position, and she has to remain there until one night after burial. For this purpose a diminutive tent (*aróbón*) is put up near the head of the dead person, on the other side of the post, toward the hearth (fig. 3). This *aróbón* usually consists of a couple of boards for the sides and a blanket for the cover, the whole outfit leaning against the wall of the house. Only men take part in fixing the *aróbón.* The widow has to stay inside all the time, she remains invisible, and she neither weeps nor laments, at least not in a loud voice: if she does so, her sobs should remain inaudible or almost so. There she partakes of the food that is pushed in by her relatives, and there she sleeps. Since the *aróbón* is comparatively small, it is quite impossible for her ever to stretch her legs. If she has to go out for some urgent reason, a board is taken out of the wall, which is not at all difficult in Isneg houses, and a ladder is placed against it. As soon as the woman leaves the house through this improvised door, she has to wrap herself up completely in another blanket, and to reenter as soon as possible. In some places she

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787 intricate and obviously of rather rare occurrence: this is probably the
825 reason why such an unusual way of flying has rendered it suspicious to the natives. It happens like this: the bird flies first from right to left, and then from left to right, in front of the person who is on its way to the field; after that it flies first from front to rear, and then from rear to front, at the right-hand side. This fourfold movement of the *labág*-bird is called *magsúñit*.

If, after having begun (*sumikáp*, " to start work ") any kind of work in the field, you happen to see a buzzard (*bukkáw*) for the first time, or a rat (*butít*) any time, stop then and there, return home and stay here for the rest of the day. As may be seen by the above statement, there is a considerable difference between the two: indeed, a *bukkáw* or buzzard sends you home only when it is seen for the first time, while a rat keeps you idle for a day whenever it makes an appearance.

776 There are a few other things of importance, which it is very useful
753 for the Isneg to know.

For instance, if you happen to meet the spirit *Gabburá* on your way to work and he jumps out in front of you, you may be sure that you will become ill in the near future. Then it is up to you to take your precautions as soon as you come back home.

The influence of the spirit *Barôyan* is also very nefarious: should he accompany you on your way, you will be unable to perform anything worth while and your body will be aching all over; in some cases he has even caused people to become completely mad.

784 Never walk over the first plant or seed which you confided to the soil, whether it be rice or tobacco or anything else, because, if you are careless in this respect, not a single plant will grow in that particular field or garden of yours.

When you reach home, after having planted (*magmúla*, *mulán*) something, never take hold of a *báña* [18] in such a way as to insert your hand or your fingers (*magkuwál*). When it is absolutely necessary to take up a *báña*, be careful to touch it only at the outside, otherwise whatever you have planted will be consumed sooner or later by wild animals.

824 An Isneg who wants to become skilled in planting (*aragmúla*) must
787 try as much as possible to observe what follows:

[18] An earthen jar used for cooking rice, etc.

Ewagan, Jimalingan, Banwaran, and *Diaban* are called upon in time of sickness, and *Barangseo* helps one to run away if some enemy is trying to kill him, while *Anglabang* will help him kill his enemy. *Lecay* kills other *anitos.* 776

Among the evil *anitos Pungal* is best known and most feared. He causes sickness and death. People always obey him. *Ademat* also gives a fatal illness; while *Kapunan* gives sudden death by hemorrhage. *Anguan* hunts men with dogs and gives one a headache from which he may die. *Dangquico, Makel,* and *Kilang* move the winds that kill instantly. 776 753 [821]

Kakayan teaches and tempts people to do evil, and *Anlabbang* causes quarrels; while *Duman* steals beads. *Darantan* lives in the river and is the one who makes a person drown. *Aliang* lives along the streams and entices small children away. Occasionally one see his peculiar foor prints in the sand. *Wirwer* digs up the dead corpse and eats it. 776

There are also various ghosts, giants, and fairies. *Balongobangs* are evil revivals of the dead corpses who cannot bend their legs. They catch people and tear them to bits. One can tell them at night by their nauseous bad odor. Then is the time to run away from that place quicker than possible.

The *Gaggag* are giants who live in the forest and can make themselves into animals. If one even says their name, they will rush out and kill him. They have green blood in their bodies and red blood is only in their heads. So one must hit a *Gaggag* in the head in order to kill him.

796 smallest feast is the *pespes*, given at the beginning of harvest, or for a sick child. Only a chicken or maybe, a pig is killed. After eating, the people go to the field and work until quite dark. A coconut is divided and half left for the field. The other half is eaten on arriving home.

755 [753] A *coglot*, given to an *anito* for the recovery of a sick person, deserves further mention. If one of the family becomes sick, they think that the spirit of the sick one has wandered away and been caught by some *anito*. They call for one or more priestesses according to their wealth. This priestess holds a consultation to discover, either which *anito* is keeping the spirit, or which *anito* to ask to go and take the spirit away from the evil *anito*, and thus bring the sick back to health.

Upon deciding which *anito* to call, they tie a live [757] pig at the door, and the priestess calls the *anito*. Then she touches the patient, sometimes applying native herbs, oil, or lime on the parts affected. The dog or pig is then killed, and the priestess prays the *anito* to take the spirit of the animal instead of the spirit of the sick person.

[791] The next morning the patient gives the priestess the beads, plates, *aliwa*, and all the articles used by her in the ceremony.

787 Auguries are practised by observing the flight and call of birds.

The various calls of the *awanac* are important. Ten different calls are distinguished and are classified as *mulad*, foretelling good fortune; or *umgad*, foretelling misfortune.

Do not jump over a child. If you do, his growth will be retarded. 784

At first glance one might think that life in Apayao is greatly restricted by the necessity of placating all the *anitos* and of observing the many auguries, omens, and prohibitions. But, after being around some, I cannot help getting the impression somehow, that all this is partly just the men's sly way to getting out of a lot of hard work and disagreeable duties. At least, the placating of the *anitos* gives them the occasion for many very pleasant social times. 771 784 787 782 781

BURIAL

When death comes, the Apayaos, unlike the Christians, do not dread it as being the end of life on this earth; for the spirit *cadudorosa*, continues to exist somewhere and enjoy many of their physical pleasures without the discomforts. The people respect these spirits and go to great pains to see that they are made happy, both during the funeral ceremony and also during the following years. At all the feasts a portion of the best food and *basi* is placed on a plate, which is then set near the stove where the immediate supply of rice is kept. The people want to keep the spirits of their ancestors happy and contented for, if one should become discontented, he will select a person in the house to keep him company. The person then becomes sick and will die if a feast is not held to make that spirt happy and contented again. 761 775 769 [753]

When a person dies, all the relatives immediately gather in his house and hold a *callas* in his memory. 764

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In general, it is said of a person who dies without anybody being aware of it (*maáñaw*), whether by drowning or otherwise, that some part of his body will invariably appear in his house, and that the said part will tell the relatives the name of the deceased and the news of his death. 763

Death by cursing is also to be classified under the same heading. Indeed the Isneg never call it by the term *merúnud*, and the kidneys of a person who dies on that account, are supposed to have been devoured as usual. Consequently it seems that, according to the Isneg viewpoint, the curse is not so much the immediate cause of death as a kind of summons to the spirits, by which they are invited to proceed to the stealing of a person's kidneys. To curse (*pakkawán;* past tense: *piúkawán;* from the stem *pakkáw*, "shouting") is done shouting, and in such a way as to cause the adversary to hear the curse pronounced against him. The result is instantaneous; the cursed person gradually becomes thinner and thinner, and finally dies. Nevertheless not all curses are intended to entail the death of a person. It may happen, for instance, if you are a thief, that people will pray that some part of your body become diseased or destroyed; in this case you will be *malbág*, and the person who cursed you is said to *manaddl* (to destroy, to deteriorate). 761 754

To resume: the Isneg consider all deaths from disease (including suicide and death by cursing) to be caused by a kidney-eating spirit, while deaths by accident or by violence are considered as natural, there being at the same time a kind of connection between death and the object or person that took part in it, either because this object or person constitutes a kind of mediate (the coconut tree from which a person falls) or immediate cause (the authorities who execute a culprit, a headhunter who kills an enemy), or because it is the final cause, *causa finalis* (God, in the case of a martyr; one's country, in the case of a patriot). All deaths by accident or by violence, except felonious homicide, come under the denomination *merúnud*. 761 753 [682]

B. BURIAL AND MOURNING

1. Death till Burial

Let us now enter the house of a dying Isneg. The poor man is very sick, it has even been rumored about that he is actually very near death, that he can hardly articulate a sound (*mañgassát*). The *dorarákit* or shamaness has used all means in her power to avert the 763 755

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Some tobacco, or some of the ingredients used in the chewing of betel nut (betel nut, leaves of the betel pepper, and lime), according to the former habits of the deceased. 764

To these may be added:

A bottle of *bási;*
One or more spears;
One or more shields;
Some coins;
Some favorite musical instrument of the deceased; etc.

One of the following objects is also usually present, and, in the case of a rich man, all of them:

A *saxabán* (string of beads worn around the head);
A string of beads (worn around the neck);
A *xúsi* jar containing some *bási* (in which case there is no bottle of *bási*).

Everything is placed inside the coffin, the *xúsi* excepted, which is buried in the hole especially dug for it. 764

These objects, even though some of them are very precious in the eyes of the Isneg, are never interfered with; they always remain where they are. The desecration of a grave by robbers or other malefactors is something unknown in Apayaw. 764 769 685

Sometimes it happens that an ill-intentioned person (never one of the relatives), probably moved by a desire for revenge, when unobserved, stealthily places some herbs in the coffin, alongside the body. He does this with the purpose of forcing the body to leave its abode at night in the shape of a *balańóbáń*, and to roam around playing havoc among the chickens of the neighbors. 764 754 775

Before the body is placed in the grave, the bottom of the latter is strewn with ashes, obtained by burning an *anańá*, which is a kind of raincoat made of palm leaves. This ceremony is supposed to serve a double purpose: the raincoat will render good service to the deceased in the other world, and the ashes will prevent the dead body, either from leaving its grave in the shape of a *balańóbáń* or ghost, or at least from frightening the neighbors.

Lest the *balańóbáń* scare the relatives of the deceased or the women of the neighborhood who daily repair to their work, the Isneg usually put some *takkág* vines inside the coffin, alongside the body. The *takkág* is a schizaeaceous fern (Lygodium sp.), which differs from 764 824

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Should they come along anyhow, either through negligence on your part, or because you have been taken unawares, as soon as they start alighting in your field, take a *balandán*-blanket,[36] thrust one of its corners in the end of a long pole, which you have split for the purpose, and erect this improvised flag somewhere in your *kómān*. The higher the pole the easier it will be to frighten the locusts away. If there is no pole at hand, tie the blanket to the top of one of the trees that have been left standing, provided it be a tall one. This stratagem is called *magdattág*.

Once the locusts have taken possession of your rice field, the only way to drive them off is to throw *aksumég* (Bayag pronunciation) among them: this is a low herb with small hairy leaves that grows all over the district.

Here in Apayaw the Isneg do not live close enough together to be able to imitate the inhabitants of other parts of the Mountain Province, where large groups of people, equipped with small nets, go to attack the enemy. But, after all, these expeditions are rarely very effective, and usually the only result, perhaps the most important in the eyes of the improvident natives, is the catching of a large amount of viands without any cost and with comparatively little trouble. The Isneg also considers a locust as a dainty and may for a few days look with dry eyes on the disaster that has been wrought in his beloved *kómān*, only to expiate later on by a prolonged fast the few happy hours of satiated gourmandizing

But let us revert to our rice fields, and see how the Isneg tackles the problem of defending them against the jealousy of his neighbors, who either use natural means to destroy the paddy, which they rarely dare to attempt, or resort to occult powers to play havoc in a *kómān*, which is of much more frequent occurrence.

If you mix the barks of the *pannó*, a forest tree, and of the *karráń*, a leafless plant, some twelve inches tall, growing in forests (the name means "scaring away"), and place this mixture in your field, the person who ventures to harm your crops, will die instantly and without any previous illness, as soon as he gets home.

If, instead of the barks, you use *annoná*, a low herb growing in forests, the villain will be killed in an accident.

Now it may happen that you think about it only after some harm has been done already. In such a case insert a *binusírān*, a kind of

[36] Indigo, ornamented with purple thread at the seams.

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243 754 *mandíń* bead,[37] in the soil of your *kómān*, and very soon the culprit's eyes will become swollen, so that he cannot hide his guilt any longer.

If you happen to know that your enemy is the owner of the field 243 789 next to yours, the best way to take your revenge is to place *da-líg-* herbs in the patch of uncleared ground that separates both your fields: after that his crops will be tampered with instead of yours.

These are the plants which are the most frequently placed in a neighbor's *kómān* with the purpose of injuring the rice crop:

The *agdadál*, a climbing plant, that grows in thickets of bamboo grass, and bears white flowers resembling those of the *pulút* (a middle-sized forest tree) and brown fruits: it renders a rice field absolutely valueless. The name itself is indicative of the effect it produces: "destroying".

The *taxa-siyát*, a creeping herb, found on level ground: placed in a neighbor's field without his knowledge, it allures noxious animals to come and ravage the crop.

The *anappudappúg*, a low herb, found in abandoned gardens: it causes the rice to *magdappúg*, "stop growing and die".

The *dalańíáāń*, a low herb with yellowish leaves, growing almost anywhere: it causes the young paddy to grow yellow and wither.

The *assáp* or *kassáp*, another low herb with the same habitat as the preceding: it causes the death of the palay in the whole field.

Here is a rather innocent means to get the better of one's competitors: the *battoál*, a little herb that grows in forested areas and bears white flowers, when placed in a *kómān*, causes the latter to yield a better harvest than a contiguous field. This amulet is obviously of no value to isolated *kómān*.

3. WEEDING AND SUBSEQUENT CARE OF THE RICE FIELD

243 In the months of July and August we have the *agbablát*, which means "the time of the *ballát*, the time of weeding". At this time of the year the young palay is cleaned thoroughly, lest it be choked by useless weeds (*kaddát*). Plants that start sprouting only after the *ballát* has been finished will never be able to catch up with the growth of the paddy, and so will do it no harm.

With the *umá* (clearing), followed by the *si-dúg* (burning), and the *tooto* (planting), this is the most important work that precedes the

[37] The *mandíń*, which is a very precious kind of bead, at least in the eyes of the Isneg, has the shape of a small cylinder consisting of two almost equal parts, one of them more or less blackish, and the other of a much lighter color.

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763 catastrophe by trying to extricate the sickness from the poor man's
•755 body in the form of a piece of iron or of a tuft of grass; his family has offered the customary sacrifices of pigs, etc., while the shamaness has performed the ceremonies connected with obsession by a spirit
763 (*maxanito*); but all to no avail. The neighbors come flocking in, mostly intent perhaps on the *bási*, which flows freely on such occasions and of which they partake copiously. The state of the patient has become hopeless. Now and then the bystanders feel his pulse, which is his life (*biyáy*), as the Isneg put it; if its pulsations are still strong, they may try a last *maxanito* performance with occasional sacrifice of a chicken. But the pulse becomes weaker and weaker. *Taxáy matáyyin* or *atán matáy*, "he is dying", which means that *bitti- ya áñatna*, "his breath is little". More people come in, and more *bási* is distributed. And finally the end (*tápañ*) comes, the man dies (*matáy*).

763 Now pandemonium breaks loose. All present, more especially the
201 women, break forth into loud lamentations; loud voices, at their highest pitch, resound discordantly all around the dead man; everybody shouts, each person lamenting in his or her own way without caring for the words or the tune of his or her neighbors. The husband, wife, parents or children, as the case may be, anyhow the nearest relative or relatives may go so far as to cut themselves with their knives and to make incisions in their body. They may even threaten suicide, whether by hanging themselves or by throwing themselves into the water, but in this they are of course impeded by the bystanders. And this lasts for a considerable period of time. These outward manifestations of grief are so exceedingly grotesque, and the contortions and vociferations are so much exaggerated, that it is well-nigh impossible to take them at their face value. But such is the custom, and who would dare disobey it?

Similar scenes are enacted and may be witnessed among all the tribes I have had to do with, except that in the case of the civilized Christians a certain decorum is rarely absent, and the lamenting is mostly confined to the near relatives of the deceased. This has led many Europeans and Americans to believe and even to affirm confidently that the natives in general did not grieve very much when death snatched away one of their own, that they were stoics and fatalists to a high degree, that all these loud expressions of sorrow were pure make-up staged for the occasion. I would be the last to deny that the natives possess a certain degree of stoicism and that

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743 782 Elsewhere, they go to the field on the day after the *pinudóñ*-ceremony, either in the morning or in the afternoon, and harvest one basketful of palay (*manalégāt*: Bayag pronunciation). But after that, they stay at home for three whole days without repairing to the *kómān*. Then finally they go again (*mamalāñon*), and this time continue the reaping until the whole work is done. The palay of the first basket is not pounded in the regular way, but simply roasted over the fire, and the rice is put in a calabash and placed over the hearth. When the harvest is over, this rice is pounded and eaten just like ordinary rice.

In any case, on the day following the *pinudóñ*-ceremony, the reapers take with them to the field a *sipañ* (young coconut) and place it in the *sixāy*-hut. This *sipañ* must be so young that it could not have formed before the *agtotognó* or time of planting. At Bayag, and only there, if the *sipañ* is all too young, the old woman takes it with her on the day of the *pinudóñ*; if not, they do as elsewhere and take it with them the next morning.

After the reapers have come home in the evening of the first day (the day following the *pinudóñ*-ceremony), the owner of the rice field, the man, takes a coconut and divides it (*magbakká*) with his hatchet, while he pronounces the following words:

To di bakkánnu anito ta dinu bakkán ólomi (Divide this, spirits, so that you do not divide our heads).

Then they cut out the *aludákid* (a narrow strip of coconut meat mentioned before) or *ludákid* around the edge of one of the halves, bind it into a bundle together with some palay, some charcoal, and a short slender stick cut out of bamboo, and hang it on a cane of *bassáw* or bamboo grass stuck in the ground among the bushes, not far from the house. The whole outfit is called *bāyúbāy* and should prevent the reapers from getting sick. If this ceremony were omitted, there is every reason to believe that some of the women would fall victims to disease.

755 Should it happen that a member of the household, whether a reaper or not, becomes sick at the beginning of the harvest, the Isneg perform the *púpug*-ceremony. A chicken is caught by a shaman; she kills it inside the house and recites the usual prayers; then the meat is consumed by the inmates of the house, both men and women. While the women of the immediate neighborhood, no others, are allowed to be present, all men who do not belong to the house, are strictly forbidden to attend the *púpug*.

796 smallest feast is the *pespes*, given at the beginning of harvest, or for a sick child. Only a chicken or maybe, a pig is killed. After eating, the people go to the field and work until quite dark. A coconut is divided and half left for the field. The other half is eaten on arriving home.

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many details as possible, although I am far from claiming that my study about Isneg religion and morality has so far been exhaustive or that my knowledge of these subjects cannot be improved upon. A whole lifetime would scarcely be sufficient to disentagle all the intricate knots, the more so that, especially as regards religion, the Isneg are sometimes far from logical in their reasoning.

In religious instruction the *dorarákit* or shaman plays the dominant rôle, as it is she who conducts religious ceremonies, and it is she through whom the spirits and the souls of the dead are supposed to communicate with man. Now let us see in how far the shaman imparts formal instruction, and in how far young people have to learn by merely looking on.

The *dorarákit* directly teaches her pupils by explaining to them the meaning of the rites and ceremonies, at the time of some *sáy-ám* or other sacrifice accompanied by *maxaníto*, and almost exclusively on such occasions. Her pupils at the time are first of all the young *dorarákit*, who have been chosen and consecrated mostly when still in their infancy, and secondly all members of the younger generation who are willing to listen. Consequently this kind of teaching is done while the ceremonies in question are under way and it is illustrated by their performance. It is not the place here to enter into details about the ceremonies just referred to; it will suffice to say that the *sáy-ám* is a kind of public sacrifice in which dogs and pigs are offered to the spirits, and that *maxaníto* refers to the action of the shaman at the time she is supposed to be possessed either by a spirit or by the soul of a deceased person, who speaks through her mouth. In this the Isneg shaman differs from the Kankanay one; the latter is usually supposed merely to communicate with beings of the other world, to talk to them, while in the case of the Isneg the spirit is supposed to talk through the shaman. Besides, a Kankanay shaman plays a very secondary rôle: she is mostly of use only at the time of sickness, when she has altercations with the spirits who are supposed to cause the disease or when she goes around to look for the *ab-abiik* (Kankanay) or soul, which a sick person is supposed to have lost; while sacrifices, whether public or private, are presided over by men. Let this be enough for the time being.

I just stated that the Isneg shaman explains the meaning of religious rites and ceremonies to her puipls. The manner of conducting these ceremonies, however, is not formally taught: in this respect a young *dorarákit* is a mere looker-on. When the time comes for the

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lighten that of the young shaman who has to confide these things to memory. Here stops the exclusive rôle of the *dorarákit* or shaman as far as religious instruction is concerned.

Dancing and singing, whether religious or otherwise, are learned by pure imitation. Songs are improvised most of the time; the only exceptions are a few scattered terms and a limited number of sentences, more especially a kind of refrain or burden, that recurs at the end of every verse or every stanza in most Isneg songs. These traditional terms and sentences are mostly archaic, and their meaning is a mystery to at least the generality of the Isneg; perhaps some of them have never had any meaning at all.

All Isneg beliefs, whether they have to do with magic or with religion, whether they refer to the world of spirits or to the state of a person after death, are simply picked up, or, as the Isneg put it, "they hear them (*maxi-náda da*)." This means that there is no formal instruction about the matter. Aged persons, particularly old women, and still more especially shamans, freely talk about these things at the slightest provocation, and youngsters are always eager to listen to them. This, however, does not exclude the possibility and even the probability of the members of the older generation talking about magical or religious beliefs purposely and with the direct intention of telling the children about them. And that such instruction, whether intended or not, is sometimes really very efficacious is proved by the fact that I have had among my informants girls of barely ten years old who know everything about certain spirits and could vividly describe them to me. This is the more easily understood when one remembers that all these extraordinary details agree very well with the usual trend of the Isneg mind toward the supernatural, so that the children experience little difficulty in keeping them impressed upon their memory.

Myths and legends, stories and tales, which by the way are sometimes far from being religious, are mostly related by the parents and grandparents in the evening, when the whole family is stretched out on the floor and ready to sleep. The Isneg are not in the habit of making much use of artificial light, and they very often go to sleep almost at sunset, so that there is usually ample time for the old people to comply with the wishes of the youngsters, who among them as well as among us, are always eager to hear a story, and the more fantastic the story, the better. Even young boys and girls are sometimes invited to play the rôle of story-teller, provided they are known

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761 must have intervened. With reference to the former class of ailments,
753 some of them never cause death, except if they are coupled with fur-
ther complications, while in the rest the symptoms (as passing of
776 blood in dysentery, general swelling of the body in beriberi) are considered as the visible effect of the work initiated by a spirit inside the body.

In the same way, whenever some dangerous sickness fails to prove fatal and is overcome either by the strong constitution of the patient, or by some medicine, the Isneg attribute the cure, not to its real cause, but to the superior force of some spirit in league with the shaman, or to magic, all of which has subdued for the time being or completely driven away the terrible kidney-eater, who on that account has been unable to finish the work he began.

177 After what has been said here, it should not be wondered at that
757 doctors and nurses have a very difficult time with these people, who have little or no faith in their ministrations and consider medicines as either operating through magic (in case of a cure) or entirely useless. Most of the time, however, medicines are given no credit at all, and the cure is merely attributed to the work of the shaman, whose help is always invoked, even in those rare cases in which recourse has been had to natural means.

761 Suicide (*magbanól*, "to commit suicide") must be listed in the
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[746] smallest feast is the *perpes*, given at the beginning of harvest, or for a sick child. Only a chicken or maybe, a pig is killed. After eating, the people go to the field and work until quite dark. A coconut is divided and half left for the field. The other half is eaten on arriving home.

[755] [753] A *coglot*, given to an *anito* for the recovery of a sick person, deserves further mention. If one of the family becomes sick, they think that the spirit of the sick one has wandered away and been caught by some *anito*. They call for one or more priestesses according to their wealth. This priestess holds a consultation to discover, either which *anito* is keeping the spirit, or which *anito* to ask to go and take the spirit away from the evil *anito*, and thus bring the sick back to health.

[757] Upon deciding which *anito* to call, they tie a live pig at the door, and the priestess calls the *anito*. Then she touches the patient, sometimes applying native herbs, oil, or lime on the parts affected. The dog or pig is then killed, and the priestess prays the *anito* to take the spirit of the animal instead of the spirit of the sick person.

[791] The next morning the patient gives the priestess the beads, plates, *aliwa*, and all the articles used by her in the ceremony.

[787] Auguries are practised by observing the flight and call of birds.

The various calls of the *awanac* are important. Ten different calls are distinguished and are classified as *mulad*, foretelling good fortune; or *umgad*, foretelling misfortune.

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V. Death and Burial

A. Death

What is death? What happens after death? What causes death? Let us see what are the answers given by the Isneg to these very interesting and all important questions, and examine them in detail.

1. Concept of Death

Death, if I understand the Isneg mind well, is a change by which a person ceases to exist as an ordinary human being, and, in the state of a *kaduduwá*[3] (soul?), continues to live indefinitely, ultimately at least in the realm of the dead, leaving behind an *innát* (corpse).

This definition needs some explanation.

Death is "a change". I purposely refrain from calling it "a separation or disconnection of two parts", as I doubt very much if the Isneg explicitly consider man, while alive, to consist of more than one element. They know that man has a *baggí* (body), and to this they usually refer as "he (she)" while a person is alive; but I know of no expressions that would lead one to believe that the Isneg explicitly recognize in man two elements which would correspond to our "body" and "soul". Man, while alive, has a *baggí* (body), and the natives do not seem to enter further into the question of his nature. Nevertheless they most certainly believe implicitly that man is composed of two essential parts, as may be proved by the following:

First, when talking about a *kaduduwá* (soul?), they always refer to it as *ya kaduduwána*, "the soul(?) of *him, his* soul(?)", which seems to imply that this *kaduduwá* belongs to him, thus that it is not exactly his own complete self, but only a part of him. It is true that, when speaking about a person after death and not explicitly mentioning the term *kaduduwá*, they simply refer to his *kaduduwá* as "he (she)" without any further qualifications, as if the body, as we understand it, did not belong to him (her) any more; but this does not exclude the fact that, whenever they use the term *kaduduwá*, they always call it "his (her)" *kaduduwá, ya kaduduwána*.

Second, the Isneg know very well that the dead body and the *kaduduwá* belong to one and the same person, as will be seen presently when referring to the tattooing of the body and the clothing of the *innát*, which, the natives believe, greatly influence the state of the *kaduduwá*. Thus, in their eyes, the *kaduduwá* and the *innát* are not exactly strangers to one another. Besides, the objects that are

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761 Besides, the objects that are
placed in the coffin at burial are supposed to be used, not by the
775 corpse, but by the *kaduduwá*, so that the connection between the two
764 continues at least for a certain period after death. Add to this that the *balańóbáń* or revivified *innát* is also definitely known to belong to the dead person as well as his *kaduduwá:* this is proved by the fact that the transformation of the corpse into a *balańóbáń* is supposed to depend on the character of the person, while the latter was still alive, all of which will be explained in due time.

774 Third, the term *kaduduwá* itself. Semantically, and perhaps lin-
197 guistically, the Isneg term *kaduduwá* corresponds to the Iloko term
775 *kararuá*, "soul". Semantically: both terms have probably an identical meaning; anyhow they most certainly refer to one and the same thing: the spirit of man that continues to live after death. Perhaps linguistically: when we compare several Filipino languages with one another, it is clearly seen that *d* and *r* very often interchange; for instance: Ibanag *nararál* and Iloko *nadadáel* (destroyed), Isneg *matúdog* and Iloko *matúrog* (to sleep), Isneg *adú* and Ibanag *arú* (many). *A* and *o* or *u*, when not bearing the accent, are often interchanged, or at least their pronunciation is blurred and they are hardly to be distinguished from one another; for instance: Isneg *maxudódit* and *maxadódit* (to tell a story), *obóbát* and *abóbát* (the ceremony that concludes the period of mourning). And so, linguistically, the distance between Iloko *kararuá* (pronounced *kararuwá*) and Isneg *kaduduwá* does not seem to be very great.

Etymologically, however, Isneg *kaduduwá* and Iloko *kararuá* seem to be entirely different; on the contrary, the Isneg term *kaduduwá* and the Iloko *kaduá* (pronounced *kaduwá*) are one etymologically, although seemingly very different semantically: as *kaduá* in Iloko means "companion", which in Isneg is rendered by *kabbulón*. Both Isneg *kaduduwá* and Iloko *kaduá* are composed of the stem *duwá* (written *duá* in Iloko), "two", partly reduplicated in Isneg, and the prefix *ka*, indicating companionship, concomitance, etc., in both languages.

In view of all this it seems reasonable to infer that the Isneg seem to consider the spirit that continues to live after death, not exactly as a companion (in this case they would call it *kabbulón*), but as a part of something, a counterpart, something that goes with something else (prefix *ka*), and to which, in numbers, it would correspond as number "two (*duwá*)", not in time and successively or consecutively, but concomitantly (on account of the prefix *ka*).

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These three facts combined prove that the Isneg, at least implicitly, consider a living man as consisting of two elements: the *baggí* or body, of which no more mention is made after death, as an *inndt* (corpse) takes its place, and the *kaduduwá* or spiritual element that continues to live and is usually invisible.

Through death "a person ceases to exist as an ordinary human being". Indeed, the *kaduduwá*, although its life is similar in many respects to that of a living person on earth, is usually quite invisible and "continues to live indefinitely". I say "indefinitely": why not "eternally"? It must be remembered that the Isneg have no notion of eternity as such; they know that the *kaduduwá* continues to live, they never heard of a *kaduduwá* dying, but if it lives eternally, that goes beyond their comprehension, or, to be exact, they never think as far ahead as that. And so what looks to the Isneg as "indefinite" (living on indefinitely), if considered under our own viewpoint, would probably mean "eternal" (living on eternally). The corpse also is far from existing as an ordinary human being. Not that the Isneg consider it to be completely devoid of any animating principle, but that it is dead for the time being, and if it lives afterwards in the state of a *balańóbáń*, its life cannot be compared with that of an ordinary man.

The *kaduduwá* goes to live "ultimately at least in the realm of the dead". This will be explained more fully when referring to the state of man after death.

"Leaving behind an *inndt*". *Inndt* is the body of a man immediately after death, as long as it stays in the house, and before burial, if burial takes place. The *inndt* is dead, it neither moves nor breathes, it needs neither food nor drink. We shall see presently whether the Isneg believe all dead bodies to remain in that state, in the state of *inndt*, until decay sets in.

2. *Future Life*

What happens after death? And first as to the *kaduduwá*.

The night after a person's death (some say: "at any time after his death"; but this could never mean "immediately after death" on account of the necessity of the *inndt* being clothed), *Kútaw*, the ferryman, or rather the ferry spirit, comes along to bring the *kaduduwá* over the great pond (*lablabbáń*) to the realm of the dead. Here, according to some informants, the *kaduduwá* receives hospitality at *Kútaw*'s house until the latter brings it on its way to the house of its relatives who died before.

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but they have never yet been able to see a ghost without some vagueness surrounding it. It should be noted in this connection that a *balańóbāń* has nocturnal habits.

But what is the ultimate fate of a *balańóbāń*? To this question the Isneg can give a definite answer: all *balańóbāń* decay in the end at *Magkĕbińān*. *Magkĕbińān* is the name of a cave, the usual dwelling place of all *balańóbāń*, and there their wandering life comes to an end sooner or later. Nobody can tell you anything definite, however, about the location of this cave or about the duration of a dead body's life as a *balańóbāń*.

All Isneg are convinced that tombs of wandering *balańóbāń* are empty and remain so. Once out of its tomb, no *balańóbāń* ever comes back to its former abode. And only the very few stay in their tomb; the generality of them start on their temporary wanderings as soon as they have been in the grave for two or three nights, long enough to dislike such a residence. Occasionally a few informants even state that no dead bodies ever decay in their graves. Nobody of course would venture to dig in a tomb in order to convince himself of the truth of his belief.

3. Causes of Death

What causes death? The Isneg seem to distinguish between two kinds of death, namely: what we would call "death by accident or death by violence", and "death from sickness". Under the Isneg viewpoint, however, the first kind of death has what I should like to call a "natural" cause, while the other kind has a "supernatural" cause.

Under the first head come all deaths whose cause is obvious and patent to everybody:

1. Death through murder or assassination (felonious homicide),—for instance, you plant a headax in the neck of your enemy and cut off his head. The Isneg, no more than anybody else, will doubt about the cause of your enemy's death. Here there is no necessity of suspecting the intervention of the spirits.

2. Death by accident or through judicial taking of life,—for instance, a man falls from a tree and breaks his neck, death ensuing, or a culprit is executed by the authorities, and so on. Here also the spirits are not considered as the immediate cause of death. To die like that is called *meránud* (past tense: *neránud*), while to die in general is called *matáy* (past tense: *natáy*). The stem *rānud*, in

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Iloko means "communication, participation"; but in Isneg the term is very hard to translate. I shall give a couple of examples to illustrate its meaning: 761 192

In the case of death by accident, e.g., falling from a coconut tree: *neránud xapó kiyá iyúg*, he died (?) on account of the coconut tree.

Christian Isneg explain Christian martyrdom in the same way: *ni San Pedro neránud xapó kiyá āpó Dios*, St. Peter died (?) on account of (or: for) the Lord God.

Students say: *ni Rizal neránud xapó kiyá ilina*, Rizal (the Filipino hero executed by the Spaniards in 1896) died (?) on account of (or: for) his country.

The other kind of death, which is obviously the most frequent and ordinary one, I call "supernatural" because the Isneg ascribe its cause to the intervention of the spirits. Death, in this case, is caused by the loss of the kidneys (*bokál*): some spirit, who is certainly to be classed under the malevolent ones, deprives a person of his kidneys and devours them, death being the inevitable result. 761 753 776

Among the spirits that are addicted to this destructive practice may be cited:

Libuwát, who lives in bushy thickets;

Xasilā- or *Xasílaw:* after having devoured the kidneys, this spirit besmears with blood the leaves of the trees and herbs that grow on the mountain on which he has fixed his abode;

Āpó, who devours the kidneys of people who die of what we call dysentery;

Maṅlatóṅ: this is the real angel of death; he does away with the kidneys of all people who die on that account, except of course those that have been bereft of their kidneys by some other spirit. *Maṅlatóṅ* kills all those that are spurned by others, he is the kidney-eater and executioner *par excellence*.

The error of such a belief might easily be ascertained, but autopsy is unknown among the Isneg, and so it stands. The better to understand Isneg mentality, it should be borne in mind that sickness as such is never considered as the sole or immediate cause of death, and this for obvious reasons. The Isneg know only diseases that appear outwardly, as skin diseases (*buní* "tetter", *rasá*, "itch"), *daxáṅ*, "fever", dysentery, beriberi, and so on, while diseases with no or only slight outward signs are entirely unknown to the natives. And so if a person dies from cardiopathy, pneumonia, diabetes, etc., the Isneg do not doubt for a single moment that some ill-minded imp [763]

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761 753 776 must have intervened. With reference to the former class of ailments, some of them never cause death, except if they are coupled with further complications, while in the rest the symptoms (as passing of blood in dysentery, general swelling of the body in beriberi) are considered as the visible effect of the work initiated by a spirit inside the body.

In the same way, whenever some dangerous sickness fails to prove fatal and is overcome either by the strong constitution of the patient, or by some medicine, the Isneg attribute the cure, not to its real cause, but to the superior force of some spirit in league with the shaman, or to magic, all of which has subdued for the time being or completely driven away the terrible kidney-eater, who on that account has been unable to finish the work he began.

[177 757] After what has been said here, it should not be wondered at that doctors and nurses have a very difficult time with these people, who have little or no faith in their ministrations and consider medicines as either operating through magic (in case of a cure) or entirely useless. Most of the time, however, medicines are given no credit at all, and the cure is merely attributed to the work of the shaman, whose help is always invoked, even in those rare cases in which recourse has been had to natural means.

761 753 762 Suicide (*magbanól*, "to commit suicide") must be listed in the second class: its victims are supposed to die through the action of a kidney-hunter. Suicide, however, by hanging oneself (*magpattól*) or otherwise, not by jumping into the water (*malimát*, "to be drowned"), is rare among the Isneg. I know of only one case in recent times: a few years ago a person hanged himself at Utul, but I have not been able to discover the reason. Drowning oneself would certainly be shunned by Isneg, on account of the probability of the *innát* being lost and deprived of its necessary preparation for the acceptance of the *kaduduwá* by *Kútaw*. It is universally believed by the natives that the relatives of a person who died by drowning, whether voluntary or accidental, will continually dream about him at night; this seems to be a kind of revenge on the part of the deceased, probably out of spite for encountering so many difficulties on his way to the other world. That is one of the reasons why the Isneg so sedulously try to find the body of a drowned person even for weeks at a time; if the body is recovered and buried, no such dreams affect the relatives of the deceased.

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763 In general, it is said of a person who dies without anybody being aware of it (*maániaw*), whether by drowning or otherwise, that some part of his body will invariably appear in his house, and that the said part will tell the relatives the name of the deceased and the news of his death.

761 ● 754 Death by cursing is also to be classified under the same heading. Indeed the Isneg never call it by the term *meránud*, and the kidneys of a person who dies on that account, are supposed to have been devoured as usual. Consequently it seems that, according to the Isneg viewpoint, the curse is not so much the immediate cause of death as a kind of summons to the spirits, by which they are invited to proceed to the stealing of a person's kidneys. To curse (*pakkawán;* past tense: *piñkawán;* from the stem *pakkáw*, "shouting") is done shouting, and in such a way as to cause the adversary to hear the curse pronounced against him. The result is instantaneous; the cursed person gradually becomes thinner and thinner, and finally dies. Nevertheless not all curses are intended to entail the death of a person. It may happen, for instance, if you are a thief, that people will pray that some part of your body become diseased or destroyed; in this case you will be *malbág*, and the person who cursed you is said to *manadál* (to destroy, to deteriorate).

761 753 To resume: the Isneg consider all deaths from disease (including suicide and death by cursing) to be caused by a kidney-eating spirit, while deaths by accident or by violence are considered as natural, there being at the same time a kind of connection between death and the object or person that took part in it, either because this object or person constitutes a kind of mediate (the coconut tree from which a person falls) or immediate cause (the authorities who execute a culprit, a headhunter who kills an enemy), or because it is the final cause, *causa finalis* (God, in the case of a martyr; one's country, in the case of a patriot). All deaths by accident or by violence, except felonious homicide, come under the denomination *meránud*. [682]

B. BURIAL AND MOURNING

1. Death till Burial

763 755 Let us now enter the house of a dying Isneg. The poor man is very sick, it has even been rumored about that he is actually very near death, that he can hardly articulate a sound (*mañgassát*). The *dorarákit* or shamaness has used all means in her power to avert the

Do not jump over a child. If you do, his growth will be retarded. 784

At first glance one might think that life in Apayao is greatly restricted by the necessity of placating all the *anitos* and of observing the many auguries, omens, and prohibitions. But, after being around some, I cannot help getting the impression somehow, that all this is partly just the men's sly way to getting out of a lot of hard work and disagreeable duties. At least, the placating of the *anitos* gives them the occasion for many very pleasant social times. 771 784 787 782 781

BURIAL

When death comes, the Apayaos, unlike the Christians, do not dread it as being the end of life on this earth; for the spirit *cadudorosa*, continues to exist somewhere and enjoy many of their physical pleasures without the discomforts. The people respect these spirits and go to great pains to see that they are made happy, both during the funeral ceremony and also during the following years. At all the feasts a portion of the best food and *basi* is placed on a plate, which is then set near the stove where the immediate supply of rice is kept. The people want to keep the spirits of their ancestors happy and contented for, if one should become discontented, he will select a person in the house to keep him company. The person then becomes sick and will die if a feast is not held to make that spirt happy and contented again. 761 775 769 [753]

When a person dies, all the relatives immediately gather in his house and hold a *callas* in his memory. 764

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Ne Banan Nga Barrio

HOW THE BARRIO OF BANAN GOT ITS NAME

(Bayag River Dialect)

103
762

——*Ito nona ñga aldao owad da na maguagi nag-gangan da adi Arranggit se Sigodan.*

——Long, long time ago, there lived two sisters whose names were Arranggit and Sigodan.

——*Ngam ito Sigodan magsirap mahacabcabanan tungal ñga atan awan na wen no magkinin.*

——One of these women, Sigodan, kept on sneezing and sneezing, wherever she was, or whenever she moved.

——*Ngam igid ñga babay awan waya ñga magpanatang-ñgam no mahabanan Magaloa.*

——But that woman was known to have no cold. When she sneezed, her tears would fall and keep her busy wiping them.

——*Owad isa ñga gidam sissa ñga nabona ito batayda. Ngam damdaman na pe to pinaggiyanna.*

——It was one afternoon when Sigodan was left alone in the house, solving the discomforts of life.

——*Caneno nolao ñga nangdandandem ito paciganan na nangala a battat sinala ñga nagpattal.*

——Because she was tired of her discomforts, which would continue throughout her life due to the misfortune which she had, she took some split rattan and tied the rattan around her neck tightly.

103 762 ——*Itonin natay. Caneno umbet to agina ñga Arrangit dinañgan na la ñga natay.*

——As the rattan was tied tightly around her neck, she died. And when Arrangit arrived in the morning, she found her sister dead.

——*Apoc ta ammo ne Arrangit ñga nagbanal to agina tanggal ito ahababanan na ne ninagan na to barrio a banan ay panda iyan ay attan kam.*

——When Arrangit found her sister dead, she could think of nothing which would make her commit suicide if it was not on account of her misfortune and discomforts in life due to sneezing without having a cold.

——*Iyanin ya ñga gan na ipid ñga lugar rin ay Banan.*

——Since that time this settlement has the name "Banan" (which means in the dialect "always sneezing without a cold.")

HOW NAGBABALAYAN GOT ITS NAME

(Apayao River Dialect)

600 ——*O, attan kano may kina ñge Magsikam, se Naggenawdan, napan da ñga nagsapol ka nalawag ñga tannap ñga pagbalayan da. O, napan da ñga ñgokano daya dwa nagataca ñga nakadacdac pando di da nakasmac ka nappia panang ñga kua tannap. Iddi ñga tannap ay addu ñga babalay ñga—may awan ñga tulay. O, hidam mclañgin ay awan da pikam ma kinnan nang ga-*

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These three facts combined prove that the Isneg, at least implicitly, consider a living man as consisting of two elements: the *baggí* or body, of which no more mention is made after death, as an *innát* (corpse) takes its place, and the *kaduduwá* or spiritual element that continues to live and is usually invisible.

Through death "a person ceases to exist as an ordinary human being". Indeed, the *kaduduwá*, although its life is similar in many respects to that of a living person on earth, is usually quite invisible and "continues to live indefinitely". I say "indefinitely"; why not "eternally"? It must be remembered that the Isneg have no notion of eternity as such; they know that the *kaduduwá* continues to live, they never heard of a *kaduduwá* dying, but if it lives eternally, that goes beyond their comprehension, or, to be exact, they never think as far ahead as that. And so what looks to the Isneg as "indefinite" (living on indefinitely), if considered under our own viewpoint, would probably mean "eternal" (living on eternally). The corpse also is far from existing as an ordinary human being. Not that the Isneg consider it to be completely devoid of any animating principle, but that it is dead for the time being, and if it lives afterwards in the state of a *balańóbáń*, its life cannot be compared with that of an ordinary man.

The *kaduduwá* goes to live "ultimately at least in the realm of the dead". This will be explained more fully when referring to the state of man after death.

"Leaving behind an *innát*". *Innát* is the body of a man immediately after death, as long as it stays in the house, and before burial, if burial takes place. The *innát* is dead, it neither moves nor breathes, it needs neither food nor drink. We shall see presently whether the Isneg believe all dead bodies to remain in that state, in the state of *innát*, until decay sets in.

2. *Future Life*

What happens after death? And first as to the *kaduduwá*.

The night after a person's death (some say: "at any time after his death"; but this could never mean "immediately after death" on account of the necessity of the *innát* being clothed), *Kútaw*, the ferryman, or rather the ferry spirit, comes along to bring the *kaduduwá* over the great pond (*lablabbáń*) to the realm of the dead. Here, according to some informants, the *kaduduwá* receives hospitality at *Kútaw*'s house until the latter brings it on its way to the house of its relatives who died before.

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775 763 In order to insure the transaction of the whole business without hindrance of any kind, the survivors have to fit out the *innât* or corpse with brand-new clothes, and a rent must be made in each garment (*maxâyxây*).

[515] Now, what happens to the *kaduduwâ*, in case the relatives have failed to comply with their duty, and have left the dead body wearing its dirty old clothes (Isneg clothing is usually both dirty and old), or if they have given it new garments, but without having taken the precaution of tearing them before *Kútaw*'s arrival? Both cases are almost wholly imaginary, as may be readily understood: indeed, the Isneg always see to it that everything is done according to custom, most certainly in this matter. Nevertheless it may happen that the *innât* cannot be given new clothes; for instance, when a man dies by accident (drowning and so on) and his body cannot be recovered. The rarity of such cases may be one of the principal reasons why explanations on this point differ almost from man to man, and why even one and the same person may offer different explanations. Indeed, although it is a matter of the invisible world, the Isneg would hardly be so contradictory in their statements if they had to do with happenings that are supposed to occur regularly.

What is said to happen to the *kaduduwâ*, if the *innât* wears ordinary everyday garments? Some say that *Kútaw* passes by and refuses to ferry the *kaduduwâ* over the big pond. Others say that he brings it over the water, but leaves it there as it is, without either conducting it or showing it the way to its final abode or to the place where its dead relatives are actually spending their time. In any case the *kaduduwâ* will be wandering around at a loss what to do and where to go, although exactly what happens to it remains more or less of a mystery. Its punishment, however, seems merely to consist in a kind of loss, probably temporary, namely the loss of an immediately happy life, which would have been its lot had it found at once the relatives who went ahead to the other side of the pond.

And what happens to a *kaduduwâ* whose *innât* has been given new clothes, but whose relatives have failed to tear them,—which is done by making a small rent in every garment at one of its sides? Some say that *Kútaw* positively refuses to bring such a *kaduduwâ* to the other side of the pond. Others say that both tarry a long time, because *Kútaw* feels inclined to entertain this nicely clothed individual and to have a long talk with him, and so the latter's ultimate bliss is

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postponed for a considerable time. Others again say that *Kútaw* robs it of its garments and dons them himself, to the great dismay and shame of the poor *kadudúwá*, who from now on is obliged to wear either no clothes or at least only such as are not cared for any more by its companions at the other side of the grave. The latter informants usually add that *Kútaw* refuses to ferry this *kadudúwá* over the pond, unless it gives its brand-new clothes to him; some of them say that it may happen that *Kútaw* takes to himself not only the clothes, but also the whole *kadudúwá* (as a kind of servant). One more detail was given me by a Bayag informant: if the dead person has only one of his forearms tattooed (not both of them), *Kútaw* cuts off this tattooed limb and keeps it to himself.

To resume: some informants state that all *kadudúwá* are always ferried over the pond by *Kútaw*, but that those whose *inndt* wears no new clothes, remain like that at least for some time to come, or are left to their own devices as soon as they reach the other side, without being able to find their relatives, at least immediately, while those whose *inndt* wear new clothes without rent are either despoiled by *Kútaw* or kept back for at least a considerable time from the enjoyment that is their due. Other informants state that some *kadudúwá* are simply scorned by *Kútaw* and left on this side of the pond: either those whose *inndt* wear old clothes, or those whose new garments have not been torn. On the other hand, when asked what *kadudúwá* are living in the realm of the dead, even these last informants generally affirm that they all do.

A *labbáń* is a kind of lagoon or pool of stagnant water, of a type found in abundance all along the northern coast of Luzon, between Sanchez Mira and Aparri, and even farther east. At Nagbabalayan there is also a *labbáń*, which consists of a pool of water separated from the Apayaw river by a small elevation of land; at every large rise of the Apayaw river, however, it forms one with the latter. This Nagbabalayan *labbáń* is the regular abode of crocodiles, to whom the Nagbabalayan people offer gifts at every sacrifice. But the name *lablabbáń* belongs exclusively to the pond that separates our abode from that of the dead. Such a reduplication as occurs here usually hints at something similar to what the simple stem implies. Thus *lablabbáń* would mean a *labbáń* that is not an ordinary one, and, considering its place and use, no further proof is needed to convince everybody that it is a very peculiar pool indeed. The following mysterious fact adds to its differentiation from any other *labbáń*:

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Iloko, means "communication, participation"; but in Isneg the term is very hard to translate. I shall give a couple of examples to illustrate its meaning: 761 192

In the case of death by accident, e.g., falling from a coconut tree: *neránud xapó kiyá iyág*, he died (!) on account of the coconut tree.

Christian Isneg explain Christian martyrdom in the same way: *ni San Pedro neránud xapó kiyá ápo Dios*, St. Peter died (!) on account of (or: for) the Lord God.

Students say: *ni Rizal neránud xapó kiyá ilina*, Rizal (the Filipino hery executed by the Spaniards in 1896) died (!) on account of (or: for) his country.

The other kind of death, which is obviously the most frequent and ordinary one, I call "supernatural" because the Isneg ascribe its cause to the intervention of the spirits. Death, in this case, is caused by the loss of the kidneys (*bókál*): some spirit, who is certainly to be classed under the malevolent ones, deprives a person of his kidneys and devours them, death being the inevitable result. 761 753 776

Among the spirits that are addicted to this destructive practice may be cited:

Libuwát, who lives in bushy thickets;

Xasilă- or *Xasílaw:* after having devoured the kidneys, this spirit besmears with blood the leaves of the trees and herbs that grow on the mountain on which he has fixed his abode;

Ápó, who devours the kidneys of people who die of what we call dysentery;

Maúlatóń: this is the real angel of death; he does away with the kidneys of all people who die on that account, except of course those that have been bereft of their kidneys by some other spirit. *Maúlatóń* kills all those that are spurned by others, he is the kidney-eater and executioner *par excellence*.

The error of such a belief might easily be ascertained, but autopsy is unknown among the Isneg, and so it stands. The better to understand Isneg mentality, it should be borne in mind that sickness as such is never considered as the sole or immediate cause of death, and this for obvious reasons. The Isneg know only diseases that appear outwardly, as skin diseases (*buní* "tetter", *rasá*, "itch"), *daxáń*, "fever", dysentery, beriberi, and so on, while diseases with no or only slight outward signs are entirely unknown to the natives. And so if a person dies from cardiopathy, pneumonia, diabetes, etc., the Isneg do not doubt for a single moment that some ill-minded imp [763]

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763 In general, it is said of a person who dies without anybody being aware of it (*maáñaw*), whether by drowning or otherwise, that some part of his body will invariably appear in his house, and that the said part will tell the relatives the name of the deceased and the news of his death.

761 Death by cursing is also to be classified under the same heading. Indeed the Isneg never call it by the term *meránud*, and the kidneys 754 of a person who dies on that account, are supposed to have been devoured as usual. Consequently it seems that, according to the Isneg viewpoint, the curse is not so much the immediate cause of death as a kind of summons to the spirits, by which they are invited to proceed to the stealing of a person's kidneys. To curse (*pakkawán;* past tense: *piñkawán;* from the stem *pakkáw*, "shouting") is done shouting, and in such a way as to cause the adversary to hear the curse pronounced against him. The result is instantaneous; the cursed person gradually becomes thinner and thinner, and finally dies. Nevertheless not all curses are intended to entail the death of a person. It may happen, for instance, if you are a thief, that people will pray that some part of your body become diseased or destroyed; in this case you will be *malbág*, and the person who cursed you is said to *manadál* (to destroy, to deteriorate).

761 To resume: the Isneg consider all deaths from disease (including 753 suicide and death by cursing) to be caused by a kidney-eating spirit, while deaths by accident or by violence are considered as natural, there being at the same time a kind of connection between death and the object or person that took part in it, either because this object or person constitutes a kind of mediate (the coconut tree from which a person falls) or immediate cause (the authorities who execute a culprit, a headhunter who kills an enemy), or because it is the final cause, *causa finalis* (God, in the case of a martyr; one's country, in the case of a patriot). All deaths by accident or by violence, except felonious homicide, come under the denomination *meránud*. [682]

B. BURIAL AND MOURNING

1. Death till Burial

763 Let us now enter the house of a dying Isneg. The poor man is very sick, it has even been rumored about that he is actually very near death, that he can hardly articulate a sound (*mañgassát*). The 755 *dorarákit* or shamaness has used all means in her power to avert the

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763 catastrophe by trying to extricate the sickness from the poor man's
755 body in the form of a piece of iron or of a tuft of grass; his family has offered the customary sacrifices of pigs, etc., while the shamaness has performed the ceremonies connected with obsession by a spirit
763 (*maxanito*); but all to no avail. The neighbors come flocking in, mostly intent perhaps on the *bási*, which flows freely on such occasions and of which they partake copiously. The state of the patient has become hopeless. Now and then the bystanders feel his pulse, which is his life (*biyáy*), as the Isneg put it; if its pulsations are still strong, they may try a last *maxanito* performance with occasional sacrifice of a chicken. But the pulse becomes weaker and weaker. *Taxáy matáyyin* or *atán matáy*, "he is dying", which means that *bitti- ya áñatna*, "his breath is little". More people come in, and more *bási* is distributed. And finally the end (*tápañ*) comes, the man dies (*matáy*).

763 Now pandemonium breaks loose. All present, more especially the
201 women, break forth into loud lamentations; loud voices, at their highest pitch, resound discordantly all around the dead man; everybody shouts, each person lamenting in his or her own way without caring for the words or the tune of his or her neighbors. The husband, wife, parents or children, as the case may be, anyhow the nearest relative or relatives may go so far as to cut themselves with their knives and to make incisions in their body. They may even threaten suicide, whether by hanging themselves or by throwing themselves into the water; but in this they are of course impeded by the bystanders. And this lasts for a considerable period of time. These outward manifestations of grief are so exceedingly grotesque, and the contortions and vociferations are so much exaggerated, that it is well-nigh impossible to take them at their face value. But such is the custom, and who would dare disobey it?

Similar scenes are enacted and may be witnessed among all the tribes I have had to do with, except that in the case of the civilized Christians a certain decorum is rarely absent, and the lamenting is mostly confined to the near relatives of the deceased. This has led many Europeans and Americans to believe and even to affirm confidently that the natives in general did not grieve very much when death snatched away one of their own, that they were stoics and fatalists to a high degree, that all these loud expressions of sorrow were pure make-up staged for the occasion. I would be the last to deny that the natives possess a certain degree of stoicism and that

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they are fatalists to a large extent, but I have assisted at many death-beds, and, although the shouting and lamenting that goes on after a person's demise are certainly a part of what might be called a customary rite, I am bound to disagree with the statement regarding the supposed absence or shallowness of grief. As evidence, I shall merely adduce two concrete examples.

In August 1930 a little Iloko (Christian) girl of from four to five years old died in the house where I was receiving hospitality at the time. The mother lamented as usual as soon as the child had breathed its last. But for hours before, she had been squatting near her little daughter, weeping silently most of the time, and occasionally giving vent to her feelings in a subdued voice through expressions like these: "Ah, my child .... my little Udiang (Claudia) is gone .... would that I might die instead .... why do you leave your mother? ...." Who would dare assert that there was no real and profound grief in that mother's heart?

In May 1924 I happened to enter the house of a Kalinga (pagan) who had just died. A score of women were making a frightful scene, squatting around the dead body and yelling to their utmost; but in a corner of the hut the wife of the dead man was standing all alone and by herself, weeping and sobbing almost inaudibly. Who would believe that the widow's grief was only superficial and that her whole behavior was part of a make-believe?

The question is that under such circumstances a casual looker-on may be led to view only one part of the scene, the one that strikes his eyes and ears the most powerfully; but an unbiased observer must not forget to note even unobtrusive details, and only then will he be able to judge rightly about the matter.

With some tribes it is customary for those who assist a dying person repeatedly to press the latter's throat with their fingers, just as if they wanted to help him choke to death. This, however, is not practised by the Isneg.

It should be noted in this connection that an Isneg husband or wife, while lamenting his or her partner, always uses the term *kokóboń* (Bolo, Musimut, etc.) or *óboń* (Dangla, etc.), "partner", not the usual term *atáwa*, "husband, wife".

If it should happen that a person dies in the absence of his parents, in case these are still living, the latter are said to be *malibátān*. The stem *libāt* means "leaving unawares, without notice".

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761 Besides, the objects that are placed in the coffin at burial are supposed to be used, not by the
775 corpse, but by the *kaduduwá*, so that the connection between the two
764 continues at least for a certain period after death. Add to this that the *balańóbáń* or revivified *innát* is also definitely known to belong to the dead person as well as his *kaduduwá:* this is proved by the fact that the transformation of the corpse into a *balańóbáń* is supposed to depend on the character of the person, while the latter was still alive, all of which will be explained in due time.

774 Third, the term *kaduduwá* itself. Semantically, and perhaps lin-
197 guistically, the Isneg term *kaduduwá* corresponds to the Iloko term
775 *kararuá*, "soul". Semantically: both terms have probably an identical meaning; anyhow they most certainly refer to one and the same thing: the spirit of man that continues to live after death. Perhaps linguistically: when we compare several Filipino languages with one another, it is clearly seen that *d* and *r* very often interchange; for instance: Ibanag *nararál* and Iloko *nadadáel* (destroyed), Isneg *matúdog* and Iloko *matúrog* (to sleep), Isneg *adú* and Ibanag *arú* (many). *A* and *o* or *u*, when not bearing the accent, are often interchanged, or at least their pronunciation is blurred and they are hardly to be distinguished from one another; for instance: Isneg *mazudódit* and *mazadódit* (to tell a story), *obóbát* and *abóbát* (the ceremony that concludes the period of mourning). And so, linguistically, the distance between Iloko *kararuá* (pronounced *kararuwá*) and Isneg *kaduduwá* does not seem to be very great.

Etymologically, however, Isneg *kaduduwá* and Iloko *kararuá* seem to be entirely different; on the contrary, the Isneg term *kaduduwá* and the Iloko *kaduá* (pronounced *kaduwá*) are one etymologically, although seemingly very different semantically: as *kaduá* in Iloko means "companion", which in Isneg is rendered by *kabbulón*. Both Isneg *kaduduwá* and Iloko *kaduá* are composed of the stem *duwá* (written *duá* in Iloko), "two", partly reduplicated in Isneg, and the prefix *ka*, indicating companionship, concomitance, etc., in both languages.

In view of all this it seems reasonable to infer that the Isneg seem to consider the spirit that continues to live after death, not exactly as a companion (in this case they would call it *kabbulón*), but as a part of something, a counterpart, something that goes with something else (prefix *ka*), and to which, in numbers, it would correspond as number "two (*duwá*)", not in time and successively or consecutively, but concomitantly (on account of the prefix *ka*).

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These three facts combined prove that the Isneg, at least implicitly, consider a living man as consisting of two elements: the *baggí* or body, of which no more mention is made after death, as an *innát* (corpse) takes its place, and the *kaduduwá* or spiritual element that continues to live and is usually invisible.

Through death "a person ceases to exist as an ordinary human being". Indeed, the *kaduduwá*, although its life is similar in many respects to that of a living person on earth, is usually quite invisible and "continues to live indefinitely". I say "indefinitely": why not "eternally"? It must be remembered that the Isneg have no notion of eternity as such; they know that the *kaduduwá* continues to live, they never heard of a *kaduduwá* dying, but if it lives eternally, that goes beyond their comprehension, or, to be exact, they never think as far ahead as that. And so what looks to the Isneg as "indefinite" (living on indefinitely), if considered under our own viewpoint, would probably mean "eternal" (living on eternally). The corpse also is far from existing as an ordinary human being. Not that the Isneg consider it to be completely devoid of any animating principle, but that it is dead for the time being, and if it lives afterwards in the state of a *balańóbáń*, its life cannot be compared with that of an ordinary man.

The *kaduduwá* goes to live "ultimately at least in the realm of the dead". This will be explained more fully when referring to the state of man after death.

"Leaving behind an *innát*". *Innát* is the body of a man immediately after death, as long as it stays in the house, and before burial, if burial takes place. The *innát* is dead, it neither moves nor breathes, it needs neither food nor drink. We shall see presently whether the Isneg believe all dead bodies to remain in that state, in the state of *innát*, until decay sets in.

2. Future Life

What happens after death? And first as to the *kaduduwá*.

The night after a person's death (some say: "at any time after his death"; but this could never mean "immediately after death" on account of the necessity of the *innát* being clothed), *Kútaw*, the ferryman, or rather the ferry spirit, comes along to bring the *kaduduwá* over the great pond (*lablabbáń*) to the realm of the dead. Here, according to some informants, the *kaduduwá* receives hospitality at *Kútaw*'s house until the latter brings it on its way to the house of its relatives who died before.

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764 776 And now the *inndt*? What happens to it after death?

As long as the corpse retains its name of *inndt*, which means, as long as the body is left in the house unburied, it merely remains as it is, inert and lifeless, at least apparently. The only calamity that might befall it, is to be snatched away and devoured by either *Karásaw* or *Wirwér*. Both are spirits with exceedingly long legs: while one of the legs rests on Kabugaw soil, the other one may have found a point of support at the other side of the river, at Alumani, a distance of at least one mile. Others state that *Wirwér* is the only long-legged spirit; according to these informants, *Karásaw* has no body, he has nothing else but two long arms that are completely scorched. When these imps want to feed on an *inndt*, and the latter remains unguarded, they pass the upper part of their body (or the arms only in the case of *Karásaw*, according to some informants) through the opening at one of the gables of the house, and, leaning on the tie-beam, catch the *inndt* and run away with it to devour it at leisure. According to another version, *Karásaw* is the only one who enters by the gable: *Wirwér* uses the door of the house to make his entrance. This has happened in the past *kanó*, say the Isneg. Now the little term *kanó* is a very convenient one for all kinds of incredible statements: it can best be translated by the Latin *dicitur*. *Kanó*, "so it is said", and that settles the matter.

The Isneg would probably find in these former losses of *inndt*, the origin of the custom of watching the dead: indeed they usually state that *Karásaw* and *Wirwér* only steal *inndt* that are not watched. In our viewpoint, the two are rationalizations to explain the old custom of watching the *inndt*. Anyhow both spirits are hated by the Isneg. Just exactly why they consider the theft of an *inndt* by *Karásaw* or *Wirwér* as a calamity, I do not know: indeed a dead body can do the living no good: on the contrary, it very often annoys them, as will be seen in due time, and besides, the custom of the *tarimbáñon*, which will be explained presently, seems to show that there may have been a time when the Isneg tried to get rid of an *inndt* without burying it. Or would the use to which a corpse is put by these *inndt*-eating spirits, entail the vengeance of the *kadudnwá*, who may have nothing against the *tarimbáñon* with consequent failure of burial, but may have retained enough interest in something that was himself or a part of himself in bygone times, not to want it devoured by an uncanny member of the world of spirits? Such is probably the reason; the

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devouring of the corpse by *Karásaw* or by *Wirwér* must bring some punishment to the neglectful relatives, either by the *kaduduwá* or by some spirit; while a corpse left unburied on account of the *tarimbáñon*, remains safe and in no danger of being fed upon by man-eating spirits, it merely loses its identity as an *innát* immediately, without having to be buried in a tomb. We shall meet *Wirwér* again in the description of a dead Isneg's burial.

Another reason for being watchful when an *innát* is present in the house, is explained like this by the Isneg: if at any time all people are asleep in the house, the *innát* or dead body stands up and starts counting the sleepers (*da-dáp*) two by two, and in case there is one left without a companion, which points to an odd number of course, this one left will die very soon. After that the *innát* leaves the house and takes a walk, only to return very soon to its former state and place. The sand that cleaves to the dead body is promptly noticed by the awakened relatives, and it furnishes them with a striking proof of the activities of the *innát* during their sleep.

What is to be understood by the *tarimbáñon?* This is how the Isneg describe it: in olden times, as soon as a person died and his body was laid down at the customary place, with the head near the wall of the house, before it was even washed or clothed, one of the inmates of the house (usually the husband or wife of the deceased) took hold of an *allú* or pestle (used to pound rice in a mortar), and with it rammed with all his might either the wall of the house or the floor from beneath, near the head of the deceased. At this juncture the *innát* invariably disappeared and left no traces behind. This was done, according to my informants, in order to get rid of the corpse without the necessity of burying it, and formerly it was a general custom. When I asked if a woman would *manarimbáñon* as well as a man, they answered me: "Yes, provided she dare do it"; but at the same time they insisted that in bygone times no corpses were buried, and that all *innát* were disposed of by the *tarimbáñon* in order to avoid the trouble attendant upon the burial of a dead person. The whole custom looks exceedingly strange, and many things about it cannot be explained satisfactorily, at least in the light of actual Isneg belief. What about the care taken by our people with reference to the clothing of the dead, the difficulties encountered by a *kaduduwá* whose *innát* has not been attired in new clothes, the thousand and one ceremonies that are scrupulously performed before and at the time of burial, etc.? Indeed the *tarimbáñon* is said to take place even

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764 before the corpse is washed, and with the definite purpose of forestalling the trouble of burying it. None of my Isneg informants,
775 however, could give me any further explanation, neither were they able to tell me, of course, how a dead body could disappear at once without more ado. The only statements they uttered were such as these: "This was the custom in olden times . . . . , formerly no *inudt* was ever buried . . . . , the *tarimbáñon* was once a universal custom . . . . , long ago all Isneg *nanarimbáñon* . . . . ", and so on. Or is the whole *tarimbáñon* affair a myth pure and simple without any foundation in fact? Maybe, but my informants certainly did not entertain any such ideas: they were firmly convinced of the reality of such happenings in bygone times, although they were completely unable to explain away any of the contradictions involved. Have their mortuary beliefs and customs changed in the course of time? Or does the *tarimbáñon* replace all other ceremonies and force *Kútaw* to bring the *kaduduwá* over the *lablabbáñ* without further requirements? I do not know, neither do the Isneg seem to know.

194 Once buried a dead body loses its name *inudt* and may eventually
775 become a *balañóbáñ* (sometimes pronounced *bañálóbáñ; balañóbañ*, in Iloko, means "wanderer, vagabond", and is applied to ordinary human beings who are still alive), "ghost, phantom", a term which is almost always confined to wandering ghosts. The fact of becoming or not becoming a *balañóbáñ* after burial depends on the character of the deceased. If he is a good and virtuous person, he will be ashamed (say the Isneg) to wander about and annoy the neighbors in the shape of a *balañóbáñ;* or if some such person should become a wandering *balañóbáñ*, he will either go far away from the place of his tomb in order to startle unknown (and consequently unbeloved) people, or stay in the immediate neighborhood of the place of his death, but without bringing vexation to anybody around: all this because he is good and would feel ashamed to do otherwise. All other corpses, and these seem to form a considerable majority, become wandering *balañóbáñ*, and annoy the neighbors, except of course when they are kept from doing so by magical or other practices on the part of the living. If these practices, which keep a *balañóbáñ* at bay, are powerful enough, nothing is to be feared; but if they are ineffective, or if magic which causes a *balañóbáñ* to leave its grave and vex the neighbors is more powerful, then woe to your chickens. Indeed a *balañóbáñ*, after two or three nights in the grave, may not

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find its abode to its taste, and may creep out stealthily, shake off with both hands the earth that clung to it while winding its way out, and roam around at night feeding on chickens and charcoal (*bergáń*). That it feeds on chickens proves that the *balańóbáń* is really alive; that it feeds on charcoal shows that its life is not that of an ordinary human being.

These *balańóbáń* are also supposed to be very fond of annoying the women who go to work in the field: which seems but natural, as the women are usually much more afraid of ghosts than the men, and consequently will imagine much more easily that they have to do with a phantom, whenever they see something more or less out of the ordinary. Nevertheless, all Isneg, whether men or women, believe in *balańóbáń*, and I rarely met a man who did not positively assure me that he had seen one. Crossroads (*sisiníyán*) seem also to be a favorite haunt of these *balańóbáń:* the Isneg state that a *sisiníyán* is the usual place where they can be encountered, so that anybody who is anxious to meet a ghost, should lie in wait at a *sisiníyán*, and he will rarely be disappointed.

In some places, in order to prevent a dead body from leaving its tomb, the Isneg sometimes put a heavy stone (only one) upon the lid of the coffin, inside the grave; in others stones were placed on top of the tomb, after it has been filled up: but I doubt very much if the latter practice is resorted to by the Isneg with the purpose of keeping the buried corpse at bay. The description of tombs and of all purely magical practices which are of use in Apayaw, either to cause a dead body to leave its tomb and annoy the neighbors, or to prevent it from doing so, will find its place further on.

What does a *balańóbáń* look like? All Isneg agree that it has the shape of a man and that it is full of worms, but beyond this nothing definite can be gathered from native informants. When you ask people who live in more civilized areas and pretend to have seen ghosts, what the latter look like, you may get as many answers as there are informants, the one answer as vague as the other. The Isneg, like some weak-minded and credulous people among our own, see a ghost, especially at night, in every gnarled branch of a tree, in every disfigured shape, which they cannot clearly distinguish. The generality of the Isneg, if not all of them, will assure you most positively that they have seen real ghosts, and indeed they see ghosts at night in everything whose shape does not seem to correspond to something known to them, whether it be earth or stone, plant or animal,

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but they have never yet been able to see a ghost without some vagueness surrounding it. It should be noted in this connection that a *balańóbáń* has nocturnal habits.

But what is the ultimate fate of a *balańóbáń*? To this question the Isneg can give a definite answer: all *balańóbáń* decay in the end at *Magkíbińán*. *Magkíbińán* is the name of a cave, the usual dwelling place of all *balańóbáń*, and there their wandering life comes to an end sooner or later. Nobody can tell you anything definite, however, about the location of this cave or about the duration of a dead body's life as a *balańóbáń*.

All Isneg are convinced that tombs of wandering *balańóbáń* are empty and remain so. Once out of its tomb, no *balańóbáń* ever comes back to its former abode. And only the very few stay in their tomb; the generality of them start on their temporary wanderings as soon as they have been in the grave for two or three nights, long enough to dislike such a residence. Occasionally a few informants even state that no dead bodies ever decay in their graves. Nobody of course would venture to dig in a tomb in order to convince himself of the truth of his belief.

3. *Causes of Death*

What causes death? The Isneg seem to distinguish between two kinds of death, namely: what we would call "death by accident or death by violence", and "death from sickness". Under the Isneg viewpoint, however, the first kind of death has what I should like to call a "natural" cause, while the other kind has a "supernatural" cause.

Under the first head come all deaths whose cause is obvious and patent to everybody:

1. Death through murder or assassination (felonious homicide),—for instance, you plant a headax in the neck of your enemy and cut off his head. The Isneg, no more than anybody else, will doubt about the cause of your enemy's death. Here there is no necessity of suspecting the intervention of the spirits.

2. Death by accident or through judicial taking of life,—for instance, a man falls from a tree and breaks his neck, death ensuing, or a culprit is executed by the authorities, and so on. Here also the spirits are not considered as the immediate cause of death. To die like that is called *merónud* (past tense: *neránud*), while to die in general is called *natáy* (past tense: *natáy*). The stem *rónud*, in

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764 When the first outburst of lamentations, in the case of our dead
292 Isneg, has come to an end, the bystanders at once proceed to the preparation of the *innát* or corpse. The latter is first stripped of its old clothes, and carefully washed and cleaned; after that it is wiped dry and finally dressed up in the best clothes available. Some natives do not even shrink from clothing the corpse in silk, if their means allow such luxury; at any rate, it would be utterly shameful to the Isneg not to dress a dead body decently. This latter performance is called *magpaar-armát* (transitive: *paarmattán;* from the stem *armát*, "garments"). As has been stated before, each garment is partially torn (*maxáyxáy*) at one side.

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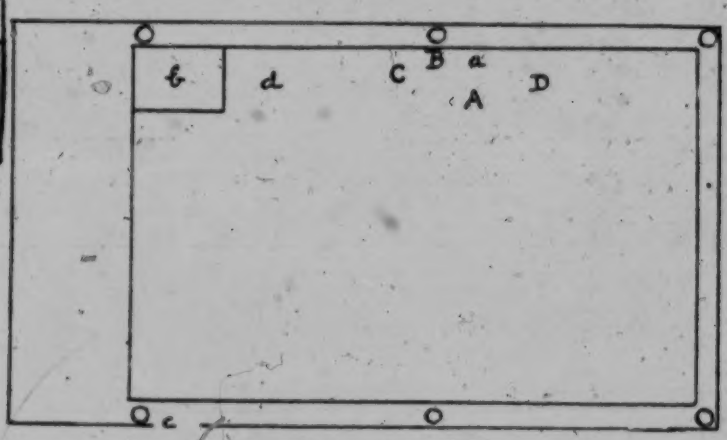

FIG. 3. FLOOR OF AN ISNEG HOUSE

A, Place of bier; a, place of the head of the *innát*; B, place of the *innát* in sitting posture; C, place of the *aróboń;* D, place of mourning relatives; b, hearth; c, door; d, place of woman in childbed.

764 In some places they insert a few *libnó* herbs in the clothes of the
775 *innát* for the following reason: on its way to the realm of the dead, the *kaduduwá* is supposed to pass through a camote or sweet-potato
772 field, in which there is a hut inhabited by an old woman, who is intent on taking away from all passers-by their provisions and all their belongings; but if the latter have *libnó*-herbs about their person, the old woman is powerless and they pass along unscathed.

764 In the meanwhile some others have been preparing the *tádag* or bier. The *tádag* consists of a certain number of entire bamboos, tied

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together side by side in three places, at both ends and in the middle; it corresponds exactly to an ordinary raft or *zákit*, except of course that it is much shorter. 764

The *tádag* is then laid down near the middle post of one of the longer sides of the house, namely the one opposite to the door (fig. 3), and the body is stretched out upon it at full length, with its head near the wall, arms crossed over the chest, hands flat and fingers extended. In this position the *inndt* has the place of the hearth to one side, but it is comparatively far away from it, as between this and the *tádag* is a certain space, that is usually reserved for women after childbirth; the middle post just referred to is kept immediately at the side of the head of the deceased, between the latter and the hearth. The *inndt*'s pillow consists of the garments of which the deceased has just been stripped, jacket and G-string or tapis, etc.; they are rolled up into a bundle and placed under the head of the dead person. The latter's eyes have been closed; but the mouth may remain open: the lower jaw is never bound up.

After this a few pinnae of a young coconut leaf (*palátaŕ*) are twisted and formed into a kind of crown, which is placed over the head of the deceased. This crown, which the Isneg call *sinazíkaw*, is never absent. Then the whole body is covered with a fine new blanket, which leaves only the crowned head visible. [824] [292]

If the deceased is a married man, his surviving wife cuts off her tresses at the height of the shoulders (*maggaňád*), and these are tied to the head of the *inndt* and arranged in such a way as to form one with his own hair. [302]

It should be noted once for all that all ceremonies and observances connected with death and burial are the same for men and women, for adults and children, for shamans and ordinary mortals, except for an occasional detail that will be recorded at the proper place. 766

In some special cases the *inndt* is kept in a sitting or squatting posture, this time immediately in front of the central post and facing the door. It is kept sitting on a small bench, with head and waist tied to the post just referred to, and hands resting on the thighs; there is no question of course of any *tádag* or bier.

At other places, as at Bayag, some corpses are kept squatting in a jar, always at the customary place. A large *zúsi* jar (earthenware imported from China), a *tadózăs* in the case of an adult, a *dordorí* in the case of a child, both very precious to the Isneg, is cut into two almost equal parts, and the body is placed in a squatting position

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766 inside its lower half, a certain amount of clothes being pushed between the sides of the jar and the *innát* in order to keep the latter straight and to prevent it from falling forwards or backwards and from leaning to either side.

But these are exceptional cases and happen only to the very rich (Musimut, Nagbabalayan, etc.) or to persons that stand very high in the estimation of their people (Lettuakan, Bayag, etc.). At Musimut and so on, very rich people may be kept two days like that before they are finally interred. At Lettuakan, a few years ago, *Antón*, who does not seem to have been either rich or influential, was kept in a sitting posture for three days. At Bayag also, three days usually elapse before the jar is buried with its contents. I believe, however, that formerly such bodies would have been kept from burial for a much longer time. This opinion is based, not only on analogy with similar customs that obtain among other tribes, but also on information received in Apayaw with reference to the time that elapses between death and burial, all of which will be mentioned later on.

•764 171 Among the Isneg there is no question of preservation of the body either by mummification or by the use of any other means. Abandonment of the coffined body under some large rock in the neighborhood of the settlement, which obtains among the Kankanay and the Bontok Igorot, burial in elaborate monuments, as is customary among the rich Kalinga, cremation, etc., are all unknown in Apayaw. The body is simply interred, as will be explained presently.

764 After the death of a person, one of his relatives (all of whom are called *matāyán*) goes to announce (*magba-ba-nán*) the sad news to the absent members of his kindred. As long as the body remains unburied, friends and neighbors come and go, men and women showing in their own way their participation in the sorrow of the be-
[824] reaved relatives. Women who go to the house of the deceased, usually
[751] take along with them some *anúlut* (a kind of herb) as a precaution, lest the *balańóbāń* of the person they go to mourn for be following them in the future. The *bási* that is abundantly distributed on such occasions, proves a very strong attraction to some of the men, and, in case the deceased was a man of means, the pigs that are slaughtered are also a powerful incentive and inevitably induce our Isneg to flock to the house of the dead (*makixánat* or *mepaxinnatáy*) and
764 participate in the ceremonies connected with mourning. No real
782 sacrifices (*pildáp*, etc.), however, are offered, and no *maxanito* is per-

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formed by any of the shamans. Indeed, why should the spirits be enticed to obsess the shaman at a time when everybody is bent on keeping them at a distance? Besides, the souls of the dead should be left where they are as long as the *innát* is in the house, probably lest the *kaduduwá* of the deceased be interfered with on its trip to the other world.

Women mourn and lament in a loud voice almost uninterruptedly, usually two or three at a time: when one group is tired, another one takes its place. Men rarely imitate them in this, especially after the first general outburst of grief, that takes place immediately after death is over, but they *magbibisnág* (slap one another's thighs: the game previously described, CAC–P, 3: 123-26). According to the Isneg, playing *bisnág* is a man's way of showing his grief: a certain chastisement of the body is undoubtedly involved in the whole performance, and just as the near relatives sometimes cut themselves at the death of one of their loved ones in order to show the intensity of their sorrow, so also the men, relatives, neighbors and friends, slap one another's thighs, often until blood spurts out, in order to prove to the whole assembly that they also take part and are far from remaining insensible in the presence of death. That a certain amount of voluntary infliction of pain is at the root of this question, is corroborated by the fact that some women occasionally take part in the *bisnág*, the more so that no member of the weaker sex ever plays the rôle of agent (*maṅná*), but merely receives the slaps (*magtán*) without rendering them. Expressions like the following may be heard frequently among the Isneg: "*Uráy magdáxa ya apélko ta xakkánnā-magsáṅit* (even though my thighs bleed, as I do not weep)". In both cases, namely in that of men and in that of women, the *bisnág* is resorted to more especially by those who do little or no weeping; people, whether men or women, who do a good deal of lamenting, rarely take part in *bisnág*.

It goes without saying that the spirits are wide awake at the death of an Isneg, and that the survivors are annoyed with their unwelcome presence at every turn. Among others the following deserve special mention:

Dupáppā-, whose tastes are very peculiar; indeed, he it is who absorbs the decayed matter (*saxó*) that flows from the nose and mouth of the deceased.

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776 764 *Ruádd:* a spirit who invariably approaches the house at the death of one of its inmates. He looks like a big tree, and at his arrival the whole house shakes.

Xówat: a kind of giant who is to be seen roaming around, either at the house of a dead person, or along some road leading to it.

Tuktukkól: a whole swarm of spirits who come to mourn and weep at the house of a dead person, especially if the latter is a child.

[851 753] The Isneg strictly forbid all children to play noisily anywhere in the settlement where an *inndt* is awaiting burial; if any youngster should disobey this injunction, he would invariably become afflicted with *boókól* (worms).

765 A person who arrives from some other agglomeration bringing in a new jar at the time a corpse is present in one of the houses, may be sure not to be able to enjoy the use of his jar for a long time: the latter is *ma-dammán*.

764 As has been stated previously, the body has to be watched night and day. At night, when most of the mourners are sleeping, from one to three persons must always remain awake, and when the latter feel very sleepy, others must take their place, lest the punishment which has already been referred to be meted out to one of their number.

In case the deceased is a married man, the widow (*bálo*) has to stay near the corpse of her husband, as soon as the body has been dressed and placed in the required position, and she has to remain there until one night after burial. For this purpose a diminutive tent (*aróbón*) is put up near the head of the dead person, on the other side of the post, toward the hearth (fig. 3). This *aróbón* usually consists of a couple of boards for the sides and a blanket for the cover, the whole outfit leaning against the wall of the house. Only men take part in fixing the *aróbón*. The widow has to stay inside all the time, she remains invisible, and she neither weeps nor laments, at least not in a loud voice: if she does so, her sobs should remain inaudible or almost so. There she partakes of the food that is pushed in by her relatives, and there she sleeps. Since the *aróbón* is comparatively small, it is quite impossible for her ever to stretch her legs. If she has to go out for some urgent reason, a board is taken out of the wall, which is not at all difficult in Isneg houses, and a ladder is placed against it. As soon as the woman leaves the house through this improvised door, she has to wrap herself up completely in another blanket, and to reenter as soon as possible. In some places she

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is not even allowed to do that, but she has to satisfy the calls of nature inside, using some receptacle given her for the purpose.

In some places the widower (*bálo*) does the same at the death of his wife, and lives in an *aróbóń* for the time being: such is the custom at Dangla, at Bolo, etc. At Bayag, it would be considered indecorous for a widower to imitate the women in this respect: there only the latter are bound to take up their temporary residence in an *aróbóń*.

If the widow (or widower, where the same custom is observed by both men and women alike) is unwilling to live in an *aróbóń*, she merely wraps herself up in a blanket, passing it over her head. This is called *maxubčban*, and the woman remains in the usual place near the corpse until one night after burial. Sometimes it may happen that widows or widowers refuse to submit to this ordeal, but they will in all cases be severely berated by the other relatives of the deceased. It should, however, be noted that, if they had little regard for the dead person during his lifetime, this ceremony may be dispensed with, without anybody taking much notice of the whole affair.

If the deceased was held in high esteem by his people, the other relatives remain at the other side of the corpse from the *aróbóń* for the whole period that elapses between the dressing of the body and its burial, but they are not confined in an *aróbóń*, and they are free to leave whenever necessary.

At Abbil (municipal district of Namaltugan) a widower usually goes to the river accompanied by one of his male relatives, on the morning of the day that follows the death of his wife. Once there his companion bores a small hole in the ground very near the water, and as soon as the hole is filled with water, the widower dips the little finger of his right hand into it. From this time on until the *obóbāt* ceremony (end of the mourning period), he is not allowed to take a bath. This ceremony, however, which is called *mamáwa*, is only performed by brave men, as a spirit is supposed to pursue the widower after he has dipped his finger into the water.

2. *Burial*

The coffin (*lońón*) is almost always made of ordinary boards, roughly hewn by means of a headax. Its size depends on the length of the body to be buried, and the boards are flat and oblong, except the two small ones at both ends, which are square or almost so; there are at least five of them, and in case the coffin has a lid, six. If the body was kept in a sitting posture after death, the coffin is much

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764 shorter of course, but it is also much deeper. The case of the jar coffin in use at Bayag has already been mentioned. At Bayag also, where timber is becoming relatively scarce, the coffin may be made of bamboo, and in some cases, pebbles from the river take the place of a regular coffin. These pebbles are arranged in such a way as to cover the body on all sides inside the grave, each board of a regular wooden coffin being replaced by a certain quantity of more or less flat pebbles placed side by side, horizontally for the bottom and the lid, if the last is desired, and upright for the other four.

766 In the morning before burial, or a little later in the day in case of small children who are buried the night after their death, the body is placed in the coffin, in the same place and position which it occupied until then. The *tádag* or bier is simply removed and placed upright somewhere against the wall or thrown under the house. If the body was kept in a sitting posture after death, the coffin is placed

766 upright and the body is kept sitting. Occasionally, however, such a body may be laid down on its back and coffined as if it had been lying stretched out in its full length: this is what happened to Anton of Lettuakan, whose case has been mentioned before. In no case is a lid placed over the coffin inside the house. Even after the body has been placed in the coffin, the women's lamentations and the men's *bisnág* suffer no interruption: everything goes on as usual until the

766 funeral takes place. At Bayag the body remains as it is until burial;
184 it is coffined only when interred, which is obviously a necessity in the case of a coffin of pebbles, as the latter are always arranged inside the grave.

764 The period of time that elapses between death and burial is not the same everywhere and for everybody, neither has it always been the
766 same. In the past, when the Isneg were still their own masters, the *innát* of an adult was never buried before the fifth day after death; sometimes it took even six days before the body was considered sufficiently decomposed to allow of its interment. Actually strangers who know nothing about Isneg law or are bent on disregarding it, keep strict vigilance, and the length of the period has been greatly reduced. Consequently even the Isneg have accepted as the usual number of nights that should elapse between death and burial (which formerly was always performed at night) of an adult, three (Abbil, etc.) or from three to four (Musimut, Bolo, etc.), the night of burial included. But even this reduced number of nights, already accepted by Isneg custom, is not tolerated by the authorities, and

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whenever possible the dead body of an adult is forcibly confined to the grave after one or two nights (night of burial always included). Occasionally in some out-of-the-way places, the Isneg may stick to their old custom or at least to the modified one, but this becomes rarer and rarer every day. Children are usually interred after one or two nights according to age and size (Abbil, Musimut, Bolo, etc.), so that in many cases a child who dies in the morning is buried in the evening of the same day.

And now we come to the digging of the grave. The grave consists of a hole in the ground, large enough to contain the coffined body, but usually not as deep as is actually required by law (1½ meters). This is always begun by a woman (*mañusím*) who may be a shamaness or not. This operation, however, is rather ceremonial than practical, as immediately afterwards men do the real work. If jars have to be buried together with the coffined body, a special round hole is dug near the ordinary grave, in such a way as to have the buried jars situated at the right of the dead man's body, near the place of his head if the body is lying down. When digging a hole in the ground, the Isneg use the *sáwit* or blunt point at the back of a headax, or any other instrument, to loosen the earth, and an old basket or a coconut shell (in the case of digging a grave, usually the former), to extract the loose earth and throw it out. For the rest, no definite orientation of grave or body is required, and anybody is allowed to dig the grave, as well as to carry the body and to cover it with earth: there are no persons specifically designated for these purposes. In no case are children allowed to stay near a tomb in which a body has been buried recently (*lábŭg*).

Among the Kankanay, young men vie with each other to carry the body of a rich person to its last resting place, as they believe that, if the matter which exudes from the decomposed body (*deń* in Kankanay, pronounced like English "dung") trickles upon their own, they also will be blessed by this world's goods. No such belief exists among the Isneg.

Formerly the grave was always dug under the house, and if the gravediggers happened to open a *lúbo-*, a grave already occupied, the lately deceased person was simply interred over the remains of the one in possession. This particular selection of the site for a grave gave rise, as was told me by the natives themselves, to the custom of the Isneg, which obtains to this day, of definitively stopping their work at a new house, and of going to choose some other place for the erec-

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764 tion of the same, whenever a *labág* bird passes under (*magsilpút*)
178 the building; indeed, they believe that, if they continued to build
787 the house on that particular spot, one or more of the inmates would certainly die.

764 Nowadays the authorities insist on burial in common graveyards,
177 set aside for the purpose and situated outside and away from the settlement. Although this ordinance is still occasionally evaded, it becomes harder and harder to do so, on account of the presence of sanitary inspectors in every municipal district; and so the Isneg have gradually accommodated themselves to circumstances, as will be explained more fully when treating of the decoration of the tomb.

764 At the time set for the funeral, in the evening, the coffin (or lower part of a jar) containing its precious burden, is carried to the grave (*itamán;* sometimes pronounced *itanám;* in Iloko: *itaném*). If the body has to be coffined at the grave, it is carried on the *tádag* or bier. Actually, when the body is interred in the graveyard, the funeral takes place in the daytime, and any time of the day will do.

Before and after the body is laid or set to rest, a good many rites and ceremonies take place, and these I shall try to describe with as much order and accuracy as possible.

The position of the body in the tomb is the same as that of the *innát* in the house, at the time it was coffined: if the latter was stretched out at full length or otherwise laid on its back, the body in the grave will rest supine; if the *innát* was kept in a sitting or squatting posture, the corpse will be placed that way in the grave, its head remaining uppermost.

And now as to the *tanád* or objects that are interred together with the body, and which are believed to be used by the *kaduduwá* of the deceased in the realm of the dead. Some of them are always present, others only occasionally.

The following objects are never lacking:

A *tariyáw* (a piece of earthenware, plate or cup), containing a certain amount of cooked rice;

Some viands usually wrapped up in one or more leaves;

A receptacle (any kind) containing some water;

A bundles of clothes;

An *aliwá* or headax, in the case of a man; an *ikó* knife, in the case of a woman;

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Some tobacco, or some of the ingredients used in the chewing of betel nut (betel nut, leaves of the betel pepper, and lime), according to the former habits of the deceased. 764

To these may be added:

A bottle of *básІ;*

One or more spears;

One or more shields;

Some coins;

Some favorite musical instrument of the deceased; etc.

One of the following objects is also usually present, and, in the case of a rich man, all of them:

A *saxabán* (string of beads worn around the head);

A string of beads (worn around the neck);

A *xúsi* jar containing some *básІ* (in which case there is no bottle of *básІ*).

Everything is placed inside the coffin, the *xúsi* excepted, which is buried in the hole especially dug for it. 764

These objects, even though some of them are very precious in the eyes of the Isneg, are never interfered with; they always remain where they are. The desecration of a grave by robbers or other malefactors is something unknown in Apáyaw. 769 685

Sometimes it happens that an ill-intentioned person (never one of the relatives), probably moved by a desire for revenge, when unobserved, stealthily places some herbs in the coffin, alongside the body. He does this with the purpose of forcing the body to leave its abode at night in the shape of a *balańóbáń*, and to roam around playing havoc among the chickens of the neighbors. 764 754 775

Before the body is placed in the grave, the bottom of the latter is strewn with ashes, obtained by burning an *anańá*, which is a kind of raincoat made of palm leaves. This ceremony is supposed to serve a double purpose: the raincoat will render good service to the deceased in the other world, and the ashes will prevent the dead body, either from leaving its grave in the shape of a *balańóbáń* or ghost, or at least from frightening the neighbors.

Lest the *balańóbáń* scare the relatives of the deceased or the women of the neighborhood who daily repair to their work, the Isneg usually put some *takkág* vines inside the coffin, alongside the body. The *takkág* is a schizaeaceous fern (Lygodium sp.), which differs from 764 824

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764 824 the *lito* (also Lygodium sp.) used for the manufacture of basketry, in the smaller size of its leaves and the brittleness of its rachis.

764 [824] After all these rites have been duly observed, the body is lowered into its final abode. In order to do this, the Isneg tie the coffin with strips of *báno-* (core of the rattan), which are rather brittle and never used when something has to be tied in a durable way. It now depends on the wishes of the nearest surviving relative, the husband or wife, the father or mother, a child, as the case may be, whether a lid has to be placed over the coffin or the body has to be left uncovered and the lid dispensed with. In case the body was kept squatting in the lower half of a jar, the other half is now placed over it, and the opening on top is closed with a plate (earthenware imported from China).

Then the grave is filled up with the earth that was taken out by the gravediggers, and the old basket that was used to extract the loose earth at the time of digging is placed on top. No mound is erected over the grave; the ground above is simply kept level with the surrounding ground.

Here follows the description of what is placed on and over the tomb: a few things immediately after the funeral, others either at the same time or the next day, according to the wishes of the people in charge or to the presence or absence of the materials in question at the time of burial.

There are placed on the grave immediately after the funeral:

[824] Several pinnae of a young coconut leaf, sometimes twisted into different fantastic shapes, roughly imitating those of birds, dogs, stars, balls, etc.; also some stumps of cigars, partly burned: all these to keep away *Bowá* (by some called *Alibowá*), a spirit who feeds on dead bodies;

In some places a spear is stuck in the tomb: this is done in order to prevent the spirit *Wiriwér* from stealing and devouring the body;

[824 823] Then ingredients for chewing betel nut, namely: one or more betel nuts or some sections of a betel nut, leaves of the betel pepper, some lime. The lime is placed there more especially with the purpose of preventing the body from leaving its grave in the shape of a *balaŋóbāŋ;* in this way the lime supplements the magic power of the *takkág* and of the ashes of the burned raincoat, both of them mentioned before.

Further adornment, put in place either immediately after the funeral or, more commonly, the next day:

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If buried under the house, a number of flat pebbles from the river are arranged all around the grave in such a way as to form the figure of a rectangle; the pebbles are stuck in the ground half-way and are placed erect, but lengthwise, so that the part that protrudes is about one half of the breadth of the pebble, not one half of its greatest length.

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If the body is buried in a common graveyard, a small shed is erected over the tomb. This shed consists of four low posts, which support a sheet of bamboo roofing, more or less slanting to one side. Sometimes, although rarely, the shed is much more elaborate, and, besides four or six posts, there are present two or four tiebeams that connect the posts, and a regular gable roof covered with grass or bamboo; the walls and gables are open to all winds, however, and there is a floor. Once erected, these contrivances are usually left untouched until they fall in and their materials decay. In all probability, this counterpart of a hut is intended to replace the house that in former times always shielded a tomb from the inclemencies of the weather.

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In Bayag, upon the grave of *Butít*, under a shed of the most elaborate type just described, the survivors had placed immediately over the place of the body, and seemingly covering it from head to foot, a contrivance of sticks and laths, which was an almost exact replica of the coffin-shaped device used in Catholic churches at services at which the body is absent. All around this wooden frame, several jars could be found, scattered at random, some of which were standing erect, at the time of my visit, others lying down, a few entire, others partially deteriorated. This is most certainly quite exceptional in Apayaw, as I never saw anything similar in any other graveyard.

3. After Burial till End of Mourning

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When the funeral is over, the participants retire to a place a little distant from the house of the deceased, and from there the male relatives pelt the house with stones (*bumaláw*). This is done in order to drive away the spirits (*Bowá, Wirwér*, etc.) who might be lying in wait at the grave to rob it of its prey. This rite is not dispensed with even though the person be interred in a common graveyard and far away from the house, although in this case it seems to have lost all meaning; but the Isneg stick to their traditions. I confidently expect, however, that very soon they will find another reason for their action, and the throwing of stones will be explained as intended to drive away from the house either all spirits in general,

Do not jump over a child. If you do, his growth will be retarded. 784

At first glance one might think that life in Apayao is greatly restricted by the necessity of placating all the *anitos* and of observing the many auguries, omens, and prohibitions. But, after being around some, I cannot help getting the impression somehow, that all this is partly just the men's sly way to getting out of a lot of hard work and disagreeable duties. At least, the placating of the *anitos* gives them the occasion for many very pleasant social times. 771 784 787 789 781

BURIAL

When death comes, the Apayaos, unlike the Christians, do not dread it as being the end of life on this earth; for the spirit *caludorosa*, continues to exist somewhere and enjoy many of their physical pleasures without the discomforts. The people respect these spirits and go to great pains to see that they are made happy, both during the funeral ceremony and also during the following years. At all the feasts a portion of the best food and *basi* is placed on a plate, which is then set near the stove where the immediate supply of rice is kept. The people want to keep the spirits of their ancestors happy and contented for, if one should become discontented, he will select a person in the house to keep him company. The person then becomes sick and will die if a feast is not held to make that spirt happy and contented again. 761 775 769 [753]

When a person dies, all the relatives immediately gather in his house and hold a *callas* in his memory. 764

764 A fence is constructed around the house, and all neighbors are strictly prohibited, *canao*, from entering [822] it or even from coming around the place. The rela- [262] tives dress in white as a sign of mourning and drink *basi;* but they do not eat rice nor meat; only plain food, such as camotes and bananas. There is no music, dancing, or singing; only mourning in order that the spirit of the dead may be happy in the knowledge that they miss him.

The corpse is bathed, dressed, and laid out on a mat, length-wise with the house. Then the nearest relative (husband or wife), with hair cut short and dressed in white, must lie down by the side of the corpse just as if it were still alive, and remain there without food and without moving for two or three days, all during the *callas*. After a while it becomes torture for the person to stay still; but when he does move without permission, the relatives of the dead are there to punish him and force him to pay them indemnity.

764 While this is going on, all the relatives are eat- 533 ing, drinking and mourning. This mourning is not so much the grief of parting, but rather as entertainment for the dead. There are certain specified shouts and talking back and forth, using certain old cadences: sometimes expressing pity or carrying on vigorous debates which almost seem quarrelsome. As the *callas* continues, it all makes quite a noise.

764 In the meantime, the corpse has begun to smell and putrify. A relative takes some of the fluid beginning to come out of the mouth, ears, and eyes of the decaying body and rubs it as an ointment all over

the body of the wife or husband as he lies beside the corpse. Then the relatives vie with each other in geting the fluid and rubbing it over their bodies. This will influence the dead to request for them from the ancestral spirits, longer lives and healthier bodies.

When the time for burial arrives, the corpse, dressed in its best clothes, is laid in a wooden coffin. With it may be placed food, *buyo*, and weapons for the use of spirit of the dead. As the coffin is carried along to the place of burial, grains of rice may be scattered along the way. The coffin is usually placed in an excavation about five feet deep either under the house or under the granary. With the corpse are buried baskets and other articles, depending on the wealth of the family. A small shelter is built over the grave if it is not otherwise shaded: for the dead must be protected from the heat. Then the burial service, pronounced in the ancient cadence, is said.

Some people bury their dead under huge rocks or in caves. After a time, when only the bones remain, they are collected, placed in a small box, and put in the granary.

Following the burial, the relatives, if they are wealthy, return to the house and continue the merry-making. They may also play games. One game, *biznag*, is a contest in which the boys take turns slapping each other's bare thighs with their hands. The loser is the one who cannot stand the pain any more and gives up.

On the third night after burial the spirit of the dead comes out of the grave and wanders around. It is sometimes seen. The bereaved husband or wife

Bowa has always been getting dead human beings from graves for his food. 776

WIR-WER TAKES A MATE

The *anito* Wir-wer goes everywhere spending his time looking for the dead. Wir-wer lives on dead bodies which he digs out of the ground, excavating the graves of dead people. Limbobia is his wife. If there is a dead person, the priests call this *anito*, placating him so that he will not eat the corpse. [764]

A long time ago in Maragat all the children were on the ground after supper playing hide and seek in the dark. One small girl was playing, holding a firebrand. Wir-wer swooped down, grabbed her, and took her into the air. The girl cried, "Mother! Help!!" Wir-wer went through the air very fast to his house in the air. The mother, almost crazy, followed below just as fast. Wir-wer's house was a big cave full of valuable properties taken from graves of dead persons. It was in the forest, in Mount Anag. The mother was there when Wir-wer said: "You must give me beads". "Why do you want my daughter", she scolded. "To stay in my house," Wirwer replied. It was arranged that Wirwer should give her many beads for her daughter. She returned home loaded with so many beads that she could hardly carry them. He also gave her the seedings of the rice called *dumalay;* which most of the people now raise. It ordinarily takes about three days for a person to go from home of Wirwer to Maragat; but the woman made it in only a few hours. 583 776

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587 Among the Isneg, widowers rarely remain in that state for any
888 length of time, and they never fail to find somebody to share their
887 home for the rest of their days. The same may be said in general
171 with reference to young widows. An elderly widow, on the contrary, is not always so anxious to contract again the bonds of matrimony, but she will not be the less respected for that. Among the Bontok Igorot, a miserable hut, much poorer even than their ordinary dwellings, is built apart from the rest for a childless old widow, and there she lives practically abandoned by everybody. Such things do not happen in the Isneg country: the old women never fail to find somebody who is willing to give them shelter; they are as much respected as anybody else, and if they happen to be shamanesses, even more than the rest. Divorced persons are in the same condition as widows and widowers as far as the question of remarriage is concerned.

765 Widows and widowers, or polygamous husbands who mourn the
587 death of one of their wives, are forbidden to remarry as long as they wear their mourning weeds, and it is only after the ceremony connected with their change of garments that they are again free in this respect.

5. *Divorce*

586 Much has been said already about questions related to divorce,
684 and I shall not repeat it here. The statement has also been made and the evidence therefor given that, among the Isneg, the absence of children is not a reason for divorce, while the contrary is true with almost all other natives of the Mountain Province, among whom the lack of children is the chief reason for permanent separation with subsequent freedom to marry somebody else.

Among the Isneg the general rule is that people marry and live together maritally until the end of their days; nevertheless divorce is far from being infrequent. The following are the most important reasons for dissolution of the marriage relation:

By the husband:

586 1. Adultery of the woman. Among the Isneg an unfaithful wife is
684 not readily forgiven, and a young husband rarely fails to watch his
837 wife if he has some solid ground for suspecting her fidelity.

586 2. Habitual laziness. At the time of his marriage, an Isneg man
684 is far from expecting to have to do most of the work himself, as the
461 division of labor is ruled by custom, and the share of the women is very considerable, as has been stated in the preceding pages. Be-

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776 764 *Ruńdd:* a spirit who invariably approaches the house at the death of one of its inmates. He looks like a big tree, and at his arrival the whole house shakes.

Xánat: a kind of giant who is to be seen roaming around, either at the house of a dead person, or along some road leading to it.

Tuktukkál: a whole swarm of spirits who come to mourn and weep at the house of a dead person, especially if the latter is a child.

[857 753] The Isneg strictly forbid all children to play noisily anywhere in the settlement where an *innát* is awaiting burial; if any youngster should disobey this injunction, he would invariably become afflicted with *bońkál* (wens).

765 A person who arrives from some other agglomeration bringing in a new jar at the time a corpse is present in one of the houses, may be sure not to be able to enjoy the use of his jar for a long time: the latter is *ma-dammán*.

764 As has been stated previously, the body has to be watched night and day. At night, when most of the mourners are sleeping, from one to three persons must always remain awake, and when the latter feel very sleepy, others must take their place, lest the punishment which has already been referred to be meted out to one of their number.

In case the deceased is a married man, the widow (*bálo*) has to stay near the corpse of her husband, as soon as the body has been dressed and placed in the required position, and she has to remain there until one night after burial. For this purpose a diminutive tent (*aróbón*) is put up near the head of the dead person, on the other side of the post, toward the hearth (fig. 3). This *aróbón* usually consists of a couple of boards for the sides and a blanket for the cover, the whole outfit leaning against the wall of the house. Only men take part in fixing the *aróbón*. The widow has to stay inside all the time, she remains invisible, and she neither weeps nor laments, at least not in a loud voice: if she does so, her sobs should remain inaudible or almost so. There she partakes of the food that is pushed in by her relatives, and there she sleeps. Since the *aróbón* is comparatively small, it is quite impossible for her ever to stretch her legs. If she has to go out for some urgent reason, a board is taken out of the wall, which is not at all difficult in Isneg houses, and a ladder is placed against it. As soon as the woman leaves the house through this improvised door, she has to wrap herself up completely in another blanket, and to reenter as soon as possible. In some places she

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If buried under the house, a number of flat pebbles from the river are arranged all around the grave in such a way as to form the figure of a rectangle; the pebbles are stuck in the ground, half-way and are placed erect, but lengthwise, so that the part that protrudes is about one half of the breadth of the pebble, not one half of its greatest length.

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If the body is buried in a common graveyard, a small shed is erected over the tomb. This shed consists of four low posts, which support a sheet of bamboo roofing, more or less slanting to one side. Sometimes, although rarely, the shed is much more elaborate, and, besides four or six posts, there are present two or four tiebeams that connect the posts, and a regular gable roof covered with grass or bamboo; the walls and gables are open to all winds, however, and there is a floor. Once erected, these contrivances are usually left untouched until they fall in and their materials decay. In all probability, this counterpart of a hut is intended to replace the house that in former times always shielded a tomb from the inclemencies of the weather.

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In Bayag, upon the grave of *Butit*, under a shed of the most elaborate type just described, the survivors had placed immediately over the place of the body, and seemingly covering it from head to foot, a contrivance of sticks and laths, which was an almost exact replica of the coffin-shaped device used in Catholic churches at services at which the body is absent. All around this wooden frame, several jars could be found, scattered at random, some of which were standing erect, at the time of my visit, others lying down, a few entire, others partially deteriorated. This is most certainly quite exceptional in Apayaw, as I never saw anything similar in any other graveyard.

3. After Burial till End of Mourning

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When the funeral is over, the participants retire to a place a little distant from the house of the deceased, and from there the male relatives pelt the house with stones (*bumaláw*). This is done in order to drive away the spirits (*Bowá, Wiruér*, etc.) who might be lying in wait at the grave to rob it of its prey. This rite is not dispensed with even though the person be interred in a common graveyard and far away from the house, although in this case it seems to have lost all meaning; but the Isneg stick to their traditions. I confidently expect, however, that very soon they will find another reason for their action, and the throwing of stones will be explained as intended to drive away from the house either all spirits in general,

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765 or some special one in particular, perhaps even the *balaúbáu* of the deceased.

After that everybody goes home and the *tádag* or bier is thrown into the river to the mercy of the current.

At Bayag, a large pebble is brought up from the river and placed in the house on the site till recently occupied by the *inndt*.

[782] Immediately after the burial of a person, a dog, or occasionally a pig, has to be killed, but no invocations, no offerings, no *mazaníto* take place: this is the *attón*. The Isneg call it the share of the deceased; nevertheless the living (anybody except the inmates of the house, to whom it is taboo) are those who consume it. At the same time one or more coconut trees (one at Baliwanan, Dibagat, Magapta, etc.; two at Bayag, etc.; two or three at Bolo, etc.) are cut down: these also are called *attón* and considered as the share of the deceased; their fruits, however, may be consumed, if so desired, by the living, except the owners of the house.

For three consecutive nights, an old woman, who need not necessarily be a shamaness, has to go to the grave every morning and every evening. Once there, she builds a fire (*maxap-apúy*) over the tomb, and laments for some time. The Isneg believe that the spirit *Toxiyón* guards the tomb for the same number of nights and that, after the third one, he leaves it never to come back again.

Should another person die in the settlement within two nights after a funeral, this second one is said to be *meludún*.

From now on it is the duty of the surviving relatives to look after the faithful observation of all taboos connected with the death of a person, and to conduct the mourning that is customary under the circumstances. Taboos and mourning always last until the day of the *obóbāt* or ceremony performed at the putting aside of the mourning apparel. The period of time that elapses between the funeral and the *obóbāt* varies from one month to one year, according to the wishes of the nearest relative of the deceased. From one to two months, however, is the usual period of mourning; but, if the deceased was a married person, the surviving husband or wife may postpone the *obóbāt* ceremony even to the seventh month after his death. A whole year of mourning is rather extraordinary.

And first the *lapát* or taboos.

The first duty that is incumbent on the surviving members of the household is to warn all strangers about the departure from this life of one of their people. Indeed, one of the principal taboos that

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obtain at the death of a person, refers to certain persons or groups of persons entering and in some cases even approaching the house of the deceased. Therefore it is usual among many Isneg to surround the house with a kind of fence, which consists of a few short uprights stuck in the ground, and a couple of strips of bamboo tied to them in such a way as to remain at a respectable distance from one another. This custom is observed at Bolo, Karagawan, Dangla, Nagbabalayan, etc. At the latter place such a fence was erected after the burial of *To-li* (beginning of 1931), but it was gone after the first month. In other settlements, a small bundle of herbs, or of leafy canes or branches, is tied to one of the poles at the entrance of the regular fence that surrounds many houses or groups of houses in Apayaw. Again in some places, a small internode of bamboo (an *anóxān*, used for a cup in the distribution of *básj*) is tied on top of a bamboo pole stuck in the house yard; this has been met with at Karagawan.

In some settlements, no outsiders, not even any of the neighbors, except the relatives of the deceased person, provided they wear their everyday clothes or their mourning apparel, are allowed to enter the house until the time of the *obóbāt*. In others, only persons of the same sex are forbidden access to the house; and in still others, for instance, at Magapta, only adults of both sexes are forbidden to enter the house where an adult has died, while only children are refused entrance into the house where a child died.

In most places, no children are allowed to enter the house where an *innát* is still left unburied; in others, they are not allowed to do so, even after burial, in which case this taboo lasts until the time of the *obóbāt*.

People in festive attire are strictly forbidden, not only to enter, but even to pass near, the house of a deceased person, until the celebration of the *obóbāt* ceremony: this custom obtains all over Apayaw.

The most important taboos connected with the death of a person are undoubtedly those which the Isneg observe when they *maṅgabí* and *magló*.

Maṅgabí, which means "to abstain from rice and taro (*siwāy*)", is practised by widows all over Apayaw, almost universally by widowers, and also in many instances by those relatives who wear mourning and want to show their esteem for the deceased. It lasts till the time of the *obóbāt*. Rice and taro are said to be the food of the dead for the time being and, in the meanwhile, the living have to content themselves with corn, sweet potatoes, yams and so on. I know a com-

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765 775 262 paratively young woman living at Bayag and called *Dariká*, who has not eaten rice and taro for four consecutive years, and at the present time (March, 1931) she still *maúggabi*. The reason is that she has had to mourn successively her husband and several other members of her family. She stated to me that she had completely forgotten the taste of rice. After the *obóbāt*, when the prohibition is lifted, these persons always mix a few *awát* herbs with the rice they are cooking for their first meal, and they consume the *awát* together with the rest. For a month afterwards, they also usually abstain from corn, yams and sweet potatoes.

765 *Maglá:* this consists in abstaining from the use of anything of which the deceased was particularly fond, and may be practised by anybody who wants to show his esteem for the person in question. The purpose of the Isneg is to leave the use of these things to the person who went to the realm of the dead, and this abstinence may be protracted for many years, although it usually stops at the *obóbāt*. So, if the deceased was fond of yams, sugar, etc., the mourners abstain from eating these articles of food; if he was a great smoker, they forego the use of tobacco; if he was a drunkard, they stop drinking *bási;* if he was accustomed to make much ado about his apparel, they wear nothing but a G-string and a headband. I have known a man who drank no water, but only coconut milk and so forth, because his deceased father was wont to drink much water. While I am writing these lines, there is a man in the house who uses absolutely no salt with any of his meals; he wishes to reserve it for his deceased brother who was exceedingly fond of much-salted food. If the deceased liked to play the *balikiń* or nose flute, such instruments are left aside for the time being. If the woman for whom they mourn was a good *oritáń* (native guitar) player, the mourners give up playing that instrument; and so on.

765 523 193 It should be noted in this connection that the Isneg also understand the meaning of a souvenir or keepsake. If the deceased had made something nice or had a trinket or instrument which he valued very highly, the survivors take those things to themselves as *panamdammán* (something used to remember or to think about somebody; from the stem *damdám*, "thinking", the prefix *pań*, *ń* of the prefix and *d* of the stem being combined into *n*, and the suffix *ān*) or *pagsinsinnán* (something used to see or to look at somebody; from the stem *sińán*, "seeing", reduplicated and syncopated into *sinsiń*, the prefix *pag* and the suffix *ān*).

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After the death of one of their relatives, the Isneg also *lapatán* or taboo some of the coconut trees that belonged to the deceased. Such trees are easily recognizable, as one always finds a certain quantity of strips of bamboo or of thorny branches or of both, tied all around the tree, at the height of one's shoulders. I know of a couple of Iloko teachers who, knowing nothing about this custom, climbed a tabooed coconut tree, in order to drop down some of the fruits and eat them; unfortunately they were caught by the owners and got free only after the payment of a heavy fine. If they had been natives of the district, they would not have escaped so easily, although I doubt very much if an Isneg would ever dare break such a taboo.

Coconuts that have been gathered at the time of the owner's death are also declared taboo, and nobody is allowed to partake of them until the time of the *obóbāt;* if no such ceremony takes place (which must be a rare contingency) the fruits are left to decay. At the time of the *obóbāt*, however, they are declared *inúkas* or free, and everybody is allowed to consume them.

The following are the *lapāt* or taboos that have to do with fishing:

1. It is usually forbidden to catch fish in that part of the river or brook that passes near the settlement in which a person died. This taboo is lifted only at the time of the *obóbāt*. The tabooed section, which is said to be *mabalsiyán*, is marked off at both ends by green leafy canes of bamboo grass (Miscanthus sinensis) stuck in the bottom of the river or brook.

2. If the relatives of the deceased claim the exclusive right of fishing in a certain part of a river or brook, this section or *anáwań* remains tabooed until the *obóbāt* or completion of the mourning period.

It is forbidden to work on two days, namely on the second day after the funeral, the *taribukáy*, and on the day following the *obóbāt* ceremony. This obligatory rest is called *úlin*, and any work done on such a day is considered useless and inevitably subject to being completely spoiled.

A widow or widower is forbidden to visit the relatives of the deceased husband or wife for the whole period that elapses between burial and *obóbāt*. Infringement of this taboo would cause the whole body of the culprit to swell up. The same punishment would be inflicted on a widow or widower who would dare eat mushrooms (*óoń*) or *úbud* (young shoots of some palm trees, as the *aníhoń* or fishtail palm, etc.).

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765 Widows and widowers are not allowed to take a bath as long as
515 they have to wear their mourning apparel, and, in some settlements, for instance at Karagawan, they are not even allowed to cross a stream.

765 It goes without saying that many of the taboos described above are nothing but signs of mourning; nevertheless there are other tokens that are more clearly and exclusively (at least in our own eyes) distinctive characteristics of the sorrow that affects man when he suffers some bereavement.

And first as to mourning apparel.

765 As soon as the body is interred, the nearest relative or relatives
292 don their mourning apparel, they *magwáis*. Widows and widowers are of course obliged to do so by custom; for the others, everything depends on their esteem for the deceased. At the death of some persons a whole lot of people wear mourning, while others are barely mourned by a single relative. At any rate, mourning apparel (*kólmót* or *pusá-;* the term *kolmót* more especially refers to men's mourning apparel, while *pusá-* is almost exclusively used for women's mourning apparel; *napusá-* also means "white") once put on has to be worn all the time until the *obóbat*. In Apayaw the color is white, and nice clothes are taboo. All mourners, men and women alike, wear a white headband (*ábal;* pronounced *kábal* at Bolo), which consists in an *inarosó* at Bolo; *arinosó*, at Bayag; *rinosó*, at Dangla), a comparatively narrow strip of bark, mostly taken from the *taudáw* tree and especially prepared for the purpose. If the persons in question also abstain from rice and taro (*mañgabí*), they wear, besides the headband just mentioned, a kind of neckcloth, which is just a second *inarosó*, worn around the neck and left loose in front.

765 For many days after the burial of a near relative, the mourners
201 go every morning to weep at the tomb of their loved one, be it a husband or wife, a father or mother, or a much beloved child, brother or sister. After *Mámaw*'s husband had been buried at Nagbabalayan (beginning of 1926), the widow could be seen every morning, carrying her babe and accompanied by her grown-up son, silently directing her steps toward the graveyard. Once there both the widow and her son would squat down in the immediate proximity of the tomb and weep unceasingly for a considerable period of time, low murmurings and subdued sobs being the only audible manifestations of their grief. While doing so, they usually rested the right elbow on the right knee and extended the right hand over the eyebrows touching the fore-

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head. In February 1929, a man from Aputan had come home from a distant town to find his wife dead and buried. One day, when I was visiting the place, a few days afterwards, I saw him come back from his work some time before noon, and walk toward the cemetery, which was situated at a little distance from the settlement. While on his way, he wept and lamented in a loud voice. After he had reached the tomb of his wife, I could still distinctly hear him lamenting and crying intermittently for about half an hour. The neighbors told me that this had been repeated every day since he came back home and that the same scene would probably be enacted in the same way for several days to come.

And so we reach the close of this most important period, namely the *oboobat* ceremony which ends mourning once for all. Indeed after the *oboobat* all taboos cease, *lapat* (tabooed) coconuts have been freed (*inukas*), all signs of mourning are gone, and if some of the relatives are not yet prepared to forget the deceased, they merely resort to *magló* in order to continue to show their undying love.

During the *oboobat*, pigs are usually offered in sacrifice, while the *maxanito* is performed by the shamaness, who at the time is supposed to be obsessed by the spirit or *kadudawá* of the deceased. The deceased, through her mouth, generally voices all his grievances against the living, whether they be present or absent, and insists on all his dues being rendered him. Nevertheless, if no pigs are killed and a dog is the only animal to be offered in sacrifice, no *maxanito* takes place.

About the middle of the ceremony, after the killing of the dog, either before or after eating, the mourners proceed to change their apparel, they *magba-bat*. If the deceased was a married person, it is the duty of one of the male relatives, either of the husband or of the wife (no matter which of the two departed this life), to give new clothes and a string of beads to the surviving widow or widower. As soon as the said male relative (*mama-bat*) has handed the new clothes to the survivor, the latter leaves the group and goes into some corner of the house in order to change his or her apparel, which action is always accompanied by a fresh outburst of grief and loud lamentations on his or her part. After the brand-new garments have been donned, he or she again joins the company, and is adorned by the *mama-bat* in person with the string of beads he has brought for the purpose.

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765 The next day a general rest (*ńilin*) is proclaimed all through the settlement, and after that, except for those who practised *mañgabi* 527 and usually abstain from corn, yams and sweet potatoes for a month or so, and except for those who insist on continuing to *magló*, every- 769 body again leads his customary easy-going life, just as if nothing had happened, while the grave is forgotten together with its occupant, and the temporary hut is not cared for any more. This hut falls down and its materials decay within a comparatively short time.

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In case you are mourning a member of your household who died at reaping time, you must reserve the *tagăytáy* (Bayag pronunciation) for him, before you begin to harvest your fields in earnest. The *tagăytáy* consists of four very small bundles of palay, not thicker than one's finger, that have to be placed near the *sizăy*, at the outside.

When rice pudding is offered to the spirits at the beginning of the harvest, the following prayers (*pispísi-*) may be recited:

Ne uwámo ńa dadam-án ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, Dadam-an,[45] so that you go away).

Ne uwámo ńa napiyá ńa anito ta umáńnă- sidúńăn (Here, this is yours, good spirit, so that you come under my house [to help me]).

Ne uwámo ńa naggupán ka laxíma ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, you who use a *laxíma*-pot[46] for a plate, so that you go away).

Ne uwámo naggupán ka rusúd ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, you who use a *rusúd*-pot[47] for a plate, so that you go away).

Ne uwámo naggupán ka amotó ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, you who use an *amotó*-jar[48] for a plate, so that you go away).

Ne uwámo naggupán ka báńa ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, you who use a *báńa*-jar[49] for a plate, so that you go away).

Ne uwámo naggupán ka xituldán ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, you who use a *xituldán*-pot[50] for a plate, so that you go away).

Ne uwámo naggupán ka táxo- ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, you who use a coconut shell for a plate, so that you go away).

Ne uwámo naggupán ka duyát ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, you who use a wooden basin for a plate, so that you go away).

Ne uwámo naggupán ka dońdóń ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, you who use a *dońdóń*-jar[51] for a plate, so that you go away).

[45] *Dadam-án* also means: doorsill. *Dadam-án* here is the spirit who resides at the doorsill, just above the ladder.

[46] The *laxíma* is a small iron pot with a round bottom (not flat), used in the kitchen.

[47] The *rusúd* is a large iron pot with a round bottom, used for boiling the juice of the sugar cane.

[48] The *amotó* is a jar of earthenware, used for holding drinking water.

[49] The *báńa* is a jar of earthenware, used for cooking rice, etc.

[50] The *xituldán* is a rather large iron pot with a round bottom, used for preparing *básI*-beer, etc. The *xituldán* is larger than the *laxíma*, but smaller than the *rusúd*. All three have the same shape; the *laxíma* has a round iron handle, the other two have none.

[51] The *dońdóń* is a large jar of earthenware, used for cooking rice, etc., mostly when there is a feast.

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243 peel, to take off the skin"), the ear is stripped, and the silk (*buybúy*) is removed.

Women carry corn in baskets; men carry it on poles: to do this, they usually bind the ears in bundles of ten by means of the dried husks, leaving the stripped ears dangling underneath.

Aúrabón is stuck in one of the bunches of corn ears, at the place where they have been garnered, in order to cause the supply to last long. *Anrabón* is a variant of *taxaúrabón*: this herb is used in rice granaries for the same purpose.

Of all the varieties of corn known to the Isneg, the most remarkable is the *simtó- ballít* (literally: bill of the *ballít*-bird), whose ears grow at the top of the stalk (not at the side), and whose small grains are of a very dark purple hue. It is eaten especially by people who *maúgabí*, that is, who are in mourning and to whom rice is taboo. [265]

Whenever the Isneg need corn, either to feed the chickens or to prepare corn meal for themselves, they shell it (*magburá-*) with the fingers and throw away the cobs (*ákal*) together with the dry husks that remain attached to them.

2. TARO

244 Taro or *siwáy* (Colocasia esculentum, [L.] Schott.) is extensively cultivated by the Isneg. Besides the rhizome and the petioles (*pólon*), which are eaten all over the Philippines, the Isneg also consume the blades of the leaves (*atáú*: entire leaf) of most all varieties raised by them. The inflorescence and the rootlets (*rámút*; also said of the roots of tubers: sweet potatoes, etc.) are the only parts of the taro that are useless.

The leaf blades are usually cut into shreds and cooked in bamboo tubes placed over the fire, where they are crushed with a pestle, together with chile: this dish, called *sinursúr*, is the specialty of Apayaw.

To plant taro (*magtuwáy*), the woman uses the *paló-* (hoe), the *saguwá-* (dibble) or a special dibble called *itutuná-* or *intutuná-*, which consists of a very thick (sometimes up to four inches in diameter), long (sometimes up to two yards) and sharp stick of any kind of hard wood. The latter is also used for transplanting tobacco seedlings and for planting sugar cane, sweet potatoes, yams, etc. She digs or bores a comparatively large hole in the ground and inserts (*sulsúlán*) a *xábit*, which consists of a shoot to which the upper part of the rhizome, cut off from the rest, is left attached. Besides *xábit* suckers or *ároy*

the body of the wife or husband as he lies beside the corpse. Then the relatives vie with each other in geting the fluid and rubbing it over their bodies. This will influence the dead to request for them from the ancestral spirits, longer lives and healthier bodies. 764

When the time for burial arrives, the corpse, dressed in its best clothes, is laid in a wooden coffin. With it may be placed food, *buyo*, and weapons for the use of spirit of the dead. As the coffin is carried along to the place of burial, grains of rice may be scattered along the way. The coffin is usually placed in an excavation about five feet deep either under the house or under the granary. With the corpse are buried baskets and other articles, depending on the wealth of the family. A small shelter is built over the grave if it is not otherwise shaded: for the dead must be protected from the heat. Then the burial service, pronounced in the ancient cadence, is said.

Some people bury their dead under huge rocks or in caves. After a time, when only the bones remain, they are collected, placed in a small box, and put in the granary.

Following the burial, the relatives, if they are wealthy, return to the house and continue the merry-making. They may also play games. One game, *bisnag*, is a contest in which the boys take turns slapping each other's bare thighs with their hands. The loser is the one who cannot stand the pain any more and gives up. 765 526

On the third night after burial the spirit of the dead comes out of the grave and wanders around. It is sometimes seen. The bereaved husband or wife 765 [775]

765 The bereaved husband or wife
515 must continue in mourning during several months even up to a year, according to the time set by the relatives of the deceased. He must wear white cothes and cannot take a bath nor eat rice during that time.

When the time of mourning is over, a smaller *callas* is held. Only then can the bereaved husband or wife remove his white clothes, take a bath, and don his usual garments. His mourning has changed into happiness again.

000 Thus life has been going on and on through the centuries in the lovely land of Apayao.

PUZZLES

524 I. An enchanted tree grows on the bank of the river.
539 During the day time, it stands straight toward the sky; but when the night comes, it lies flat and blocks the river, rendering it impassable to any boatman. However, a certain boatman did pass. How did he manage it?

SOLUTION: He made a great fire of leaves there so that the enchanted tree thought that day had come and it stood up. The boatman then poled with all his might and was able to pass safely.

II. There were three carabaos on one side of the river, but no grass; so they wanted to cross to the other side. However, there was a crocodile who promised to eat the one female carabao. What did the two male carabaos do to save the female carabao from the hungry crocodile?

SOLUTION: The male carabao went first; the female seized its tail in her mouth. The crocodile waited, of

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together side by side in three places, at both ends and in the middle; it corresponds exactly to an ordinary raft or *xákit*, except of course that it is much shorter.

The *tádag* is then laid down near the middle post of one of the longer sides of the house, namely the one opposite to the door (fig. 3), and the body is stretched out upon it at full length, with its head near the wall, arms crossed over the chest, hands flat and fingers extended. In this position the *innát* has the place of the hearth to one side, but it is comparatively far away from it, as between this and the *tádag* is a certain space, that is usually reserved for women after childbirth; the middle post just referred to is kept immediately at the side of the head of the deceased, between the latter and the hearth. The *innát*'s pillow consists of the garments of which the deceased has just been stripped, jacket and G-string or tapis, etc.; they are rolled up into a bundle and placed under the head of the dead person. The latter's eyes have been closed; but the mouth may remain open: the lower jaw is never bound up.

After this a few pinnae of a young coconut leaf (*palátań*) are twisted and formed into a kind of crown, which is placed over the head of the deceased. This crown, which the Isneg call *sinazíkaw*, is never absent. Then the whole body is covered with a fine new blanket, which leaves only the crowned head visible.

If the deceased is a married man, his surviving wife cuts off her tresses at the height of the shoulders (*maggańád*), and these are tied to the head of the *innát* and arranged in such a way as to form one with his own hair.

It should be noted once for all that all ceremonies and observances connected with death and burial are the same for men and women, for adults and children, for shamans and ordinary mortals, except for an occasional detail that will be recorded at the proper place.

In some special cases the *innát* is kept in a sitting or squatting posture, this time immediately in front of the central post and facing the door. It is kept sitting on a small bench, with head and waist tied to the post just referred to, and hands resting on the thighs; there is no question of course of any *tádag* or bier.

At other places, as at Bayag, some corpses are kept squatting in a jar, always at the customary place. A large *xúsi* jar (earthenware imported from China), a *tadózān* in the case of an adult, a *dordorí* in the case of a child, both very precious to the Isneg, is cut into two almost equal parts, and the body is placed in a squatting position

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766 inside its lower half, a certain amount of clothes being pushed between the sides of the jar and the *innát* in order to keep the latter straight and to prevent it from falling forwards or backwards and from leaning to either side.

But these are exceptional cases and happen only to the very rich (Musimut, Nagbabalayan, etc.) or to persons that stand very high in the estimation of their people (Lettuakan, Bayag, etc.). At Musimut and so on, very rich people may be kept two days like that before they are finally interred. At Lettuakan, a few years ago, *Antón*, who does not seem to have been either rich or influential, was kept in a sitting posture for three days. At Bayag also, three days usually elapse before the jar is buried with its contents. I believe, however, that formerly such bodies would have been kept from burial for a much longer time. This opinion is based, not only on analogy with similar customs that obtain among other tribes, but also on information received in Apayaw with reference to the time that elapses between death and burial, all of which will be mentioned later on.

764 171 Among the Isneg there is no question of preservation of the body either by mummification or by the use of any other means. Abandonment of the coffined body under some large rock in the neighborhood of the settlement, which obtains among the Kankanay and the Bontok Igorot, burial in elaborate monuments, as is customary among the rich Kalinga, cremation, etc., are all unknown in Apayaw. The body is simply interred, as will be explained presently.

764 After the death of a person, one of his relatives (all of whom are called *matăyán*) goes to announce (*magba-ba-nán*) the sad news to the absent members of his kindred. As long as the body remains unburied, friends and neighbors come and go, men and women showing in their own way their participation in the sorrow of the bereaved relatives. Women who go to the house of the deceased, usually take along with them some *anúlut* (a kind of herb) as a precaution, lest the *balańóbăń* of the person they go to mourn for be following them in the future. The *bási* that is abundantly distributed on such occasions, proves a very strong attraction to some of the men, and, in case the deceased was a man of means, the pigs that are slaughtered are also a powerful incentive and inevitably induce our Isneg to flock to the house of the dead (*makizánat* or *mepazinnatáy*) and participate in the ceremonies connected with mourning. No real sacrifices (*pildáp*, etc.), however, are offered, and no *mazaníto* is per-

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is not even allowed to do that, but she has to satisfy the calls of nature inside, using some receptacle given her for the purpose.

In some places the widower (*bálo*) does the same at the death of his wife, and lives in an *aróboń* for the time being: such is the custom at Dangla, at Bolo, etc. At Bayag, it would be considered indecorous for a widower to imitate the women in this respect: there only the latter are bound to take up their temporary residence in an *aróboń*.

If the widow (or widower, where the same custom is observed by both men and women alike) is unwilling to live in an *aróboń*, she merely wraps herself up in a blanket, passing it over her head. This is called *maxubčban*, and the woman remains in the usual place near the corpse until one night after burial. Sometimes it may happen that widows or widowers refuse to submit to this ordeal, but they will in all cases be severely berated by the other relatives of the deceased. It should, however, be noted that, if they had little regard for the dead person during his lifetime, this ceremony may be dispensed with, without anybody taking much notice of the whole affair.

If the deceased was held in high esteem by his people, the other relatives remain at the other side of the corpse from the *aróboń* for the whole period that elapses between the dressing of the body and its burial, but they are not confined in an *aróboń*, and they are free to leave whenever necessary.

At Abbil (municipal district of Namaltugan) a widower usually goes to the river accompanied by one of his male relatives, on the morning of the day that follows the death of his wife. Once there his companion bores a small hole in the ground very near the water, and as soon as the hole is filled with water, the widower dips the little finger of his right hand into it. From this time on until the *obóbāt* ceremony (end of the mourning period), he is not allowed to take a bath. This ceremony, however, which is called *mamáwa*, is only performed by brave men, as a spirit is supposed to pursue the widower after he has dipped his finger into the water.

2. Burial

The coffin (*loñón*) is almost always made of ordinary boards, roughly hewn by means of a headax. Its size depends on the length of the body to be buried, and the boards are flat and oblong, except the two small ones at both ends, which are square or almost so; there are at least five of them, and in case the coffin has a lid, six. If the body was kept in a sitting posture after death, the coffin is much

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764 shorter of course, but it is also much deeper. The case of the jar coffin in use at Bayag has already been mentioned. At Bayag also, where timber is becoming relatively scarce, the coffin may be made of bamboo, and in some cases, pebbles from the river take the place of a regular coffin. These pebbles are arranged in such a way as to cover the body on all sides inside the grave, each board of a regular wooden coffin being replaced by a certain quantity of more or less flat pebbles placed side by side, horizontally for the bottom and the lid, if the last is desired, and upright for the other four.

[764] In the morning before burial, or a little later in the day in case of small children who are buried the night after their death, the body is placed in the coffin, in the same place and position which it occupied until then. The *tódag* or bier is simply removed and placed upright somewhere against the wall or thrown under the house. If the body was kept in a sitting posture after death, the coffin is placed [766] upright and the body is kept sitting. Occasionally, however, such a body may be laid down on its back and coffined as if it had been lying stretched out in its full length: this is what happened to Anton of Lettuakan, whose case has been mentioned before. In no case is a lid placed over the coffin inside the house. Even after the body has been placed in the coffin, the women's lamentations and the men's *bisnág* suffer no interruption: everything goes on as usual until the [766 184] funeral takes place. At Bayag the body remains as it is until burial; it is coffined only when interred, which is obviously a necessity in the case of a coffin of pebbles, as the latter are always arranged inside the grave.

764 766 The period of time that elapses between death and burial is not the same everywhere and for everybody, neither has it always been the same. In the past, when the Isneg were still their own masters, the *innát* of an adult was never buried before the fifth day after death; sometimes it took even six days before the body was considered sufficiently decomposed to allow of its interment. Actually strangers who know nothing about Isneg law or are bent on disregarding it, keep strict vigilance, and the length of the period has been greatly reduced. Consequently even the Isneg have accepted as the usual number of nights that should elapse between death and burial (which formerly was always performed at night) of an adult, three (Abbil, etc.) or from three to four (Musimut, Bolo, etc.), the night of burial included. But even this reduced number of nights, already accepted by Isneg custom, is not tolerated by the authorities, and

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whenever possible the dead body of an adult is forcibly confined to the grave after one or two nights (night of burial always included). Occasionally in some out-of-the-way places, the Isneg may stick to their old custom or at least to the modified one, but this becomes rarer and rarer every day. Children are usually interred after one or two nights according to age and size (Abbil, Musimut, Bolo, etc.), so that in many cases a child who dies in the morning is buried in the evening of the same day.

And now we come to the digging of the grave. The grave consists of a hole in the ground, large enough to contain the coffined body, but usually not as deep as is actually required by law (1½ meters). This is always begun by a woman (*mañusim*) who may be a shamaness or not. This operation, however, is rather ceremonial than practical, as immediately afterwards men do the real work. If jars have to be buried together with the coffined body, a special round hole is dug near the ordinary grave, in such a way as to have the buried jars situated at the right of the dead man's body, near the place of his head if the body is lying down. When digging a hole in the ground, the Isneg use the *sáwit* or blunt point at the back of a headax, or any other instrument, to loosen the earth, and an old basket or a coconut shell (in the case of digging a grave, usually the former), to extract the loose earth and throw it out. For the rest, no definite orientation of grave or body is required, and anybody is allowed to dig the grave, as well as to carry the body and to cover it with earth: there are no persons specifically designated for these purposes. In no case are children allowed to stay near a tomb in which a body has been buried recently (*lábûg*).

Among the Kankanay, young men vie with each other to carry the body of a rich person to its last resting place, as they believe that, if the matter which exudes from the decomposed body (*deñ* in Kankanay, pronounced like English "dung") trickles upon their own, they also will be blessed by this world's goods. No such belief exists among the Isneg.

Formerly the grave was always dug under the house, and if the gravediggers happened to open a *lúbo-*, a grave already occupied, the lately deceased person was simply interred over the remains of the one in possession. This particular selection of the site for a grave gave rise, as was told me by the natives themselves, to the custom of the Isneg, which obtains to this day, of definitively stopping their work at a new house, and of going to choose some other place for the erec-

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If buried under the house, a number of flat pebbles from the river are arranged all around the grave in such a way as to form the figure of a rectangle; the pebbles are stuck in the ground half-way and are placed erect, but lengthwise, so that the part that protrudes is about one half of the breadth of the pebble, not one half of its greatest length. 764

If the body is buried in a common graveyard, a small shed is erected over the tomb. This shed consists of four low posts, which support a sheet of bamboo roofing, more or less slanting to one side. Sometimes, although rarely, the shed is much more elaborate, and, besides four or six posts, there are present two or four tiebeams that connect the posts, and a regular gable roof covered with grass or bamboo; the walls and gables are open to all winds, however, and there is a floor. Once erected, these contrivances are usually left untouched until they fall in and their materials decay. In all probability, this counterpart of a hut is intended to replace the house that in former times always shielded a tomb from the inclemencies of the weather. 764 349

In Bayag, upon the grave of *Butit*, under a shed of the most elaborate type just described, the survivors had placed immediately over the place of the body, and seemingly covering it from head to foot, a contrivance of sticks and laths, which was an almost exact replica of the coffin-shaped device used in Catholic churches at services at which the body is absent. All around this wooden frame, several jars could be found, scattered at random, some of which were standing erect, at the time of my visit, others lying down, a few entire, others partially deteriorated. This is most certainly quite exceptional in Apayaw, as I never saw anything similar in any other graveyard. 766 184

3. After Burial till End of Mourning

When the funeral is over, the participants retire to a place a little distant from the house of the deceased, and from there the male relatives pelt the house with stones (*bumaláw*). This is done in order to drive away the spirits (*Bowá, Wirwér*, etc.) who might be lying in wait at the grave to rob it of its prey. This rite is not dispensed with even though the person be interred in a common graveyard and far away from the house, although in this case it seems to have lost all meaning; but the Isneg stick to their traditions. I confidently expect, however, that very soon they will find another reason for their action, and the throwing of stones will be explained as intended to drive away from the house either all spirits in general, 765

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553 among Iloko and Kagayan who have been Christians for centuries, as well as among the tribes that inhabit the Mountain Province and some 171 of whom have started embracing Christianity only comparatively recently, the Negritos alone excepted, the custom of changing the name of a person at the time of prolonged or dangerous sickness is almost universal, to the dismay of Government officials and Church dignitaries, as such a practice brings nothing but confusion in the records, especially among pagan tribes, who have not yet adopted family names and continue to give each individual his own special personal name. I have discussed sufficiently the ideas of the Isneg about the matter, at the beginning of my treatment about Isneg names, without having to explain them any further, but some other points should be considered here.

553 Some Isneg keep their original name all through life, others have it changed once or twice, rarely more often. The change usually 551 takes place in infancy, more rarely in youth, and no ceremonies seem to be connected with the same: everything happens as in the case of the giving of the first name immediately after birth. It may happen also, in a few isolated cases, that a man or a woman of mature age gets or takes another name. So, at Kumaw, a girl called *Uńdy* gave the name of her father as *Bélan*, at the time of her baptism, a few years ago, while that same man is known all over the municipal district as *Okkóń*. Although it seems that the fellow must already have been called *Okkóń* at the time of the baptism of his daughter, who was married recently, his old name *Bélan* must have clung to him for a long time, otherwise his daughter would not have known it.

The most important reason for changing a name is, as has been stated repeatedly, the sickness of the child (*séno mawł ya takít*, "so that sickness go away") A few Isneg have their name changed once or twice merely through caprice, whether it be a whim of their own or one of their parents (in case they are still small): a certain name comes to their mind, for one reason or another that name catches their fancy and ends by pleasing them, and away goes the old name; the new name will be adopted from now on as the distinctive appellation of the girl or boy in question.

551 At least in the municipal district of Conner, and perhaps also 768 elsewhere, a very serious reason for changing the name of a baby is the death of one of its parents. As will be seen in a subsequent chapter, the Isneg have a certain fear of the dead and usually prefer that they stay where they are: they do not want them to interfere

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with the affairs of the living. Now in this case the Isneg deem it 551
very probable that the dead parent will continue to be fond of his 768
child, and perhaps try to approach it and fondle it, as he was wont to do before his death; but this must inevitably be exceedingly detrimental to the well-being of the little one, so the best way to prevent all such dangerous trifling is to change the name of the infant in question, in order to force the soul of the dead parent to forget all about his offspring. He will be looking for the babe under its old name, but here the living will have got the better of him: the new name, the new personality of the little one, will completely baffle the all-too-fond parent, and the living will be rid of the annoying interference of the dead. *Séno maligpanán náyá kaduduwána ya ńáxan náyá ababbíń*, "So that his soul forget the name of the child": this was the reason for the custom given me by the Isneg themselves. What would be the use of making the dead forget the name of the child if "name" was not more or less synonymous with "personality"?

Formerly a stranger travelling in Apayaw must forcibly have been 551
struck by the reluctance of the Isneg to tell his name. I say "formerly", as nowadays the Isneg has been obliged to tell his name on so 177
many different occasions, for instance at school, in the judgment hall, and so on, that this reluctance is fast disappearing. However, it is still to be found in many remote corners, and more especially with grown-up and old men and women: when you ask their name they invariably tell some companion to answer you in their stead. Just exactly what is the reason of this I have not yet been able to ascertain; when questioned about it, the Isneg either deny the custom altogether, if they are not very familiar with you, or else say that they are ignorant of the reason of its existence.

The same reticence takes place with reference to the names of the 551
dead: this has been touched upon before, and the reason, as explained 769
by the Isneg, has been given at the same time. The prohibition of telling the name of a dead person does not last indefinitely, nor does it equally affect all persons. When some time has elapsed since the death of a certain Isneg whose name you would like to know, your informant will usually say: "*Natáyyin* (he is dead already)", with a look of wonder on his face, as if to say: "What is the use of wanting to know his name, he is dead already, he has lost his name together with his life"; but if you insist, he will give it seemingly without difficulty. So also unrelated persons are much less reluctant than near relatives, when there is question of telling the name of the dead. Be-

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104 *Aná-* (used only in G [B and/or A.—Ed.] branch of Ô dialect) or *an-aná-*, when used by the parents: son, daughter, child.

601 *Anánă-*, when used by the parents: sons, daughters, children.

192 *Anánă-*, when used by other persons: children up to the age of puberty.

Abbí-: very small babe.

Abbág: child. A term used contemptuously by older people.

Maxabilin: to watch the baby.

Magtaddáy: to try to stand without support, to learn how to walk. Said of little children.

Magkalúsig: to weep, to cry, when father or mother goes away. Said of little children.

Manańgósi: to carry a child on the nape of one's neck, keeping the little one in a sitting position, its legs dangling in front, one on either side. An Isneg father often carries his baby that way, provided the latter has already attained a certain age.

Pońanán: to give to eat, to feed (human beings). To feed animals is *pakkanán*. Both from the stem *kăn* and the suffix *an*; only prefix differs: *pań* (the *k* of the stem being eliminated) in the first case, *pa* (the *k* of the stem being reduplicated) in the second.

C. NAMES AND NAMING

553 Now we come to the giving of a name. It goes without saying that
551 among the Isneg, like among most primitive peoples, there is no question of a family name. Every man and woman, every body and girl, has his or her own personal name, and that is all. But what's in a name? To an Isneg the name of a person in a way stands for that person's own self; to call his name is to call the person in question.

And so when a child is repeatedly ill, which means "pestered by the spirits", the best way to cure it is to change its name, or, to use the Isneg expression, "to shift its name (*ialit yo ńáxanna*)". Let the spirits amuse themselves with the old name, the child as it was formerly; as it is at present, with its new name, its new personality, the spirits will have to leave it in peace: they have been fooled once more by the cleverness of poor mortals, they will pester an old name, a lost personality, and use their evil influence in vain; the new child, the child with the new name, will escape unscathed.

551 Again, do not pronounce the name of a dead person, an Isneg
769 "takes pity on him (*alakkán*)"; leave him in peace where he is, do

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not bother him, do not bring him in your midst, he is all right where he is. Pronouncing his name or bringing him into your presence is one and the same thing after all, therefore do not pronounce his name, at least if you are related to him, you at least should "pity him". Never mind if a stranger pronounces his name, he has no business with that dead person and does not care. But you, his relative, leave him at rest.

Of course, in all this only the words inclosed within quotation marks are Isneg explanations, the rest are mine; but I think I have not been far from the truth in my endeavors to show what was going on in the mind of the Isneg. Besides, the above are only two out of many examples that serve to prove the importance of a name and its meaning to an Isneg. In the following paragraphs many confirmations will be found of the same,—for instance, the preference given to names of people renowned for their bravery or old age, and so on.

Now, when is a child given its name? By whom? And what kind of a name is given?

These questions might be answered briefly and truly like this:

When? Immediately after birth.

By whom? By anybody around.

What name? Any name that sounds all right.

But such answers look very unsatisfactory. Let us give a few explanations.

The child is given its name immediately after birth. The reason, as given by the Isneg themselves, is lest some spirit take it upon himself to give it a name. And then? Well, I think the Isneg do not reason any further; maybe they know no case in which an *anito* gave a child its name, and so what could they answer? But I think that from his own point of view the Isneg is quite right after all, although perhaps actually unaware of it. Indeed if a child were given its name by a spirit, would it not be given its personality or something very much akin to it by that same spirit? And in such a case would the spirit not have all power upon that child? And who ever heard of a spirit doing good to a mortal being, except under compulsion, through some magical performance or other stratagem? And so the Isneg do not take any chances: they give their babe its name and claim it as their own as soon as possible, to the exclusion of all malevolent *anito*.

Anybody is allowed to propose a name for the child, and, if it proves acceptable, the baby will be known by that name from now on,

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with the affairs of the living. Now in this case the Isneg deem it very probable that the dead parent will continue to be fond of his child, and perhaps try to approach it and fondle it, as he was wont to do before his death; but this must inevitably be exceedingly detrimental to the well-being of the little one, so the best way to prevent all such dangerous trifling is to change the name of the infant in question, in order to force the soul of the dead parent to forget all about his offspring. He will be looking for the babe under its old name, but here the living will have got the better of him: the new name, the new personality of the little one, will completely baffle the all-too-fond parent, and the living will be rid of the annoying interference of the dead. *Séno maligpanán náyá kaduduwána ya ńáxan náyá ababbiń*, "So that his soul forget the name of the child": this was the reason for the custom given me by the Isneg themselves. What would be the use of making the dead forget the name of the child if "name" was not more or less synonymous with "personality"? 551 768

Formerly a stranger travelling in Apayaw must forcibly have been struck by the reluctance of the Isneg to tell his name. I say "formerly", as nowadays the Isneg has been obliged to tell his name on so many different occasions, for instance at school, in the judgment hall, and so on, that this reluctance is fast disappearing. However, it is still to be found in many remote corners, and more especially with grown-up and old men and women: when you ask their name they invariably tell some companion to answer you in their stead. Just exactly what is the reason of this I have not yet been able to ascertain; when questioned about it, the Isneg either deny the custom altogether, if they are not very familiar with you, or else say that they are ignorant of the reason of its existence. 551 177

The same reticence takes place with reference to the names of the dead: this has been touched upon before, and the reason, as explained by the Isneg, has been given at the same time. The prohibition of telling the name of a dead person does not last indefinitely, nor does it equally affect all persons. When some time has elapsed since the death of a certain Isneg whose name you would like to know, your informant will usually say: "*Natáyyin* (he is dead already)", with a look of wonder on his face, as if to say: "What is the use of wanting to know his name, he is dead already, he has lost his name together with his life"; but if you insist, he will give it seemingly without difficulty. So also unrelated persons are much less reluctant than near relatives, when there is question of telling the name of the dead. Be- 551 769

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551 sides, I have experienced that old men and women usually give the
• 769 name very readily, although they be related to the person in question. That such a prohibition does not last indefinitely, even with the relatives of the deceased, is corroborated by the fact that the names of persons who were renowned for one reason or another during their lifetime, are often preferred when there is question of giving a little babe its first name: and it is far from unusual to encounter an Isneg youngster called after one of his own ancestors.

551 Then there are the names of the father-in-law and of the mother-in-
606 law (*katnzáñan*), which may never be pronounced under any pretext.
553 Up to this day very few Isneg, even among those who have been in contact with civilization for a long time, are bold enough to discard all fear on the subject and to pronounce them. This is especially apparent at the baptism of a child, when we record the names of its parents and grandparents: it very often happens that only one of the parents accompanies the baby that has to be christened, and this is a source of many difficulties, if there is no other person at hand who is acquainted with the names of the parents of the absent party. In case one of the persons whose names have to be recorded is dead, one can get at his name after comparatively little urging, but the name of a father-in-law or a mother-in-law, that never.

551 And why? The Isneg mostly do not know or pretend not to know
606 the reason: sometimes they say that, if they pronounce any of these names, their children will die, but such an answer is always accompanied by the term *kanó*, "it is said". But why should their children die? The whole question is probably shrouded in mystery even to the Isneg themselves; but one thing is certain: an almost insurmountable fear must have been instilled into them from time immemorial, while the real reason, the death penalty inflicted on the offspring of the offender, a penalty inflicted by *unito* of course, if this is the real reason, may have been forgotten either entirely or almost so by the majority of the natives. This fear must have been exceedingly great indeed in order to have the custom remain so persistently and so universally, even after the real explanation has been lost sight of. And that the Isneg have forgotten it, I am rather inclined to believe; I have been able to enter deeply into many matters much more delicate than the one in question, and although this has been done sometimes with no little difficulty, I usually have obtained what I wanted, but here the interrogation mark has so far remained as it was. Or is this a matter much more delicate in the eyes of the Isneg than

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Some tobacco, or some of the ingredients used in the chewing of betel nut (betel nut, leaves of the betel pepper, and lime), according to the former habits of the deceased. 764

To these may be added:

A bottle of *básí;*

One or more spears;

One or more shields;

Some coins;

Some favorite musical instrument of the deceased; etc.

One of the following objects is also usually present, and, in the case of a rich man, all of them:

A *saxabán* (string of beads worn around the head);

A string of beads (worn around the neck);

A *xúsi* jar containing some *básí* (in which case there is no bottle of *básí*).

Everything is placed inside the coffin, the *xúsi* excepted, which is buried in the hole especially dug for it. 764

These objects, even though some of them are very precious in the eyes of the Isneg, are never interfered with; they always remain where they are. The desecration of a grave by robbers or other malefactors is something unknown in Apayaw. 769 685

Sometimes it happens that an ill-intentioned person (never one of the relatives), probably moved by a desire for revenge, when unobserved, stealthily places some herbs in the coffin, alongside the body. He does this with the purpose of forcing the body to leave its abode at night in the shape of a *balańóbáń*, and to roam around playing havoc among the chickens of the neighbors. 764 754 775

Before the body is placed in the grave, the bottom of the latter is strewn with ashes, obtained by burning an *anańá*, which is a kind of raincoat made of palm leaves. This ceremony is supposed to serve a double purpose: the raincoat will render good service to the deceased in the other world, and the ashes will prevent the dead body, either from leaving its grave in the shape of a *balańóbáń* or ghost, or at least from frightening the neighbors.

Lest the *balańóbáń* scare the relatives of the deceased or the women of the neighborhood who daily repair to their work, the Isneg usually put some *takkág* vines inside the coffin, alongside the body. The *takkág* is a schizaeaceous fern (Lygodium sp.), which differs from 764 824

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765 527 769

The next day a general rest (*nilin*) is proclaimed all through the settlement, and after that, except for those who practised *mañgabi* and usually abstain from corn, yams and sweet potatoes for a month or so, and except for those who insist on continuing to *magló*, everybody again leads his customary easy-going life, just as if nothing had happened, while the grave is forgotten together with its occupant, and the temporary hut is not cared for any more. This hut falls down and its materials decay within a comparatively short time.

Do not jump over a child. If you do, his growth will be retarded. 784

At first glance one might think that life in Apayao is greatly restricted by the necessity of placating all the *anitos* and of observing the many auguries, omens, and prohibitions. But, after being around some, I cannot help getting the impression somehow, that all this is partly just the men's sly way to getting out of a lot of hard work and disagreeable duties. At least, the placating of the *anitos* gives them the occasion for many very pleasant social times. 771 784 787 782 781

BURIAL

When death comes, the Apayaos, unlike the Christians, do not dread it as being the end of life on this earth; for the spirit *cadudorosa*, continues to exist somewhere and enjoy many of their physical pleasures without the discomforts. The people respect these spirits and go to great pains to see that they are made happy, both during the funeral ceremony and also during the following years. At all the feasts a portion of the best food and *basi* is placed on a plate, which is then set near the stove where the immediate supply of rice is kept. The people want to keep the spirits of their ancestors happy and contented for, if one should become discontented, he will select a person in the house to keep him company. The person then becomes sick and will die if a feast is not held to make that spirt happy and contented again. 761 775 769 [753]

When a person dies, all the relatives immediately gather in his house and hold a *callas* in his memory. 764

in the ordinary ground until it comes to a wide river which it cannot cross alone. 304 775

However, at the river the *cadudorsa* meets a ferryman whose name is Kutao. Before taking the *cadudorsa* across, Kutao must first inspect it to see if its appearance is right. He looks on the backs of the hands of the *cadudorsa* to see if they are tattooed with the boat pattern. If they are, Kutao ferries the *cadudorsa across.* If the hands are not tattooed, Kuta cuts them off before taking the *cadudorsa* across the river.

Upon arriving at the place, each *cadudorsa* becomes young and handsome again and changes so that all of the people in that place are similar in appearance. 775

The place of the *cadudorsa* is a wonderful country, with the same kind of plants and animals as on the earth; but everything is perfectly lovely. Life there is much as on earth; but everybody is happy because there is no pain, nor sorrow, nor work.

The ruler of the place is Ewagan fourth son of Hatan. He creates food for the people and takes care of all their needs so that they have no work and responsibilities, living in continuous leisure. [776]

Thus life in the Future is one continuous party. Also a *cadudorsa* is sometimes invited by his relatives to attend a *sayam* in his old home on earth. 769 776

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In a certain place, not so long ago, they had a teacher whose moral conduct was, to say the least, rather objectionable. When policemen raided the houses of the Isneg in order to hunt up all children of school age, several Isneg parents bluntly told them that they would gladly send their sons, but with reference to their daughters, as long as that teacher remained in charge, never; and they were perfectly right. That man has since been dismissed from the service.

A few defects, which will be recorded in due time, occasionally mar the picture of Isneg family life; but on the whole, it must be said that the Isneg commonly live up to their comparatively high standards with regard to this most important unit of society. Nevertheless the whole life of the Isneg, from the cradle to the grave, is dominated by the fear of the spirits; superstition, magic and spirit worship are inextricably interwoven with their whole life. If a Caucasian or, to take an example from people born, living and dying in the same surroundings, a Negrito had to live under such a continual fear of the supernatural and to comply with such a large number of practices in order to propitiate higher beings or to elude their malevolent intentions, I think his life would be simply miserable. The Isneg, however, do not seem to mind, and although always on the lookout for disagreeable interventions from above, they live a life free of care and are never anxious about the future. They rarely concern themselves with what the next day might bring them, and live happy and content if to-day their immediate wants are provided for: to-morrow will take care of itself.

This seeming contradiction pervades their whole life. On the one hand, they have to take innumerable precautions for the future with regard to superior beings. On the other hand, they do not seem to care a jot for the days to come even with reference to such essential needs as food and raiment. The solution of this apparent puzzle seems to me to be found in the fact that the Isneg do conscientiously every day what they think they have to do and leave the rest to fate. With reference to the supernatural, if they take all possible means to propitiate the spirits, and disregard no taboos, and so on, they feel assured that nothing untoward will happen to them on the part of the spirits. With reference to daily sustenance and the rest, they feel no such assurance, as they know by practical experience that they cannot control the forces of nature, rain, storms, the growth of plants, etc. By strictly observing all injunctions of the shamans and all traditional rites and practices they believe it possible to control the

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supernatural for the time to come. Nature, however, is not theirs to direct; they know this all too well, and so why bother about the future. Besides, there will always be something to eat, there is no winter in the tropics, vegetation is luxuriant, and the Isneg are not particular. Nature is ruled by the supernatural, not by human beings. All the latter can do is to influence the supernatural. Man has no direct control over rain and sunshine, sickness and death, but the spirits have; and these have to be moved to pity or to be frightened into submission, as the case may be.

An Isneg will say: "What is the use of medicine? If it has been decreed that a person will die, he will do so, medicines or no medicines". But nevertheless he will comply with all possible prescriptions of the shaman, and if the person dies notwithstanding all precautions have been taken to protect him from the spirits, then: "It was his fate", and that ends the matter.

If the locusts are devastating the fields, an Isneg will resign himself to his fate. He has worked diligently; he has observed all possible omens and has broken no taboos; why should he worry, why should he try to destroy these pests. The Government will force him to do so of course, and he will obey as long as he remains under the eagle eye of his rulers, but he will say: "What is the use; if we destroy these, others will take their place, provided it be decreed that way: and if not, it is perfectly useless to tire ourselves for nothing".

Such and similar states of mind are not confined to the Isneg. I remember very well how on a certain occasion, in 1914, I was assisting an Ilоko Christian on his deathbed. Wanting to impress upon him the great necessity of a deep sorrow for his sins, I described to him as vividly as possible the horrors of hell, and told him how anxious he should be to avoid an eternity of such pains and torments; but his only answer was an act of absolute conformity to the Divine Will: "If God wants me to go to hell, I am perfectly willing". And that man was far from wanting to be disrespectful to the Deity; his words simply illustrated how little he cared about what the future had in store for him. Pagan Isneg lay the blame for every untoward happening, either merely on fate, or on the intervention of some ill-intentioned imp, while a happy turn of events is usually considered to be the result either of fate pure and simple, or of some special clever means by which the machinations of the spirits have been counteracted. Nowadays the Government, the Ibanag, as they call all Christians, has generally to bear the blame of any public calamity

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that may occur, as it is the ultimate cause of the anger of the spirits, who are deprived of their usual offerings through the abolition of headhunting.

But let us come back to our original purpose of describing the Isneg life cycle, and leave those digressions about fate and spirits for some other time. I shall first treat birth; second, education and home life; third, marriage; and fourth, death and burial.

I. Birth and Infancy

The birth of a child is as a matter of course a very important event, not only for the individual in question, but also for everybody concerned. Any addition to the household is hailed with delight by each and every member of the family, and children are considered as a very precious asset by all Isneg. Some five years ago, at the very beginning of my residence among the Isneg, while I was chatting one day with the justice of the peace of Kabugaw at the latter's house, an Isneg woman came to see him in order to ask him to allow her to divorce her husband. When the judge remonstrated and tried to convince her not to resort to such a drastic procedure, by describing its bad effects more especially on her own self, the woman merely replied that she could stand anything from now on, as during her short married life she had been given "gain" (she used the Spanish term *ganancia*); and when the judge asked her what kind of gain she meant, she merely showed him her child. While in the eyes of most persons a child would be an obstacle to the easy divorce of its parents, in the eyes of this Isneg mother, the child that had been given to her was considered as a treasure that would compensate all hardships incident on the separation from her husband.

A. Pregnancy and Gestation

In order to promote pregnancy, some married Isneg women buy what some of them call "medicine" either from the Christian Ilоko or from other married people among their own tribe. This "medicine" usually consists of one or more kinds of herbs which are the secret of the seller. The buyer carries them on her body, tying them to her girdle in front, either above the right thigh or above the left one. The *ciamandá-*, a herb that grows on trees, is chewed by Isneg women for the same purpose.

A kind of small herb, called *ăma-dá*, is occasionally used by Isneg women in order to stop bearing children. Somebody goes to the

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462 The same may be said with reference to simple and ordinary car-
335 pentry, in which most all Isneg are more or less expert. Indeed
868 when there is question of building a new house, the whole agglomer-
ation is summoned to take part. Nevertheless one or more men, more skilled than the rest, usually take the lead, and others do what they are told; in the meanwhile the youngsters pick up whatever they can
462 according to each one's capacity of understanding and skill of hand.
285 Baskets are woven by the women, while the weaving of bownets
868 falls to the share of the men. In both cases young people learn the work merely by imitating what is done by their elders.

462 Perhaps the only kind of work that is performed among the Isneg
326 by special craftsmen, and not by everybody indifferently, is that of
868 the blacksmith, and here again boys learn by imitation. While still
184 small, they merely go and look, but once they have attained their tenth year or so, they help their elders and learn the profession through practice. This is the more easy, as such occupations are not monopolized by a few individuals in each agglomeration, but are professed by the whole settlement or at least by several families, in a very restricted number of places.

868 One subject in which a boy generally receives formal instruction, at least if he wants to learn it, is that of managing a boat, of handling an oar, a paddle and a pole: the father is the recognized teacher of his offspring in this respect; but the whole is of course limited almost exclusively to places that are situated along the Apayaw in its lower course. In a few other places, parents teach their children how to manage a raft, but such teaching is generally much less formal, at least when there is only question of crossing a stream or of travelling over parts of a river that are easy to pass, as most youngsters, girls not excluded, will have seen their elders at work, and will try to imitate them without the necessity of such teaching. An occasional plunge rarely does them any harm, as the majority swim like rats, and those who would not float in case of taking an involuntary bath usually do not take the risk of trying to manage any water craft without the help of others.

D. RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

771 And now we come to the fields of religion and morality, which, in the case of the Isneg, seem to have each their own rather well-defined sphere, without encroaching the one upon the other, at least in so far as morality is concerned with man's duties to his fellow men. Nevertheless generalities are of little or no value, so I shall try to give as

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many details as possible, although I am far from claiming that my study about Isneg religion and morality has so far been exhaustive or that my knowledge of these subjects cannot be improved upon. A whole lifetime would scarcely be sufficient to disentagle all the intricate knots, the more so that, especially as regards religion, the Isneg are sometimes far from logical in their reasoning.

In religious instruction the *dorarákit* or shaman plays the dominant rôle, as it is she who conducts religious ceremonies, and it is she through whom the spirits and the souls of the dead are supposed to communicate with man. Now let us see in how far the shaman imparts formal instruction, and in how far young people have to learn by merely looking on.

The *dorarákit* directly teaches her pupils by explaining to them the meaning of the rites and ceremonies, at the time of some *sáy-ám* or other sacrifice accompanied by *maxanito*, and almost exclusively on such occasions. Her pupils at the time are first of all the young *dorarákit*, who have been chosen and consecrated mostly when still in their infancy, and secondly all members of the younger generation who are willing to listen. Consequently this kind of teaching is done while the ceremonies in question are under way and it is illustrated by their performance. It is not the place here to enter into details about the ceremonies just referred to; it will suffice to say that the *sáy-ám* is a kind of public sacrifice in which dogs and pigs are offered to the spirits, and that *maxanito* refers to the action of the shaman at the time she is supposed to be possessed either by a spirit or by the soul of a deceased person, who speaks through her mouth. In this the Isneg shaman differs from the Kankanay one; the latter is usually supposed merely to communicate with beings of the other world, to talk to them, while in the case of the Isneg the spirit is supposed to talk through the shaman. Besides, a Kankanay shaman plays a very secondary rôle: she is mostly of use only at the time of sickness, when she has altercations with the spirits who are supposed to cause the disease or when she goes around to look for the *ab-abiik* (Kankanay) or soul, which a sick person is supposed to have lost; while sacrifices, whether public or private, are presided over by men. Let this be enough for the time being.

I just stated that the Isneg shaman explains the meaning of religious rites and ceremonies to her puipls. The manner of conducting these ceremonies, however, is not formally taught: in this respect a young *dorarákit* is a mere looker-on. When the time comes for the

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for this reason Magellan gave that group of islands the name of Ladrones (Spanish, "thieves"), and to this day the name of Ladrone Islands may be found on the map. According to the same authority, cases of treachery and deceit were also very frequent among the inhabitants of the Philippines.

Now in my opinion, and probably in that of most other men who have resided for a sufficiently long time among more or less primitive peoples, all these concrete instances (and they may be increased by a thousand similar ones) do not shed any light on that part of the moral code of these peoples which refers to their relations with one another, strictly among themselves. They merely prove that they thought or think it quite consonant with right behavior to steal from the white man and to deceive him whenever the occasion presents itself. But this is far from meaning that stealing and lying in general are permitted by their own standard of morality.

In order to proceed with order and clearness, I shall try in the following paragraphs, first to give an idea of the moral code of the Isneg, and then to consider more in particular the motives that are proposed to the child and the methods of training in vogue among them; after that a few comparisons between theory and practice will show in how far such training is usually successful.

1. The Moral Code

I shall begin by making a preliminary remark which I deem to be of supreme importance: the Isneg moral code does not exactly coincide with the Christian one, and so, what is considered good by the Isneg may very often be very bad according to our own principles. Now, in the next few pages, I shall try to see good and bad through Isneg eyes, and I hope that on that account the reader will not credit me, a Catholic missionary, with a pagan standard of morality. I shall put on the garb of an Isneg moralist for a few moments merely to give a better perspective to the whole treatment of this very important subject.

My first talk will be about virtues and acts of virtue and their opposites; afterwards I shall consider some vices and sins more in detail.

"In order to be a good and decent Isneg you should be faithful in complying with all injunctions of the shamans, in offering the regular sacrifices according to tradition and custom, in observing all taboos, in looking for omens and auguries before starting on anything im-

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portant and whenever it is customary to do so; in a word, you should lead a good religious life. Indeed what can you expect from a man who does not live according to his convictions, or rather to the convictions of the generality of his tribesmen? Do you think that the spirits will leave you at rest if you do not do what is necessary, either to propitiate them or to put them to flight? Do you think you will be fortunate in your enterprises if you fail to observe, either the usual signs that will prevent you from entering upon dangerous enterprises, or the taboos which custom has told you not to transgress? It would be considered as the acme of bad behavior to live as a free-thinker in matters religious. You may say you do so to a stranger, you may appear not to believe our laws any more, when in the presence of an Ibanag,[2] otherwise he might laugh at you; but among us these things are very serious and they should be observed by all means. If you are a true Isneg, believe as an Isneg and practise your religion".

The Isneg, however, seem to be much less fanatical in matters religious than the Kankanay, the Bontok Igorot, and others. I have known Kankanay men to whip their Christian children for refusing to attend heathen sacrifices; such things would rarely, if ever, happen here. I shall come back to this again when comparing theory with practice.

"Headhunting is a glorious practice. If you are a real Isneg, you should take a few heads during your lifetime or at least help your companions in doing so. Never forego the occasion of participating in a raid planned by your friends, whether into the lowlands among Christian Iloko and Kagayan, or among Negritos, Kalinga and other Isneg at enmity with your people. If you have the opportunity to take the head of an enemy unawares, be it that of a woman or child, there you have a splendid occasion of becoming a *mĕbial*, a brave, without too much trouble and with very little danger. Not everybody has that chance, not everybody will become a brave, but you should at least try your very best to be one. What a glory

[2] Ibanag is the language of the Kagayan, but in an Isneg mouth the term means "anybody who is not an Isneg". What we express by saying "to become a Christian" is translated by the Isneg as "to become an Ibanag". It is almost impossible to convince them that an Isneg can become a Christian and remain an Isneg. Similar ideas obtain among the Christian tribes: they call themselves *Christiano* whatever tribe they belong to, and all pagans in their eyes are Igorot, Kalinga, Itneg or Isneg; once baptized the latter have ceased to be anything like that; they have become Christians pure and simple.

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4. *Actual Moral Behavior*

And now I come to the consideration of Isneg practice as compared with theory. I always promise to be brief, but I rarely live up to my promises; so I shall see what I can do about it now.

The Isneg are far less fanatical in matters religious than, for instance, the Kankanay. Their religious practices are also comparatively few and far between, and the women usually play the most important rôle. A person who disobeys (*saûran*) any injunction of the shaman is not considered as being a traitor; he is mostly left to his own devices, although his disobedience is not exactly lauded as an act of virtue. Nevertheless not only the old women, but also the old men are usually very punctual in complying with all directions of the shaman and in observing whatever their religious convictions impose upon them. I purposely say "old" men and women, as among the younger generation, this respect for the heathen practices of their tribe seems to be on the wane. The influence of the schools which are supposed to be neutral, is a decided factor in this matter. The teachers, being Christians, have no sympathy with what they call the superstitions and ridiculous practices of the Isneg. Although perhaps they keep these sentiments to themselves during school hours, the sparseness of the population in a district where schoolboys and schoolgirls very often live far from the schoolhouse, forces many of the latter to remain in the immediate neighborhood of the teacher's house for five consecutive days every week, which necessarily allows the influence of the Christian schoolmaster to be very far-reaching.

Besides, Christians are entering Apayaw in large numbers every year, some to stay, others as transient guests. Since the country is practically pacified, nothing keeps them back any more, and so they also exert an undermining influence on all matters that relate to Isneg religion as such. This immigration coupled with Isneg temporary emigration, tends to teach the people the futility and even the error of their beliefs. Indeed an Isneg who enters the Iloko or Kagayan country, and stays there for a certain time, cannot fail to bring back a spirit of indifference with reference to his native religion.

It may be the place here to say a few words anent the relations of the Isneg with the Catholic missionary. In general it must be said that all over the Mountain Province the priest has usually met with the sympathy of the natives. During the Philippine Revolution against Spain, when Spanish friars were taken into custody by the

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insurgents, the Hapaw people (Ifugaw) hid their priest in the forest for a considerable time; and I am sure that our Negritos and Isneg would do the same to us if necessary. They are supposed to be inferior to the Christians in many respects, they themselves believe so, and the Christians do not fail to impress it upon their mind through word and deed: an Iloko or Kagayan has not respect for an Isneg, and again Iloko, Kagayan and Isneg oppress the Negrito whenever they can.

Now comes along a man who sympathizes with these pariahs, a man who understands them, a man who, although teaching a different religion, never ridicules them, a man who always puts them on the same level with other human beings, a man who is willing to live with them, to share their food and their mat, a man who learns their language and their customs, a man who takes their side even against the Christians when the latter are wrong: what can they feel but respect and even love for such an extraordinary being? Then add to this, in the case of the Isneg, their frequent intercourse with Christians and the patent superiority of the latter's civilization, which excites the ambition of the former, and it will not be wondered at that the priest and his religion are respected, that Isneg mothers bring their children for baptism just as the Christians do, that the Isneg youth wants to be instructed in Christian doctrine, and that Christianity is considered as the ultimate goal of a great number of Isneg young men and women.

Here among the Isneg I have never yet met with that strong opposition to baptism, which formerly was so very common among pagan Kankanay fathers and mothers in several of their villages, and if the inborn indolence of the Isneg could be done away with, all youngsters would be Christians within a very short time. In the case of old men and women, although they rarely object to Christianity as such, still they usually hold rather tenaciously to their traditional practices, which, however, does not prevent them at the same time from giving complete freedom to their offspring.

Last year at Namaltugan, two Christian Isneg intended to get married; when the groom firmly refused to have anything to do with native pagan customs, the relatives on both sides agreed to everything, except on the question of the payment that had to be given to the parents of the bride: on this they strongly insisted; it had nothing to do with religion, and so it had to be observed.

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In short, Isneg religious and magical practices are still firmly adhered to by the generality of old men and women, while with the younger set they tend to be considered as mere superstitions, that are observed more through fear than through conviction, just as among the Christian Iloko, many remnants of the old native religion are still to be found scattered all over the country in the form of superstitious practices. There can be no doubt about the fact that in Apayaw the way is open for the Christian religion to supplant the old native one: the former is considered as a step forward by almost every Isneg, and practically nobody objects to the young people embracing it; in fact, most of the old people themselves insist on having their children baptized and even instructed in the doctrine of the Christians.

The duty of headhunting has perforce to fall into desuetude, as the vigilance of the authorities prevents it from being practised, at least on a large scale. With reference to isolated cases, which do not fail at times to appear sporadically, the guilty parties rarely escape due punishment, as the Isneg live too much in very small scattered communities to be able to hide them successfully. The older people still foster the desire of freedom in their hearts of course, but the younger generation will little by little forget all about it, and the usual ceremonies, although persevering in the form of superstitions, will very soon have lost their significance. Enough already has been said about this, and it is needless to repeat it all over again.

In the question of obedience and respect due to parents and elders, the Isneg usually conform with their teaching on the subject, and the same may be said with reference to loyalty either to friends or to people who are not at enmity with them. Downright disobedience is really very rare, even in the case of grown-up boys and girls, and respect for older people perseveres all through life. A few isolated cases may be encountered occasionally, but they are certainly the exception. Actually of course the same loyalty cannot always be observed as before, namely participation in headhunting expeditions and so on, and now and then a few members of the younger generation will even stand by the Government against malefactors of their own people; but in general it may be said that respect for the law has not yet attained such an ascendency as to cause an Isneg to be a traitor to his friends.

The practice of revenge has also necessarily suffered an important transformation. The duty of revenge remains intact though, and it

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fere in the least: consequently she does not *maxanito* or impersonate the spirits of the dead, and remains completely in the background, if indeed she happens to be present. And the same is true with reference to the *ákit* or marriage ceremony: here also there is a feast and a killing of animals, but no *maxanito*. The Isneg probably believe that spirits and ghosts have nothing to do with something that is exclusively the business of living human beings, as an *amóman* or betrothal and an *ákit* or marriage undoubtedly are.

Nevertheless it may happen that the *amóman* takes place at the time a *sáy-ám* sacrifice is in progress at the house of the girl, and then of course the *maxanito* will be performed as usual, as no ceremonies connected with the customary *sáy-ám* are ever omitted; but this *maxanito* will generally be performed before the arrival of the *patúgan*, and in any case it has nothing to do with the *amóman*. The only reason why an *amóman* slightly interferes with the ceremonies of the *sáy-ám* is the fact that on such coincidences the female spirit *Sisina* has to be especially remembered. Two coconut shells, one partly filled with *básí* (a beverage obtained from sugar cane) and another one partially filled with dog's blood, have to be put down in her honor somewhere along the path that leads to the spot where the women draw water for drinking purposes. This is done in order to induce *Sisina* to look after the young couple and to see to it that both are of one mind and avoid all disputes and altercations.

The *amóman*, at least if it has resulted to the satisfaction of everybody, does not interfere in the least with the usual nocturnal visits of the groom to the house of the bride. He continues to *maxal-allây* as before, that is, to sleep with her, and even to have coitus if they so desire. Actually in several districts they even translate the term *maxamóman* by that of *maxatáwa*, "to marry"; and in this case, of course, the subsequent ceremony of the *ákit*, after which the two young people are allowed to live together, must in their minds have lost most of its significance.

B. WEDDING RITES AND CUSTOMS

A certain period of time always elapses between the *amóman* and the real marriage or *ákit*, but it is impossible to determine exactly its length. In some cases a month is sufficient for all interested parties to prepare themselves properly for this most important ceremony; in others, even a whole year may pass by before the marriage finally takes place.

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is who finds a means to keep the wolf from the door. On occasions like these, it is clearly apparent how training and experience have rendered the Isneg girl fit for meeting almost any kind of emergency, while the customary indolence of the male makes him an easy prey to downheartedness, so much so that he becomes utterly unable to save himself and his family from the pangs of hunger.

If we come to consider the situation from the point of view of the Isneg, it is not to be wondered at that nowadays famines are of rather frequent occurrence in Apayaw. Indeed, foreign authorities have invaded the land: not understanding the position of the Isneg with reference to the tutelary spirits of the country, they have all but extirpated headhunting. What can be expected after this? Being denied their usual offerings, the spirits stop protecting the crops. It is true that the Isneg does not cease to propitiate them by all possible means, but the great sacrifice has been rendered almost impossible, and so the fields have become a prey to evil imps, while the protectors of the rice, the purveyors of the Isneg, have become either powerless or indifferent.

Nevertheless, under ordinary circumstances, the average Isneg raises enough rice to last him and his family for a year. He may not be able to store it up for future consumption, but what he has usually keeps him alive from one harvest to the next, and besides almost always allows him to offer an occasional sacrifice to the spirits and to invite his relatives and neighbors to the ceremony. Such is the normal state of affairs with the great majority of the people.

Now in almost every agglomeration one will find at least one man who is styled "rich" (*ba-nán*), a man who raises rice in abundance (*aragammáy*) and consequently is able to offer one or more solemn sacrifices every year and to provide food to the inhabitants of several villages for days at a time. However, these so-called rich people do not fare any better than the average citizen, as their surplus is easily consumed at their *sáy-ám* or solemn sacrifices.

On the other hand, there are always a few who may be called poor (*nakimrút*): their rice, if they raise any at all, never lasts them the whole year round, and, in the meanwhile, they have to content themselves with Indian corn, yams, taro and the rest; but only in times of famine, are they obliged to feed on coconut flowers and other outlandish foods. Others again seem never to be able to make both ends meet: these are the *sibud*; their rice, which should be sufficient for ordinary persons, is usually gone almost before they are aware of it,

to pay heavy indemnities to the relatives of the injured husband. When the husband is so inclined, he may take one or more wives, provided that he is wealthy enough to support them. However, the wife controls in marriage, her own inherited property.

When the husband dies, the woman retains only her clothing and returns to her relatives. All the property is divided equally among the children. If they are young, the man's relatives take and raise them, keeping the property in trust. Upon marriage each child receives his share.

RELIGION

The Apayao name for a god is *"anito."* Now, it is hard for anyone to explain how all the "acts of God" are the activity of one single personality; as some "acts" are benevolent and others are malevolent. The Apayaos believe that different "acts" are the doings of differents *anitos*, some benevolent and others malevolent. Natural phenomena are explained as being the work of some *anito*. Each occurrence or activity of a person is governed by some certain *anito*. Therefore they may number up into the thousands. Thus one is constantly aware of his relations with the *anitos*, and the Apayao is very religious. For instance if he is setting a trap for wild pig in the forest, he will ask one *anito* to forgive him for trying to trap the pig; another *anito* to let the pig be guided into the trap; and another *anito* that the trap will spring and catch the pig.

Many *anitos* live in natural objects; but the most prominent ones dwlel in *Guynetban* in the sky. Each

773 it struck the sky. The sky became frightened and
821 raised up, causing a great commotion, and the trees were torn out of the ground.

776 To the family of Hatan, I will add the names of
[771] some other *anitos*. The tendency is for them to lessen in scope, in number, and in interest (i.e.—toward monagony). First I will mention some good *anitos*.

776 *Kaybacan* is the guardian of the house. A feast,
517 *pildap*, is given to him upon completion of a new house.
342 Small spears are placed there in the house where he stays. Whenever there is meat, a small portion is placed on the spears. Otherwise the family will get
[704] sick. No eels, deer, or mud fish are brought into the house; for the *anito* dislikes their smell and would run away, leaving the family to sicken and die.

776 *Pilay* is the guardian of the farm. He lives in
241 the granary. If a stranger touches it, he becomes lame. A small feast, *pespes*, is given to him at the beginning of the harvest.

Ambungan is the guardian of the rice harvest. Before harvest one must mix some burnt rice with shredded coconut and eat it under a certain big tree
[821] where he is. If the owner does not do this, strong winds and rain will come and blow down the grain.

776 *Danag* is the guardian of the fishermen and hunters; while *Ayan* induces the wild pig to run into the trap; but *Sicasion* helps the wild pig and deer to avoid the hunters.

Daguan makes one strong to work, and *Manglasbang* is the guardian of the warrior; while *Panagatang* is the guide. *Sangasan* guards the entrance to the *barangay*.

Do not jump over a child. If you do, his growth will be retarded. 784

At first glance one might think that life in Apayao is greatly restricted by the necessity of placating all the *anitos* and of observing the many auguries, omens, and prohibitions. But, after being around some, I cannot help getting the impression somehow, that all this is partly just the men's sly way to getting out of a lot of hard work and disagreeable duties. At least, the placating of the *anitos* gives them the occasion for many very pleasant social times. 771 784 787 782 781

BURIAL

When death comes, the Apayaos, unlike the Christians, do not dread it as being the end of life on this earth; for the spirit *cadudoresa*, continues to exist somewhere and enjoy many of their physical pleasures without the discomforts. The people respect these spirits and go to great pains to see that they are made happy, both during the funeral ceremony and also during the following years. At all the feasts a portion of the best food and *basi* is placed on a plate, which is then set near the stove where the immediate supply of rice is kept. The people want to keep the spirits of their ancestors happy and contented for, if one should become discontented, he will select a person in the house to keep him company. The person then becomes sick and will die if a feast is not held to make that spirt happy and contented again. 761 775 769 [753]

When a person dies, all the relatives immediately gather in his house and hold a *callas* in his memory. 764

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postponed for a considerable time. Others again say that *Kútaw* robs it of its garments and dons them himself, to the great dismay and shame of the poor *kadudúwá*, who from now on is obliged to wear either no clothes or at least only such as are not cared for any more by its companions at the other side of the grave. The latter informants usually add that *Kútaw* refuses to ferry this *kadudúwá* over the pond, unless it gives its brand-new clothes to him; some of them say that it may happen that *Kútaw* takes to himself not only the clothes, but also the whole *kadudúwá* (as a kind of servant). One more detail was given me by a Bayag informant: if the dead person has only one of his forearms tattooed (not both of them), *Kútaw* cuts off this tattooed-limb and keeps it to himself.

To resume: some informants state that all *kadudúwá* are always ferried over the pond by *Kútaw*, but that those whose *innát* wears no new clothes, remain like that at least for some time to come, or are left to their own devices as soon as they reach the other side, without being able to find their relatives, at least immediately, while those whose *innát* wear new clothes without rent are either despoiled by *Kútaw* or kept back for at least a considerable time from the enjoyment that is their due. Other informants state that some *kadudúwá* are simply scorned by *Kútaw* and left on this side of the pond: either those whose *innát* wear old clothes, or those whose new garments have not been torn. On the other hand, when asked what *kadudúwá* are living in the realm of the dead, even these last informants generally affirm that they all do.

A *labbáń* is a kind of lagoon or pool of stagnant water, of a type found in abundance all along the northern coast of Luzon, between Sanchez Mira and Aparri, and even farther east. At Nagbabalayan there is also a *labbáń*, which consists of a pool of water separated from the Apayaw river by a small elevation of land; at every large rise of the Apayaw river, however, it forms one with the latter. This Nagbabalayan *labbáń* is the regular abode of crocodiles, to whom the Nagbabalayan people offer gifts at every sacrifice. But the name *lablabbáń* belongs exclusively to the pond that separates our abode from that of the dead. Such a reduplication as occurs here usually hints at something similar to what the simple stem implies. Thus *lablabbáń* would mean a *labbáń* that is not an ordinary one, and, considering its place and use, no further proof is needed to convince everybody that it is a very peculiar pool indeed. The following mysterious fact adds to its differentiation from any other *labbáń:*

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811 *Kútaw*'s boat, which is always fastened at the *dodóńăn* (place on
772 the bank of a river where a boat is fastened, landing place) on this
side of the pond when not in use, has only one *pidpíd* or side plank,
776 which means that one side of the boat is open and unprotected, and
nevertheless no water ever enters her and she never goes down. Thus
the *kaduduwá* is ferried over the water in a boat that consists of only
about one half of an ordinary one, a boat cut in two from stem to
stern. When asked how anybody could possibly cross the *lablabbáń*
in such a contrivance, the Isneg merely state that they do not know.
And in this they are most certainly right. But who would dare say
that the actions of the spirits have to correspond exactly with our
own? Their ways are not our ways, and that settles the matter.
Besides, the *lablabbáń* is not an ordinary *labbáń*, neither are *Kútaw*
and the *kaduduwá* ordinary men, so why should the boat be an ordi-
nary one?

772 The only other detail I have heard about the *lablabbáń* is that it is
full of cogon grass (*labbáń*) and of worms.

Kútaw himself was once described to me as wearing a coat from
776 which a certain portion of cloth had been torn out entirely, and his
292 headax or *alíwá* as being deprived of one of its essential parts, namely
411 the *sáwit* or blunt projection at the back (cf. CAC–P, 1:233, fig. 68).

Once at the other side, the *kaduduwá* live a happy life in the
Aglalannawán (called *Tagtaggăyán* at Bayag) or realm of the dead:
775 it is good (*napiyá*) to be there. Their life is comparable to a dream:
they live in the same way as we do when we are dreaming. For the
rest, they do not change in their ways: they plant and reap as before,
have the same likes and dislikes, live on the same kind of food, with
none of their old preferences gone, and so on. The house they live
in, however, is not made of timber or bamboo; it is a real gold or
775 silver one. There they stay and never come back, except at times
and temporarily,—for instance, when they come to get one of their
787 relatives, in which case the latter is *makaduduwá*, becomes sick and
dies (such *kaduduwá* are called *gíbu-*), or when they enter the body
of a shaman in order to communicate with the living, or even appear
to the latter (perhaps only to the shaman), at the time of a *săy-ám*
sacrifice, etc.

775 It seems to result from all this that even the Isneg have a kind of
double fate for man after death: one of happiness for those who prove
acceptable to *Kútaw*, and one of privation for those who have to
remain behind or are left unguided at the entrance to the *Aglalan-*

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but they have never yet been able to see a ghost without some vagueness surrounding it. It should be noted in this connection that a *balańóbáń* has nocturnal habits.

But what is the ultimate fate of a *balańóbáń*? To this question the Isneg can give a definite answer: all *balańóbáń* decay in the end at *Magkébińán*. *Magkébińán* is the name of a cave, the usual dwelling place of all *balańóbáń*, and there their wandering life comes to an end sooner or later. Nobody can tell you anything definite, however, about the location of this cave or about the duration of a dead body's life as a *balańóbáń*.

All Isneg are convinced that tombs of wandering *balańóbáń* are empty and remain so. Once out of its tomb, no *balańóbáń* ever comes back to its former abode. And only the very few stay in their tomb; the generality of them start on their temporary wanderings as soon as they have been in the grave for two or three nights, long enough to dislike such a residence. Occasionally a few informants even state that no dead bodies ever decay in their graves. Nobody of course would venture to dig in a tomb in order to convince himself of the truth of his belief.

3. Causes of Death

What causes death? The Isneg seem to distinguish between two kinds of death, namely: what we would call "death by accident or death by violence", and "death from sickness". Under the Isneg viewpoint, however, the first kind of death has what I should like to call a "natural" cause, while the other kind has a "supernatural" cause.

Under the first head come all deaths whose cause is obvious and patent to everybody:

1. Death through murder or assassination (felonious homicide),—for instance, you plant a headax in the neck of your enemy and cut off his head. The Isneg, no more than anybody else, will doubt about the cause of your enemy's death. Here there is no necessity of suspecting the intervention of the spirits.

2. Death by accident or through judicial taking of life,—for instance, a man falls from a tree and breaks his neck, death ensuing, or a culprit is executed by the authorities, and so on. Here also the spirits are not considered as the immediate cause of death. To die like that is called *meránud* (past tense: *neránud*), while to die in general is called *matáy* (past tense: *natáy*). The stem *rānud*, in

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764 When the first outburst of lamentations, in the case of our dead
292 Isneg, has come to an end, the bystanders at once proceed to the preparation of the *innát* or corpse. The latter is first stripped of its old clothes, and carefully washed and cleaned; after that it is wiped dry and finally dressed up in the best clothes available. Some natives do not even shrink from clothing the corpse in silk, if their means allow such luxury; at any rate, it would be utterly shameful to the Isneg not to dress a dead body decently. This latter performance is called *magpoar-armát* (transitive: *paarmattán;* from the stem *armát*, "garments"). As has been stated before, each garment is partially torn (*maxáyxáy*) at one side.

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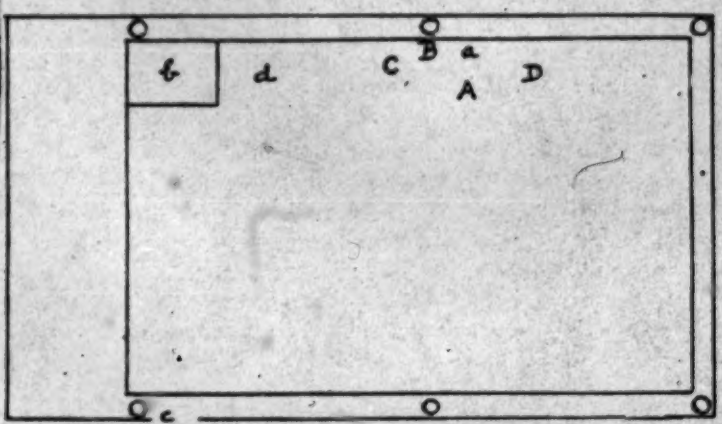

FIG. 3. FLOOR OF AN ISNEG HOUSE

A, Place of bier; a, place of the head of the *innát*; B, place of the *innát* in sitting posture; C, place of the *aróbon;* D, place of mourning relatives; b, hearth; c, door; d, place of woman in childbed.

764 In some places they insert a few *líbnó* herbs in the clothes of the
775 *innát* for the following reason: on its way to the realm of the dead,
772 the *kaduduwá* is supposed to pass through a camote or sweet-potato field, in which there is a hut inhabited by an old woman, who is intent on taking away from all passers-by their provisions and all their belongings; but if the latter have *líbnó*-herbs about their person, the old woman is powerless and they pass along unscathed.

764 In the meanwhile some others have been preparing the *tádag* or bier. The *tádag* consists of a certain number of entire bamboos, tied

to pay heavy indemnities to the relatives of the injured husband. When the husband is so inclined, he may take one or more wives, provided that he is wealthy enough to support them. However, the wife controls in marriage, her own inherited property.

When the husband dies, the woman retains only her clothing and returns to her relatives. All the property is divided equally among the children. If they are young, the man's relatives take and raise them, keeping the property in trust. Upon marriage each child receives his share.

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Many *anitos* live in natural objects; but the most prominent ones dwlel in *Guynetban* in the sky. Each

776 one has his separate place there. They now speak a
772 different dialect (called *Elangit*) from the people, which only a priestess, *surraroqueb* can understand.

776 The head *anito*, who made the laws of the sky world and rules it, is *Hatan*. He dwells in *Naglasian* in a great miraculous palace guarded by an enormous snake. He has an automatic *gaod* which strikes as he wills. His shield shoots out fire (a flame thrower), and his spear kills nine men at a time. He uses fierce beasts to help in war and thus has conquered all the country. His wife, *Dinawagan*, came from *Nagcapanlunam*, which is still another world. These two are asked for help in time of need, especially in sickness.

Some time ago *Hatan* became infirm due to age, and so he endued his fourth son, *Ewagan* with his powers. This *anito* lived in *Aguingan* and got his wife in *Dudungan*. Her name is *Hinobangonan* and her father is *Cowatingconan*, while her mother is *Agdamgasam*.

Ewagan is the most notable of the *anitos* and is looked upon as a savior of the people. He has often helped them and is called upon in times of calamity, such as sickness. His only sister, *Hinalingan*, is his close companion. His older brothers are: *Dipparo*, *Haswan* and *Hinadolan* (nicknamed *Enoy*), who eats the hearts of the enemy. Ewagan's younger brothers are *Abbiawan* and *Imlang* (nicknamed *Egatang*). Whenever Imlang dances, everybody dances, even the trees. Ewagan married *Guimbangonan*, who had been contracted to *Dungcuan*,. son of a certain *maingel* named Dingpan.

IV. *INNAS*

539

First Group: *Ki kayo ñga calagaab*
Intada ñga magdowas
Innas sa ianno onnas inballoballog
ogennas.

2nd Group: *Ay yo diamno dowas*
Aed ac lagud aumicad
Ta piniac makilaglagaak
Ki kao nga kalabeat.

First Group: Oh! beloved brethren,
Let us love one another.
Allright: forget the past and
Let us all love together.

2nd Group: Here I am with you, love;
Yes, I am here with you;
I want to be happy
With you my beloved brethren.

COSMOLOGY

Apayaos say that the earth is flat with edges, off 772
which the water flows and is caught by the moon 821
which returns it to the earth as rain. You can tell 823
when this will be done by observing the new moon. 221
If its tips (forming a container) are horizontal it 241
will not rain. If one tip is down, the water will run 805
out and it will rain. Camotes are planted during the
first and the last quarters of the moon. The positions
of ursa major and ursa minor determine the time of
planting most of the food crops. This is done by co- [476]
operative planting, *abugo*.

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251 Young banana leaves (*adón*) are used very extensively for wrapping
245 purposes, especially when things have to be kept fresh, for instance cooked rice, several kinds of viands, etc.

The men cut down (*lappadán, maglappád*) the leaves with the *aliwá* (hatchet) and gather (*manaxidón*) them.

Dry banana leaves (*arupát*) are used for wrapping all kinds of small objects.

245 A banana plantation where the leaves are all withered, is supposed
776 to be the abode of the spirit *Alḗxān*. For the rest, no harm is done, as she never attempts to destroy the fruits.

6. YAMS

244 The origin of yams or *úbi* (Dioscorea alata, L., D. pentaphylla, L.,
773 etc.) is authenticated among the Isneg by the following stories:

539 *Uwíl* from Bolo (O dialect, Main branch) told me this:
824

Ya nonōnná ńa úbi

The first yam

Kitó inumbét dató dódon kiddí itó nōnná ńa alxáw āwánda kanó ńa anán dató tólāy ta amminán dató dódon./ Kané āwánda ńa anán kitó mammínda ńa natáy ináru-da ya anánā-da séda ńa anán āy imúlada to tabbít nató ababbíń./ Ay to ya nagbalín ka úbi to ya nonōnná ńa úbi.

When the locusts came here in former days, the people, it is said, had nothing to eat, as the locusts consumed everything./ And when they had nothing to eat, so they would all be dead, they took out a part of their children's bodies, and they ate it, and they planted the flesh of the child./ And that became a yam: that is the first yam.

Another man related to me a similar story with reference to the *paddíg*-yam: it is very large, and its skin is very red; it looks as if it were bleeding. On a certain day, a mother took her babe as soon as it was born and cut it into pieces, which she buried in the ground. After a while they grew, and when the woman dug them up, they had become *paddíg*-yams. She cooked them, ate them, and found them to be a savory kind of food.

A different story is woven around the *dinampāyán*, a kind of *lo-tó* (Dioscorea fasciculata, Roxb. and D. aculeata, L.). The *lo-tó* are small yams, whose meat is yellowish or white and very soft; their skin is thin and whitish or brown, and is easily peeled off when cooked; their vines and leaves are thorny. Formerly all *lo-tó* were soft

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stones. A little child having stepped on one of them, the latter took the shape of a small foot: that is the reason why the *dinampāyán* are more or less footlike and have small projections like toes.

In Isneg, *úbi* is the general name for all yams, and *lo-tó* is the general name for several kinds of soft yams whose skin is white or whitish. In Iloko, *úbi* refers only to one kind of yams (Dioscorea alata, L.), and *tugí* is the Iloko equivalent of the Isneg *lo-tó*. In Kankanay, *tugí* is the sweet potato.

Besides the *paddíg* (*úbi*) and the *dinampāyán* (*lo-tó*), the Isneg cultivate the following varieties (belonging to different species of Dioscorea) of *úbi*:

The *aniñgát*: A kind of yam with purplish skin.

The *baraáñ*: A kind of yam almost perfectly globose.

The *bisóyoñ*: A kind of yam with purplish skin, very long and crooked.

The *kamáñag*: A kind of yam very similar to the Dioscorea batatas, Dene., but with a different vine.

The *dampanán*: A kind of *lo-tó* with a very pubescent skin, the most esteemed of all.

The *pixáy*: A kind of *lo-tó* with a very thin skin.

The *marívag*: A kind of wild yam, with comparatively small vines, growing along brooks. The Isneg improve it by cultivation. Perhaps Dioscorea batatas, Dene.

Whereas most other tribes cultivate yams rather sparingly, the Isneg plant them much more extensively than anything else, rice excepted. In this they resemble the Batan, whose staple food is the yam: rice, however, is not grown by them.

It takes yams one year to develop their tubers; they may be planted at any time.

Before planting *lo-tó*, the Isneg wash the parts that will be confided to the soil, with *babbalowán*-vines cut into pieces and soaked in the juice of the sugar cane. This is done to ensure their sweetness. The *babbalowán* is a herbaceous vine with yellow flowers and with leaves that resemble those of the *úbi*; it grows in gardens planted with *lo-tó*.

When they want to plant yams (*magbaló*; sometimes; *magtuwág*, which is said of both planting taro and planting yams), the first thing they do is to cut a certain quantity of tubers into pieces (*maxáru-* or *mañúru-*). Then holes are bored in the ground by means of a *paló-* (hoe) or a dibble (the *saguwá* or the *itytunás*; the latter being called *ibabaló* when used for planting yams). Some ashes are strewn in each

46: Wilson
538, 539, 773, 173

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[For the texts of various Apayao myths and folktales, see category 116, pp. 44-170. --Analyst]

Ewagan is very handsome, shining like a flame. 776
A great bird, *Gabilayan*, carried him through the sky. He has great strength and has magical powers. He can cross a river without a boat and can change his body into a pig. There are many stories told of his fighting, hunting, fishing, and farming.

At one time when the sky was very near, Ewagan 773 ●
lived on earth. He built a house for the poor and 821
made a kaiñgin for the blind and lame who could not work. He showed the people how to make *aliwas* and build good houses. In order that the people might more easily reach the sky, Ewagan planned to build a high tower. He called all the people together and held a big meeting; but the people from the different *barangays* had different dialects and could not understand orders. So he had to drop the project and send the people home. However, he did take the people 491
in his own *barangay* and built a great bridge across the Apayao River at Lucban. You can still see the stone posts of the ancient bridge standing there.

Ewagan stayed for some time on earth; but one night *Hasatan* came to him in a dream, and persuaded him to become an *anito* in the sky world, so that he would never become tired. At the same time, he could help the people just as well and cure them of their ills. Ewagan agreed and Hasatan used his magical powers to change Ewagan into an *anito* in the sky world.

At first, the sky was so very low that the trees could not grow very high, and the strongest of them grew right into the sky. But one day a woman was pounding rice and she raised her pestle so high that

773 it struck the sky. The sky became frightened and
821 raised up, causing a great commotion, and the trees were torn out of the ground.

776 To the family of Hatan, I will add the names of
[771] some other *anitos*. The tendency is for them to lessen in scope, in number, and in interest (i.e.—toward monagony). First I will mention some good *anitos*.

776 *Kaybacan* is the guardian of the house. A feast,
577 *pildap*, is given to him upon completion of a new house.
342 Small spears are placed there in the house where he stays. Whenever there is meat, a small portion is placed on the spears. Otherwise the family will get
[704] sick. No eels, deer, or mud fish are brought into the house; for the *anito* dislikes their smell and would run away, leaving the family to sicken and die.

776 *Pilay* is the guardian of the farm. He lives in
241 the granary. If a stranger touches it, he becomes lame. A small feast, *pespes*, is given to him at the beginning of the harvest.

Ambungan is the guardian of the rice harvest. Before harvest one must mix some burnt rice with shredded coconut and eat it under a certain big tree
[821] where he is. If the owner does not do this, strong winds and rain will come and blow down the grain.

776 *Danag* is the guardian of the fishermen and hunters; while *Ayan* induces the wild pig to run into the trap; but *Siwasion* helps the wild pig and deer to avoid the hunters.

Daguan makes one strong to work, and *Manglanbang* is the guardian of the warrior; while *Panugatang* is the guide. *Sangasan* guards the entrance to the *barangay*.

536 is rather monotonous and at other times becomes excitingly thrilling, according to the drift of the story.

538 In order to follow the tune, the narrator will often
522 draw out the end of some words or maybe add meaningless syllables. There are many repetitions of action and thought, as well as inconsequential happenings. Incongruities of action and sudden transitions of scene often occur. Once in awhile the narrative is broken by some ludicrous incident just as you have clowning in a drama. The greater pleasure is not so much in following the development of the plot of the story as it is in the delightful manner of the telling. Yet the plot is interesting, being often based on some
[513] practical joke. Listening to such a story is really a very happy way to spend an otherwise dull time. Sometimes the people stay up all night and listen to them.

126 However, if one wrote down every syllable which the story teller uttered in narrating one story, he would have a book which very few people would care to read. Therefore most of the folk tales in this little collection are written in the short way. With some, the popular dialect used (sometimes ungrammatically) is also given. The English following is a free translation. Sometimes two versions of a story are given.

121 Some students make distinction between myths
538 and folktales. But the people have only one name,
773 *adodit*, for both; and as a matter of fact, there are
776 few folktales which do not have a religious element. In the early days the main distinction between *anitos* and men was that they lived in a different place: the only physical difference being that the female *anitos* had only one breast which was in the center of their

bosoms. It was possible for an *anito* to be a man or for a man to become an anito. If the people make so little distinction between gods and men, why should I? 121 538 773 776

Anyhow, here are some of the Apayao tales.

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V. Death and Burial

A. Death

What is death? What happens after death? What causes death? Let us see what are the answers given by the Isneg to these very interesting and all important questions, and examine them in detail.

1. Concept of Death

Death, if I understand the Isneg mind well, is a change by which a person ceases to exist as an ordinary human being, and, in the state of a *kaduduwá* (soul?), continues to live indefinitely, ultimately at least in the realm of the dead, leaving behind an *innát* (corpse).

This definition needs some explanation.

Death is "a change". I purposely refrain from calling it "a separation or disconnection of two parts", as I doubt very much if the Isneg explicitly consider man, while alive, to consist of more than one element. They know that man has a *baggi* (body), and to this they usually refer as "he (she)" while a person is alive; but I know of no expressions that would lead one to believe that the Isneg explicitly recognize in man two elements which would correspond to our "body" and "soul". Man, while alive, has a *baggi* (body), and the natives do not seem to enter further into the question of his nature. Nevertheless they most certainly believe implicitly that man is composed of two essential parts, as may be proved by the following:

First, when talking about a *kaduduwá* (soul?), they always refer to it as *ya kaduduwána*, "the soul (?) of *him, his* soul (?)", which seems to imply that this *kaduduwá* belongs to him, thus that it is not exactly his own complete self, but only a part of him. It is true that, when speaking about a person after death and not explicitly mentioning the term *kaduduwá*, they simply refer to his *kaduduwá* as "he (she)" without any further qualifications, as if the body, as we understand it, did not belong to him (her) any more; but this does not exclude the fact that, whenever they use the term *kaduduwá*, they always call it "his (her)" *kaduduwá, ya kaduduwána*.

Second, the Isneg know very well that the dead body and the *kaduduwá* belong to one and the same person, as will be seen presently when referring to the tattooing of the body and the clothing of the *innát*, which, the natives believe, greatly influence the state of the *kaduduwá*. Thus, in their eyes, the *kaduduwá* and the *innát* are not exactly strangers to one another. Besides, the objects that are

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761 Besides, the objects that are
placed in the coffin at burial are supposed to be used, not by the
775 corpse, but by the *kaduduwá*, so that the connection between the two
764 continues at least for a certain period after death. Add to this that the *balańóbáń* or revivified *innát* is also definitely known to belong to the dead person as well as his *kaduduwá:* this is proved by the fact that the transformation of the corpse into a *balańóbáń* is supposed to depend on the character of the person, while the latter was still alive, all of which will be explained in due time.

774 Third, the term *kaduduwá* itself. Semantically, and perhaps lin-
197 guistically, the Isneg term *kaduduwá* corresponds to the Iloko term
775 *kararuá*, "soul". Semantically: both terms have probably an identical meaning; anyhow they most certainly refer to one and the same thing: the spirit of man that continues to live after death. Perhaps linguistically: when we compare several Filipino languages with one another, it is clearly seen that *d* and *r* very often interchange; for instance: Ibanag *nararál* and Iloko *nadadáel* (destroyed), Isneg *matúdog* and Iloko *matúrog* (to sleep), Isneg *adú* and Ibanag *arú* (many). *A* and *o* or *u*, when not bearing the accent, are often interchanged, or at least their pronunciation is blurred and they are hardly to be distinguished from one another; for instance: Isneg *maxudódit* and *maxadódit* (to tell a story), *obóbāt* and *abóbāt* (the ceremony that concludes the period of mourning). And so, linguistically, the distance between Iloko *kararuá* (pronounced *kararuwá*) and Isneg *kaduduwá* does not seem to be very great.

Etymologically, however, Isneg *kaduduwá* and Iloko *kararuá* seem to be entirely different; on the contrary, the Isneg term *kaduduwá* and the Iloko *kaduá* (pronounced *kaduwá*) are one etymologically, although seemingly very different semantically: as *kaduá* in Iloko means "companion.", which in Isneg is rendered by *kabbulón*. Both Isneg *kaduduwá* and Iloko *kaduá* are composed of the stem *duwá* (written *duá* in Iloko), "two", partly reduplicated in Isneg, and the prefix *ka*, indicating companionship, concomitance, etc., in both languages.

In view of all this it seems reasonable to infer that the Isneg seem to consider the spirit that continues to live after death, not exactly as a companion (in this case they would call it *kabbulón*), but as a part of something, a counterpart, something that goes with something else (prefix *ka*), and to which, in numbers, it would correspond as number "two (*duwá*)", not in time and successively or consecutively, but concomitantly (on account of the prefix *ka*).

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These three facts combined prove that the Isneg, at least implicitly, consider a living man as consisting of two elements: the *baggi* or body, of which no more mention is made after death, as an *inndt* (corpse) takes its place, and the *kaduduwd* or spiritual element that continues to live and is usually invisible.

Through death "a person ceases to exist as an ordinary human being". Indeed, the *kaduduwd*, although its life is similar in many respects to that of a living person on earth, is usually quite invisible and "continues to live indefinitely". I say "indefinitely": why not "eternally"? It must be remembered that the Isneg have no notion of eternity as such; they know that the *kaduduwd* continues to live, they never heard of a *kaduduwd* dying, but if it lives eternally, that goes beyond their comprehension, or, to be exact, they never think as far ahead as that. And so what looks to the Isneg as "indefinite" (living on indefinitely), if considered under our own viewpoint, would probably mean "eternal" (living on eternally). The corpse also is far from existing as an ordinary human being. Not that the Isneg consider it to be completely devoid of any animating principle, but that it is dead for the time being, and if it lives afterwards in the state of a *balańóbáń*, its life cannot be compared with that of an ordinary man.

The *kaduduwd* goes to live "ultimately at least in the realm of the dead". This will be explained more fully when referring to the state of man after death.

"Leaving behind an *inndt*". *Inndt* is the body of a man immediately after death, as long as it stays in the house, and before burial, if burial takes place. The *inndt* is dead, it neither moves nor breathes, it needs neither food nor drink. We shall see presently whether the Isneg believe all dead bodies to remain in that state, in the state of *inndt*, until decay sets in.

2. Future Life

What happens after death? And first as to the *kaduduwd*.

The night after a person's death (some say: "at any time after his death"; but this could never mean "immediately after death" on account of the necessity of the *inndt* being clothed), *Kútaw*, the ferryman, or rather the ferry spirit, comes along to bring the *kaduduwd* over the great pond (*lablabbáń*) to the realm of the dead. Here, according to some informants, the *kaduduwd* receives hospitality at *Kútaw*'s house until the latter brings it on its way to the house of its relatives who died before.

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The children are usually afraid of the spirits, who are legion, and some of whom might be called bugaboos of one kind or another, but threats of these beings or of ghosts are never resorted to in order to frighten the youngsters into good conduct, except again in the first two cases just mentioned.

To the Isneg future life is simply a continuation of the present one, except for a few differentiating details, as living in a silver house and so on. A man, whether good or bad, continues his daily life, like in a dream, at the other side of the tomb, just as if nothing had happened. The difference that exists between the interred body of a good man and that of a bad one, which will be explained in due time, can have only very little influence on the conduct of men here on earth; and besides, there also the question of shame is of paramount importance, no less than among the living, as will be seen later on.

Consequently practically every article of the socio-moral code gets its sanction from non-religious or natural motives. Shame is the most often resorted to, shame that results from the known violation of any point of the moral code, shame that affects not only the delinquent, but also his parents. "Do not do that lest your parents be shamed" is a phrase very commonly used in order to persuade the child to conduct itself well. The terms "shame (*aliyáw*)", "shameful (*nakal-aliyáw*)", "ashamed (*maliyáw*)", are almost continually on the Isneg's lips; they serve both as an excuse for negligence in complying with one's duties, and as a motive for good behavior. Nothing is more powerful than the fear of being shamed in order to cause an Isneg either to live honorably or to commit a dastardly crime. An Isneg is exceedingly sensitive to shameful and opprobrious epithets; he will do anything to avoid any of them being thrown at his head, and he resents it very much if he is accused undeservedly. Lest he be called a coward, an Isneg will sustain a quarrel indefinitely, whether he be on the right side or not. Shame is the biggest incentive for young people to behave and to keep themselves from indulging in all too flagrant transgressions of the moral code, especially with reference to sex morality. An Isneg child will be taught to be obedient and respectful toward its parents, lest the latter be shamed on account of its unruly conduct. Honesty and truthfulness have to be practised lest a man be branded as a thief or a liar, which are exceedingly opprobrious terms in the mouth of a native. In short, the fear of shame keeps the Isneg on the right path in a thousand instances; and any kind of privation or hardship will be suffered patiently, the

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2. *Future Life*

What happens after death? And first as to the *kaduduwá*.

The night after a person's death (some say: "at any time after his death"; but this could never mean "immediately after death" on account of the necessity of the *innát* being clothed), *Kútaw*, the ferryman, or rather the ferry spirit, comes along to bring the *kaduduwá* over the great pond (*lablabbáń*) to the realm of the dead. Here, according to some informants, the *kaduduwá* receives hospitality at *Kútaw*'s house until the latter brings it on its way to the house of its relatives who died before.

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715 763 In order to insure the transaction of the whole business without hindrance of any kind, the survivors have to fit out the *inndt* or corpse with brand-new clothes, and a rent must be made in each garment (*maxáyxdy*).

[515] Now, what happens to the *kaduduwá*, in case the relatives have failed to comply with their duty, and have left the dead body wearing its dirty old clothes (Isneg clothing is usually both dirty and old), or if they have given it new garments, but without having taken the precaution of tearing them before *Kútaw*'s arrival? Both cases are almost wholly imaginary, as may be readily understood: indeed, the Isneg always see to it that everything is done according to custom, most certainly in this matter. Nevertheless it may happen that the *inndt* cannot be given new clothes; for instance, when a man dies by accident (drowning and so on) and his body cannot be recovered. The rarity of such cases may be one of the principal reasons why explanations on this point differ almost from man to man, and why even one and the same person may offer different explanations. Indeed, although it is a matter of the invisible world, the Isneg would hardly be so contradictory in their statements if they had to do with happenings that are supposed to occur regularly.

What is said to happen to the *kaduduwá*, if the *inndt* wears ordinary everyday garments? Some say that *Kútaw* passes by and refuses to ferry the *kaduduwá* over the big pond. Others say that he brings it over the water, but leaves it there as it is, without either conducting it or showing it the way to its final abode or to the place where its dead relatives are actually spending their time. In any case the *kaduduwá* will be wandering around at a loss what to do and where to go, although exactly what happens to it remains more or less of a mystery. Its punishment, however, seems merely to consist in a kind of loss, probably temporary, namely the loss of an immediately happy life, which would have been its lot had it found at once the relatives who went ahead to the other side of the pond.

And what happens to a *kaduduwá* whose *inndt* has been given new clothes, but whose relatives have failed to tear them,—which is done by making a small rent in every garment at one of its sides? Some say that *Kútaw* positively refuses to bring such a *kaduduwá* to the other side of the pond. Others say that both tarry a long time, because *Kútaw* feels inclined to entertain this nicely clothed individual and to have a long talk with him, and so the latter's ultimate bliss is

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postponed for a considerable time. Others again say that *Kútaw* robs it of its garments and dons them himself, to the great dismay and shame of the poor *kadudúwá*, who from now on is obliged to wear either no clothes or at least only such as are not cared for any more by its companions at the other side of the grave. The latter informants usually add that *Kútaw* refuses to ferry this *kadudúwá* over the pond, unless it gives its brand-new clothes to him; some of them say that it may happen that *Kútaw* takes to himself not only the clothes, but also the whole *kadudúwá* (as a kind of servant). One more detail was given me by a Bayag informant: if the dead person has only one of his forearms tattooed (not both of them), *Kútaw* cuts off this tattooed limb and keeps it to himself.

To resume: some informants state that all *kadudúwá* are always ferried over the pond by *Kútaw*, but that those whose *inndt* wears no new clothes, remain like that at least for some time to come, or are left to their own devices as soon as they reach the other side, without being able to find their relatives, at least immediately, while those whose *inndt* wear new clothes without rent are either despoiled by *Kútaw* or kept back for at least a considerable time from the enjoyment that is their due. Other informants state that some *kadudúwá* are simply scorned by *Kútaw* and left on this side of the pond: either those whose *inndt* wear old clothes, or those whose new garments have not been torn. On the other hand, when asked what *kadudúwá* are living in the realm of the dead, even these last informants generally affirm that they all do.

A *labbáń* is a kind of lagoon or pool of stagnant water, of a type found in abundance all along the northern coast of Luzon, between Sanchez Mira and Aparri, and even farther east. At Nagbabalayan there is also a *labbáń*, which consists of a pool of water separated from the Apayaw river by a small elevation of land; at every large rise of the Apayaw river, however, it forms one with the latter. This Nagbabalayan *labbáń* is the regular abode of crocodiles, to whom the Nagbabalayan people offer gifts at every sacrifice. But the name *lablabbáń* belongs exclusively to the pond that separates our abode from that of the dead. Such a reduplication as occurs here usually hints at something similar to what the simple stem implies. Thus *lablabbáń* would mean a *labbáń* that is not an ordinary one, and, considering its place and use, no further proof is needed to convince everybody that it is a very peculiar pool indeed. The following mysterious fact adds to its differentiation from any other *labbáń*:

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811 *Kútaw*'s boat, which is always fastened at the *dodóñăn* (place on
772 the bank of a river where a boat is fastened, landing place) on this
776 side of the pond when not in use, has only one *pidpíd* or side plank, which means that one side of the boat is open and unprotected, and nevertheless no water ever enters her and she never goes down. Thus the *kaduduwá* is ferried over the water in a boat that consists of only about one half of an ordinary one, a boat cut in two from stem to stern. When asked how anybody could possibly cross the *lablabbáñ* in such a contrivance, the Isneg merely state that they do not know. And in this they are most certainly right. But who would dare say that the actions of the spirits have to correspond exactly with our own? Their ways are not our ways, and that settles the matter. Besides, the *lablabbáñ* is not an ordinary *labbáñ*, neither are *Kútaw* and the *kaduduwá* ordinary men, so why should the boat be an ordinary one?

772 The only other detail I have heard about the *lablabbáñ* is that it is full of cogon grass (*tabbáñ*) and of worms.

776 *Kútaw* himself was once described to me as wearing a coat from which a certain portion of cloth had been torn out entirely, and his
292 headax or *aliwá* as being deprived of one of its essential parts, namely
411 the *sáwit* or blunt projection at the back (cf. CAC–P, 1:233, fig. 68).

Once at the other side, the *kaduduwá* live a happy life in the *Aglalannawán* (called *Tagtaggăyán* at Bayag) or realm of the dead:
775 it is good (*napiyá*) to be there. Their life is comparable to a dream: they live in the same way as we do when we are dreaming. For the rest, they do not change in their ways: they plant and reap as before, have the same likes and dislikes, live on the same kind of food, with none of their old preferences gone, and so on. The house they live in, however, is not made of timber or bamboo; it is a real gold or silver one. There they stay and never come back, except at times
775 and temporarily,—for instance, when they come to get one of their
787 relatives, in which case the latter is *makaduduwá*, becomes sick and dies (such *kaduduwá* are called *gíbu-*), or when they enter the body of a shaman in order to communicate with the living, or even appear to the latter (perhaps only to the shaman), at the time of a *săy-ám* sacrifice, etc.

775 It seems to result from all this that even the Isneg have a kind of double fate for man after death: one of happiness for those who prove acceptable to *Kútaw*, and one of privation for those who have to remain behind or are left unguided at the entrance to the *Aglalan-*

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nawán. The privation, however, seems to be only temporary, as the Isneg are, so far as I know, unanimous in declaring that all *kaduduwá* finally reach the *Aglalannawán* country. It might be called eternal, or rather indefinite in time, only in case the *kaduduwá* would have either always to remain unclothed or clothed with old garments, or to continue to live separated from its relatives for lack of a guide to the abode of the latter: but I never heard anything explicit about that. I am of the opinion, that, according to Isneg belief, all *kaduduwá* in the end attain perfect bliss. I shall have to add a few points to the Isneg belief in a double retribution, when speaking about the *balañóbáñ*.

Anyhow Isneg doctrine in this respect is very different from either Christian or Northern Luzon Negrito belief:

A Christian believes in heaven, happiness, for the good, and hell, privation and actual punishment, for the bad.

A Negrito believes in life above with the deity, happiness, for the good; and, for the bad, living somewhere on earth, privation without actual punishment, or, according to some informants, being thrown into the water, being unable to move, etc., thus privation with actual punishment.

An Isneg believes in a happy life in the *Aglalannawán*, at the other side of the *lablabbáñ* pond, happiness, for those whose *inndt* or corpse has been duly prepared; and staying at this side of the *lablabbáñ* pond or living in partial poverty, at least temporarily, privation apparently without actual punishment, for those whose *inndt* has been neglected in some way. Good and bad in man, according to the Isneg, seem to affect only the state of the body after death, as will be explained in detail when referring to the *balañóbáñ*, and not that of the *kaduduwá* or immortal spirit.

Here should be noted a curious belief which I found only among the Isneg living in and around Awan (municipal district of Bayag). Not far from Awan is a place called *Nagsiñgowán*. The *kaduduwá* of anybody who dies in the neighborhood is supposed to pass at this place, dressed in full regalia, and if it is a man, carrying shield and spear. In case that *kaduduwá* asks for food at somebody's house, one of the inmates immediately accedes to its request, but as it is only a ghost, the food is not put into its mouth, but merely pushed against its chin. The *kaduduwá* always seems quite pleased anyhow, and continues its journey, but has barely gone along for a short while, when it invariably disappears.

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devouring of the corpse by *Karásaw* or by *Wirwér* must bring some punishment to the neglectful relatives, either by the *kadudurd* or by some spirit; while a corpse left unburied on account of the *tarimbáñon*, remains safe and in no danger of being fed upon by man-eating spirits, it merely loses its identity as an *innát* immediately, without having to be buried in a tomb. We shall meet *Wirwér* again in the description of a dead Isneg's burial.

Another reason for being watchful when an *innát* is present in the house, is explained like this by the Isneg: if at any time all people are asleep in the house, the *innát* or dead body stands up and starts counting the sleepers (*da-dáp*) two by two, and in case there is one left without a companion, which points to an odd number of course, this one left will die very soon. After that the *innát* leaves the house and takes a walk, only to return very soon to its former state and place. The sand that cleaves to the dead body is promptly noticed by the awakened relatives, and it furnishes them with a striking proof of the activities of the *innát* during their sleep.

What is to be understood by the *tarimbáñon?* This is how the Isneg describe it: in olden times, as soon as a person died and his body was laid down at the customary place, with the head near the wall of the house, before it was even washed or clothed, one of the inmates of the house (usually the husband or wife of the deceased) took hold of an *alló* or pestle (used to pound rice in a mortar), and with it rammed with all his might either the wall of the house or the floor from beneath, near the head of the deceased. At this juncture the *innát* invariably disappeared and left no traces behind. This was done, according to my informants, in order to get rid of the corpse without the necessity of burying it, and formerly it was a general custom. When I asked if a woman would *manarimbáñon* as well as a man, they answered me: "Yes, provided she dare do it"; but at the same time they insisted that in bygone times no corpses were buried, and that all *innát* were disposed of by the *tarimbáñon* in order to avoid the trouble attendant upon the burial of a dead person. The whole custom looks exceedingly strange, and many things about it cannot be explained satisfactorily, at least in the light of actual Isneg belief. What about the care taken by our people with reference to the clothing of the dead, the difficulties encountered by a *kadudurd* whose *innát* has not been attired in new clothes, the thousand and one ceremonies that are scrupulously performed before and at the time of burial, etc.? Indeed the *tarimbáñon* is said to take place even

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764 before the corpse is washed, and with the definite purpose of forestalling the trouble of burying it. None of my Isneg informants, however, could give me any further explanation, neither were they able to tell me, of course, how a dead body could disappear at once without more ado. The only statements they uttered were such as these: "This was the custom in olden times . . . . , formerly no *innát* was ever buried . . . . , the *tarimbáñon* was once a universal custom . . . . , long ago all Isneg *nanarimbáñon* . . . . ", and so on. Or is the whole *tarimbáñon* affair a myth pure and simple without any foundation in fact? Maybe, but my informants certainly did not entertain any such ideas: they were firmly convinced of the reality of such happenings in bygone times, although they were completely unable to explain away any of the contradictions involved. Have their mortuary beliefs and customs changed in the course of time? Or does the *tarimbáñon* replace all other ceremonies and force *Kútaw* to bring the *kadudúwá* over the *lablabbáñ* without further requirements? I do not know, neither do the Isneg seem to know.

[194 775 Once buried a dead body loses its name *innát* and may eventually become a *balañóbáñ* (sometimes pronounced *bañalóbáñ; balañóbaú*, in Iloko, means "wanderer, vagabond", and is applied to ordinary human beings who are still alive), "ghost, phantom", a term which is almost always confined to wandering ghosts. The fact of becoming or not becoming a *balañóbáñ* after burial depends on the character of the deceased. If he is a good and virtuous person, he will be ashamed (say the Isneg) to wander about and annoy the neighbors in the shape of a *balañóbáñ;* or if some such person should become a wandering *balañóbáñ*, he will either go far away from the place of his tomb in order to startle unknown (and consequently unbeloved) people, or stay in the immediate neighborhood of the place of his death, but without bringing vexation to anybody around: all this because he is good and would feel ashamed to do otherwise. All other corpses, and these seem to form a considerable majority, become wandering *balañóbáñ*, and annoy the neighbors, except of course when they are kept from doing so by magical or other practices on the part of the living. If these practices, which keep a *balañóbáñ* at bay, are powerful enough, nothing is to be feared; but if they are ineffective, or if magic which causes a *balañóbáñ* to leave its grave and vex the neighbors is more powerful, then woe to your chickens. Indeed a *balañóbáñ*, after two or three nights in the grave, may not

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find its abode to its taste, and may creep out stealthily, shake off with both hands the earth that clung to it while winding its way out, and roam around at night feeding on chickens and charcoal (*bergáń*). That it feeds on chickens proves that the *balańóbáń* is really alive; that it feeds on charcoal shows that its life is not that of an ordinary human being. 775

These *balańóbáń* are also supposed to be very fond of annoying the women who go to work in the field: which seems but natural, as the women are usually much more afraid of ghosts than the men, and consequently will imagine much more easily that they have to do with a phantom, whenever they see something more or less out of the ordinary. Nevertheless, all Isneg, whether men or women, believe in *balańóbáń*, and I rarely met a man who did not positively assure me that he had seen one. Crossroads (*sisiníyán*) seem also to be a favorite haunt of these *balańóbáń:* the Isneg state that a *sisiníyán* is the usual place where they can be encountered, so that anybody who is anxious to meet a ghost, should lie in wait at a *sisiníyán*, and he will rarely be disappointed. 775 562 775 778

In some places, in order to prevent a dead body from leaving its tomb, the Isneg sometimes put a heavy stone (only one) upon the lid of the coffin, inside the grave; in others stones were placed on top of the tomb, after it has been filled up: but I doubt very much if the latter practice is resorted to by the Isneg with the purpose of keeping the buried corpse at bay. The description of tombs and of all purely magical practices which are of use in Apayaw, either to cause a dead body to leave its tomb and annoy the neighbors, or to prevent it from doing so, will find its place further on. 764 775

What does a *balańóbáń* look like? All Isneg agree that it has the shape of a man and that it is full of worms, but beyond this nothing definite can be gathered from native informants. When you ask people who live in more civilized areas and pretend to have seen ghosts, what the latter look like, you may get as many answers as there are informants, the one answer as vague as the other. The Isneg, like some weak-minded and credulous people among our own, see a ghost, especially at night, in every gnarled branch of a tree, in every disfigured shape, which they cannot clearly distinguish. The generality of the Isneg, if not all of them, will assure you most positively that they have seen real ghosts, and indeed they see ghosts at night in everything whose shape does not seem to correspond to something known to them, whether it be earth or stone, plant or animal, 775

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but they have never yet been able to see a ghost without some vagueness surrounding it. It should be noted in this connection that a *balańóbáń* has nocturnal habits.

But what is the ultimate fate of a *balańóbáń*? To this question the Isneg can give a definite answer: all *balańóbáń* decay in the end at *Magkébińán*. *Magkébińán* is the name of a cave, the usual dwelling place of all *balańóbáń*, and there their wandering life comes to an end sooner or later. Nobody can tell you anything definite, however, about the location of this cave or about the duration of a dead body's life as a *balańóbáń*.

All Isneg are convinced that tombs of wandering *balańóbáń* are empty and remain so. Once out of its tomb, no *balańóbáń* ever comes back to its former abode. And only the very few stay in their tomb; the generality of them start on their temporary wanderings as soon as they have been in the grave for two or three nights, long enough to dislike such a residence. Occasionally a few informants even state that no dead bodies ever decay in their graves. Nobody of course would venture to dig in a tomb in order to convince himself of the truth of his belief.

3. Causes of Death

What causes death? The Isneg seem to distinguish between two kinds of death, namely: what we would call "death by accident or death by violence", and "death from sickness". Under the Isneg viewpoint, however, the first kind of death has what I should like to call a "natural" cause, while the other kind has a "supernatural" cause.

Under the first head come all deaths whose cause is obvious and patent to everybody:

1. Death through murder or assassination (felonious homicide),—for instance, you plant a headax in the neck of your enemy and cut off his head. The Isneg, no more than anybody else, will doubt about the cause of your enemy's death. Here there is no necessity of suspecting the intervention of the spirits.

2. Death by accident or through judicial taking of life,—for instance, a man falls from a tree and breaks his neck, death ensuing, or a culprit is executed by the authorities, and so on. Here also the spirits are not considered as the immediate cause of death. To die like that is called *meránud* (past tense: *neránud*), while to die in general is called *matáy* (past tense: *natáy*). The stem *rānud*, in

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764 When the first outburst of lamentations, in the case of our dead
292 Isneg, has come to an end, the bystanders at once proceed to the preparation of the *innát* or corpse. The latter is first stripped of its old clothes, and carefully washed and cleaned; after that it is wiped dry and finally dressed up in the best clothes available. Some natives do not even shrink from clothing the corpse in silk, if their means allow such luxury; at any rate, it would be utterly shameful to the Isneg not to dress a dead body decently. This latter performance is called *magpaar-armát* (transitive: *paarmattán;* from the stem *armát*, "garments"). As has been stated before, each garment is partially torn (*maxăyxáy*) at one side.

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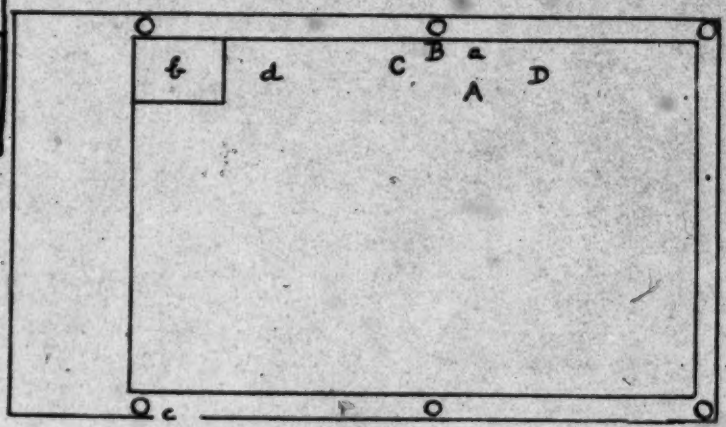

FIG. 3. FLOOR OF AN ISNEG HOUSE

A, Place of bier; a, place of the head of the *innát*; B, place of the *innát* in sitting posture; C, place of the *aróbon;* D, place of mourning relatives; b, hearth; c, door; d, place of woman in childbed.

764 In some places they insert a few *líbnó* herbs in the clothes of the *innát* for the following reason: on its way to the realm of the dead,
775 the *kaduduwá* is supposed to pass through a camote or sweet-potato field, in which there is a hut inhabited by an old woman, who is
772 intent on taking away from all passers-by their provisions and all their belongings; but if the latter have *líbnó*-herbs about their person, the old woman is powerless and they pass along unscathed.

764 In the meanwhile some others have been preparing the *tádag* or bier. The *tádag* consists of a certain number of entire bamboos, tied

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formed by any of the shamans. Indeed, why should the spirits be enticed to obsess the shaman at a time when everybody is bent on keeping them at a distance? Besides, the souls of the dead should be left where they are as long as the *inudt* is in the house, probably lest the *kadudwad* of the deceased be interfered with on its trip to the other world.

Women mourn and lament in a loud voice almost uninterruptedly, usually two or three at a time: when one group is tired, another one takes its place. Men rarely imitate them in this, especially after the first general outburst of grief, that takes place immediately after death is over, but they *magbibisndg* (slap one another's thighs: the game previously described, CAC–P, 3: 123-26). According to the Isneg, playing *bisndg* is a man's way of showing his grief: a certain chastisement of the body is undoubtedly involved in the whole performance, and just as the near relatives sometimes cut themselves at the death of one of their loved ones in order to show the intensity of their sorrow, so also the men, relatives, neighbors and friends, slap one another's thighs, often until blood spurts out, in order to prove to the whole assembly that they also take part and are far from remaining insensible in the presence of death. That a certain amount of voluntary infliction of pain is at the root of this question, is corroborated by the fact that some women occasionally take part in the *bisndg*, the more so that no member of the weaker sex ever plays the rôle of agent (*maúnd*), but merely receives the slaps (*magtón*) without rendering them. Expressions like the following may be heard frequently among the Isneg: "*Uráy magdáza ya apíko ta zakkánnamagsáñit* (even though my thighs bleed, as I do not weep)". In both cases, namely in that of men and in that of women, the *bisndg* is resorted to more especially by those who do little or no weeping; people, whether men or women, who do a good deal of lamenting, rarely take part in *bisndg*.

It goes without saying that the spirits are wide awake at the death of an Isneg, and that the survivors are annoyed with their unwelcome presence at every turn. Among others the following deserve special mention:

Dupappá-, whose tastes are very peculiar; indeed, he it is who absorbs the decayed matter (*saxó*) that flows from the nose and mouth of the deceased.

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Some tobacco, or some of the ingredients used in the chewing of betel nut (betel nut, leaves of the betel pepper, and lime), according to the former habits of the deceased. 764

To these may be added:

A bottle of *bási;*

One or more spears;

One or more shields;

Some coins;

Some favorite musical instrument of the deceased; etc.

One of the following objects is also usually present, and, in the case of a rich man, all of them:

A *saxabán* (string of beads worn around the head);

A string of beads (worn around the neck);

A *xúsi* jar containing some *bási* (in which case there is no bottle of *bási*).

Everything is placed inside the coffin, the *xúsi* excepted, which is buried in the hole especially dug for it.

These objects, even though some of them are very precious in the eyes of the Isneg, are never interfered with; they always remain where they are. The desecration of a grave by robbers or other malefactors is something unknown in Apayaw. 764 769 685

Sometimes it happens that an ill-intentioned person (never one of the relatives), probably moved by a desire for revenge, when unobserved, stealthily places some herbs in the coffin, alongside the body. He does this with the purpose of forcing the body to leave its abode at night in the shape of a *balañóbáñ*, and to roam around playing havoc among the chickens of the neighbors. 764 754 775

Before the body is placed in the grave, the bottom of the latter is strewn with ashes, obtained by burning an *anañá*, which is a kind of raincoat made of palm leaves. This ceremony is supposed to serve a double purpose: the raincoat will render good service to the deceased in the other world, and the ashes will prevent the dead body, either from leaving its grave in the shape of a *balañóbáñ* or ghost, or at least from frightening the neighbors.

Lest the *balañóbáñ* scare the relatives of the deceased or the women of the neighborhood who daily repair to their work, the Isneg usually put some *takkág* vines inside the coffin, alongside the body. The *takkág* is a schizaeaceous fern (Lygodium sp.), which differs from 764 824

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obtain at the death of a person, refers to certain persons or groups of persons entering and in some cases even approaching the house of the deceased. Therefore it is usual among many Isneg to surround the house with a kind of fence, which consists of a few short uprights stuck in the ground, and a couple of strips of bamboo tied to them in such a way as to remain at a respectable distance from one another. This custom is observed at Bolo, Karagawan, Dangla, Nagbabalayan, etc. At the latter place such a fence was erected after the burial of *To-lí* (beginning of 1931), but it was gone after the first month. In other settlements, a small bundle of herbs, or of leafy canes or branches, is tied to one of the poles at the entrance of the regular fence that surrounds many houses or groups of houses in Apayaw. Again in some places, a small internode of bamboo (an *anóxān*, used for a cup in the distribution of *bási*) is tied on top of a bamboo pole stuck in the house yard; this has been met with at Karagawan.

In some settlements, no outsiders, not even any of the neighbors, except the relatives of the deceased person, provided they wear their everyday clothes or their mourning apparel, are allowed to enter the house until the time of the *obóbāt*. In others, only persons of the same sex are forbidden access to the house; and in still others, for instance, at Magapta, only adults of both sexes are forbidden to enter the house where an adult has died, while only children are refused entrance into the house where a child died.

In most places, no children are allowed to enter the house where an *innát* is still left unburied; in others, they are not allowed to do so, even after burial, in which case this taboo lasts until the time of the *obóbāt*.

People in festive attire are strictly forbidden, not only to enter, but even to pass near, the house of a deceased person, until the celebration of the *obóbāt* ceremony: this custom obtains all over Apayaw.

The most important taboos connected with the death of a person are undoubtedly those which the Isneg observe when they *mańgabí* and *magló*.

Mańgabí, which means "to abstain from rice and taro (*siwáy*)", is practised by widows all over Apayaw, almost universally by widowers, and also in many instances by those relatives who wear mourning and want to show their esteem for the deceased. It lasts till the time of the *obóbāt*. Rice and taro are said to be the food of the dead for the time being and, in the meanwhile, the living have to content themselves with corn, sweet potatoes, yams and so on. I know a com-

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765 paratively young woman living at Bayag and called *Dorikâ*, who has
775 not eaten rice and taro for four consecutive years, and at the present
262 time (March, 1931) she still *saúgabi*. The reason is that she has had to mourn successively her husband and several other members of her family. She stated to me that she had completely forgotten the taste of rice. After the *obóbât*, when the prohibition is lifted, these persons always mix a few *awát* herbs with the rice they are cooking for their first meal, and they consume the *awát* together with the rest. For a month afterwards, they also usually abstain from corn, yams and sweet potatoes.

765 *Maglé:* this consists in abstaining from the use of anything of which the deceased was particularly fond, and may be practised by anybody who wants to show his esteem for the person in question. The purpose of the Isneg is to leave the use of these things to the person who went to the realm of the dead, and this abstinence may be protracted for many years, although it usually stops at the *obóbât*. So, if the deceased was fond of yams, sugar, etc., the mourners abstain from eating these articles of food; if he was a great smoker, they forego the use of tobacco; if he was a drunkard, they stop drinking *bási;* if he was accustomed to make much ado about his apparel, they wear nothing but a G-string and a headband. I have known a man who drank no water, but only coconut milk and so forth, because his deceased father was wont to drink much water. While I am writing these lines, there is a man in the house who uses absolutely no salt with any of his meals; he wishes to reserve it for his deceased brother who was exceedingly fond of much-salted food. If the deceased liked to play the *balíkiú* or nose flute, such instruments are left aside for the time being. If the woman for whom they mourn was a good *oriáu* (native guitar) player, the mourners give up playing that instrument; and so on.

765 It should be noted in this connection that the Isneg also under-
523 stand the meaning of a souvenir or keepsake. If the deceased had made something nice or had a trinket or instrument which he valued
193 very highly, the survivors take those things to themselves as *panam-dammán* (something used to remember or to think about somebody; from the stem *damdám*, "thinking", the prefix *paú*, *ú* of the prefix and *d* of the stem being combined into *n*, and the suffix *ân*) or *pag-sinsinnán* (something used to see or to look at somebody; from the stem *siñán*, "seeing", reduplicated and syncopated into *sinsinn*, the prefix *pag* and the suffix *ân*).

Do not jump over a child. If you do, his growth will be retarded. 784

At first glance one might think that life in Apayao is greatly restricted by the necessity of placating all the *anitos* and of observing the many auguries, omens, and prohibitions. But, after being around some, I cannot help getting the impression somehow, that all this is partly just the men's sly way to getting out of a lot of hard work and disagreeable duties. At least, the placating of the *anitos* gives them the occasion for many very pleasant social times. 771 784 787 782 781

BURIAL

When death comes, the Apayaos, unlike the Christians, do not dread it as being the end of life on this earth; for the spirit *cadudorosa*, continues to exist somewhere and enjoy many of their physical pleasures without the discomforts. The people respect these spirits and go to great pains to see that they are made happy, both during the funeral ceremony and also during the following years. At all the feasts a portion of the best food and *basi* is placed on a plate, which is then set near the stove where the immediate supply of rice is kept. The people want to keep the spirits of their ancestors happy and contented for, if one should become discontented, he will select a person in the house to keep him company. The person then becomes sick and will die if a feast is not held to make that spirt happy and contented again. 761 775 769 [753]

When a person dies, all the relatives immediately gather in his house and hold a *callas* in his memory. 764

the body of the wife or husband as he lies beside the corpse. Then the relatives vie with each other in geting the fluid and rubbing it over their bodies. This will influence the dead to request for them from the ancestral spirits, longer lives and healthier bodies. 764

When the time for burial arrives, the corpse, dressed in its best clothes, is laid in a wooden coffin. With it may be placed food, *buyo*, and weapons for the use of spirit of the dead. As the coffin is carried along to the place of burial, grains of rice may be scattered along the way. The coffin is usually placed in an excavation about five feet deep either under the house or under the granary. With the corpse are buried baskets and other articles, depending on the wealth of the family. A small shelter is built over the grave if it is not otherwise shaded: for the dead must be protected from the heat. Then the burial service, pronounced in the ancient cadence, is said.

Some people bury their dead under huge rocks or in caves. After a time, when only the bones remain, they are collected, placed in a small box, and put in the granary.

Following the burial, the relatives, if they are wealthy, return to the house and continue the merry-making. They may also play games. One game, *bisnag*, is a contest in which the boys take turns slapping each other's bare thighs with their hands. The loser is the one who cannot stand the pain any more and gives up. 765 526

On the third night after burial the spirit of the dead comes out of the grave and wanders around. It is sometimes seen. The bereaved husband or wife 765 [775]

847 ——*Kani maluhag da natudog gidam men. Ay acka:s da pay amo to dalan di nalen da. Toto natudog da amin, agidogan da capag nat.*

——When the children woke up, it was already dark. So they did not know which way to go, as it was so very dark. They slept again and waited until dawn. In the morning they started for home. These children had no hope of reaching home, as they did not know the way and they were very hungry.

——*Ito pagmaat mawoay dan ca balay da. Am ackan da amo to dalan. Cana mabisan da paang natay da. To nagkatag da to ama da.*

——In the morning they started for home without knowing the way. They walked and walked until they died of hunger.

——*Cani matay da to ananac da nagpatay da paang. Ata bitig ya pananan da.*

——When the parents knew that they were dead, they were very happy: for they now had few children to support.

WHY THE PEOPLE ARE TATTOOED

304 775 If an old man is asked why his hands are tattooed on the back with the boat pattern, he will give the following account of his future life.

When a person dies his soul, *cadudorsa*, goes to live in a lovely place under the earth. It goes down

in the ordinary ground until it comes to a wide river which it cannot cross alone.— 304 775

However, at the river the *cadudorsa* meets a ferryman whose name is Kutao. Before taking the *cadudorsa* across, Kutao must first inspect it to see if its appearance is right. He looks on the backs of the hands of the *cadudorsa* to see if they are tattooed with the boat pattern. If they are, Kutao ferries the *cadudorsa across*. If the hands are not tattooed, Kuta cuts them off before taking the *cadudorsa* across the river.

Upon arriving at the place, each *cadudorsa* becomes young and handsome again and changes so that all of the people in that place are similar in appearance. 775

The place of the *cadudorsa* is a wonderful country, with the same kind of plants and animals as on the earth; but everything is perfectly lovely. Life there is much as on earth; but everybody is happy because there is no pain, nor sorrow, nor work.

The ruler of the place is Ewagan fourth son of Hatan. He creates food for the people and takes care of all their needs so that they have no work and responsibilities, living in continuous leisure. [776]

Thus life in the Future is one continuous party. Also a *cadudorsa* is sometimes invited by his relatives to attend a *sayam* in his old home on earth. 769 776

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824 842 forest, gathers the herb in question, wraps it in a piece of cloth, and brings it to the woman, who immediately starts chewing it. This is mostly practised only by mothers who have already been blessed with a numerous offspring.

843 811 Both Iloko and Kagayan attach much weight to the capricious appetite of a pregnant woman, and to whatever she loves or loathes at the time, all of which they believe to have its repercussion on the baby that has to be born. So some years ago a certain Kagayan mother gave birth to a child whose skin was much more lightly colored than that of its brothers and sisters, and everybody explained the occurrence by the fact that the mother, while pregnant, had had a very great devotion to a statue of the Divine Babe, which was either made of white material or at least painted white, and that she had gone almost daily to pray in front of the statue in question. All Isneg, however, whom I questioned on the subject disclaimed both knowledge of such a belief and its existence among their people.

843 ● 776 Whatever may be the reason, the Isneg do not seem to dread the intervention of the spirits (*anito*) before the actual birth of the child. Do they perhaps imagine that the *anito* are ignorant about the ways of the flesh, and that they do not know the meaning of pregnancy? Or do they believe that the spirits have no power on children as yet unborn? The latter is probably the case. I think that in their eyes, as long as a child dwells in the womb of its mother, only what enters the body (food, semen) is able to exert any influence on it, and that [833] outsiders can in no way affect it. And so, except for a few beliefs with reference to food, the only precaution that is taken during the pregnancy of the mother is that the husband ceases having sexual intercourse with his wife so soon as her state is known with certainty, lest, so they say, the babe be injured. For the rest everything runs its usual course, and, although such a large number of magical and other practices have come to my notice at every other period of the life of the Isneg, the period that precedes the birth of a child has so far proved to be completely devoid of any belief in the evil influence of one spirit or another.

843 834 In some places a woman who is pregnant for the first time, is believed to assure the good health of her babe after its birth, if she eats *assáñ*, which is the fruit of a kind of tree that grows in the forest.

843 262 824 These are the articles of food forbidden to pregnant women which have come to my notice:

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transferred afterwards, so that the surmises of our men would seem really to be founded on fact in most instances. The question, however, is to know if this has to be so or if it can be otherwise. 844

Now, it has been proved already to everybody's satisfaction that a woman may give birth to her child anywhere, even in the field; and so I believe that I am justified in stating that an Isneg woman is usually delivered somewhere in the house, that the exact place is of no importance, and that in case she was not lying near the hearth during the event, she has to be brought there immediately afterwards, or, as in the Bayag case, the hearth has to be brought to her.

The latter case may even help to prove the exactness of my statement. It may happen of course that the hearth is brought into the house before the birth of the child; but that this must be done necessarily is very doubtful. Indeed that bulky piece of furniture has forcibly to be handled by several men, and one wonders how the men would always and in every case be able to proceed to this burdensome operation before all approach to the future mother is barred to them, especially when one considers on the one hand how little the Isneg care for the future, for what is not actually at hand, and on the other hand, how suddenly the occurrence under consideration may startle the whole household.

Consequently it is more than probable that the location of the mother at the time of delivery is unimportant, while her subsequent position near the hearth of the house is required as an absolute necessity.

From now on the mother has to sleep at the same place every night, 846 although she may have been moving around the house or even outside during the daytime. This lasts as long as she is considered too weak to comply with all her ordinary duties.

Is she should dare leave the house at night, for instance to satisfy 846 the wants of nature, she is liable to meet a certain spirit who is in the habit of coming down from his home in the sky whenever a child 776 has been born. Meeting that *anito* means nothing else to the mother but becoming affected at once with a violent diarrhea. A woman who has been struck with that disease through the action of the spirit just mentioned is said to be *maanikân*. For the rest the Isneg do not know the name of this imp; he is known only by the bad effects that result from a woman in confinement meeting him at night outside her house. Unlike *Talomásim*, who will be mentioned presently, he exerts his influence only at night, and besides, although the Isneg

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846 776 know how to keep *Talomásim* at a distance, in the case of this nameless spirit they are absolutely powerless: the only way for a young Isneg mother to avoid him is to stay in the house at night.

846 372 Fire (*apúy*) plays a very important role whenever a new Isneg citizen has been born on our planet. Leaving aside the question of the place of the mother near the hearth of the house which has just been mentioned, I should like to draw attention to the following:

1. Although, even under ordinary circumstances, the fire of the hearth is rarely extinguished completely, it is of paramount importance that it should not be let go out for a single moment during the whole period that immediately follows the birth of a child, which period lasts until the mother has recovered sufficient strength to move around freely, in fact, I believe, as long as the mother has to sleep near the hearth at night.

2. At least on the first day, that is before the child is one day old, it is absolutely forbidden for anybody to take fire or firebrands (*alitán*) from the hearth: this is strictly taboo (*kannáw*).

3. No alien fire may be brought inside the house on that day.

4. Three other taboos have also probably to do with the respect shown to fire on such an occasion: again at least during the first day, it is strictly forbidden to use green bamboos (*samáta ńa bólo*) to feed the fire. The same prohibition is extended to the passing of green leaves over the fire in order to soften them: this is very often done with young banana leaves, young palm leaves, etc. that will be used for packing and other purposes; the fire renders them very supple and easily pliable, in such a way preventing them from splitting at every turn. A third taboo concerns anything green [753 856] (*namáta*), not dry: nothing of the kind is allowed to be brought into the house. Should any of these three taboos be infringed, the Isneg firmly believe that the babe will become thin and emaciated, it will be *malandtán*.

844 A woman in childbed, wherever she be situated inside the house, is assisted by all women who belong to the same household, and even little girls are allowed to witness the birth of a child. Experienced old women of the neighborhood are called in to take the lion's share in bringing the event to a happy issue, in some places always, in others whenever the inmates of the house prove incapable of the task or when the mother has much difficulty in bringing forth her baby. Midwives are called *maña-lón* in Isneg.

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854 As soon as the mother is allowed to attend to her ordinary duties,
431 her first concern is to take her child and visit her relatives, her own
796 as well as those of her husband. These are then obliged by custom to give the little one a small bracelet, which consists in a string of beads and is called *battá-*. In each house that is entered for that purpose, one such *battá-* is placed over the wrist of the babe. Besides, the relatives who live in the same settlement with the parents of the child, have to perform the *maxaníto* ceremony (communication with the spirits), at which a chicken is offered by the shaman, before the arrival of mother and child. This *maxaníto*, however, is dispensed with in the case of people who live in different agglomerations.

853 The mother (*magtaxíbi*) gives her child (*taxíbi*) the breast (*magpasóso*; in Iloko, *sóso* means "breast"; in Isneg "breast" is *xátat*) at every turn, and the little one has always its mother's milk at its disposition. No sooner does the baby cry than this is done, since, for an Isneg, the only plausible explanation is that it is hungry. As a rule, a child suckles its mother's breasts as long as it has not cut its first tooth, but even then you cannot call it really weaned: a little youngster running around freely may sometimes be seen partaking
[262] of the same food as his newborn brother or sister. On the other hand the little babe is given cooked rice to eat very early, usually after five days; however, as a matter of course, this solid food has been chewed by the complacent parent before it is put into the infant's mouth.

854 The baby when at rest is lying down either stretched out on a mat or a piece of cloth on the floor, or more frequently in a *dóyan*, which is a rectangular piece of cloth doubled up lengthwise so as to form a kind of pouch, each end of which is suspended from some part of the house, like a hammock, by means of two strings or strips of rattan, so that it can be used as a swing.

854 If Isneg parents have to leave a little child alone in the house,
● 776 they usually confide it to the care of *Darazodáń*, a kind spirit, who is always at hand in such a predicament: he looks after the babe, without its elders knowing anything about it, and the little one never cries as long as he remains with it. Another spirit, *Laglagtmiń*, who has the shape of a bird, is supposed to bring up any babies who are not
[753 well cared for by their parents; but although such children do not
856] die while *Laglagtmiń* looks after them, they always remain thin and emaciated, which, of course, the Isneg do not consider as an ideal condition for an infant.

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not bother him, do not bring him in your midst, he is all right where he is. Pronouncing his name or bringing him into your presence is one and the same thing after all, therefore do not pronounce his name, at least if you are related to him, you at least should "pity him". Never mind if a stranger pronounces his name, he has no business with that dead person and does not care. But you, his relative, leave him at rest.

Of course, in all this only the words inclosed within quotation marks are Isneg explanations, the rest are mine; but I think I have not been far from the truth in my endeavors to show what was going on in the mind of the Isneg. Besides, the above are only two out of many examples that serve to prove the importance of a name and its meaning to an Isneg. In the following paragraphs many confirmations will be found of the same,—for instance, the preference given to names of people renowned for their bravery or old age, and so on.

Now, when is a child given its name? By whom? And what kind of a name is given?

These questions might be answered briefly and truly like this:

When? Immediately after birth.

By whom? By anybody around.

What name? Any name that sounds all right.

But such answers look very unsatisfactory. Let us give a few explanations.

The child is given its name immediately after birth. The reason, as given by the Isneg themselves, is lest some spirit take it upon himself to give it a name. And then? Well, I think the Isneg do not reason any further; maybe they know no case in which an *anito* gave a child its name, and so what could they answer? But I think that from his own point of view the Isneg is quite right after all, although perhaps actually unaware of it. Indeed if a child were given its name by a spirit, would it not be given its personality or something very much akin to it by that same spirit? And in such a case would the spirit not have all power upon that child? And who ever heard of a spirit doing good to a mortal being, except under compulsion, through some magical performance or other stratagem? And so the Isneg do not take any chances: they give their babe its name and claim it as their own as soon as possible, to the exclusion of all malevolent *anito*.

Anybody is allowed to propose a name for the child, and, if it proves acceptable, the baby will be known by that name from now on,

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the fact that I had used his daughter. Can you beat it?" Needless to say, the conversation was practically a soliloquy on the part of the policeman. I do not believe though that his action was consonant with the Isneg code of morals; but this incident, and especially the answer of the girl's father, shows clearly how different is the state of man and woman among the Isneg, with reference to sex morality.

It should be added here that the father would probably have objected much more strongly to the man who took such liberties with his daughter, if he had not been a policeman. The latter are supposed to be more or less immune and may take liberties not accorded to others, probably on account of their position. Isneg in general resent that: I have heard them say so more than once; but they are afraid to object too strongly, and so policemen mostly do what they like: their reputation is far from clean all over the district, although I do not believe that they are all equally blamable. Later on I heard that, at the time of the above occurrence, the policeman had intended to make the girl his second wife, an engagement which had been broken off at a subsequent date.

It may be noted in this connection that among the Isneg a man, whether single or married, who commits adultery with a married woman (*manalódag*) is thought to be driven to his crime by some evil spirit. In such a case his guilt would be considerably lessened in our point of view; not so, however, in that of the Isneg: in his eyes, it is only the ultimate act that counts, as has been stated before.

"A fit of anger usually makes a man ridiculous in the eyes of the bystanders. It is true that when there is question of a rightful quarrel, you should never fail to sustain it; to be meek and patient under the circumstances would be mere cowardice. Nevertheless everybody is inclined to laugh at the behavior of an angry man: so, although you be strictly in your right, try to control your anger sufficiently not to cause others to laugh at you.

"You know our belief with reference to people who are wont to laugh at the defects of other persons (*magdóla*): if such people are married, they will be punished by having their children suffer the same defect; if they are still young, the children who will be born to them in the future will be misshapen (*pákań*).

"A certain amount of *básí* is not to be despised, but drinking to excess is always bad. Who respects a drunken man? Besides, think about the consequences: quarrels, fights, bloodshed, revenges, etc. As soon as you feel that you have enough, go away and sleep it off, lest

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584 1. The use of musical instruments, which he plays at the house of
832 the girls, usually while lying down in the evening, and which are
534 supposed to have a very soothing influence on the mind of any mem-
[828] ber of the weaker sex. As this is not the place to describe these instruments at length, I shall merely enumerate them and add a few of their most outstanding characteristics:

The *kuribáw*, a kind of Jew's-harp, entirely made of bamboo, whose tongue is struck by the finger at its fixed base.

The *axiwáń*, another kind of Jew's-harp, partially made of bamboo, whose metal tongue is moved by a string.

The *balíkiń* or nose flute, which consists of a slender tube of bamboo, open at both ends, and provided with holes along its length, three at one side and one at the other.

584 2. The singing of love songs (*magdaldallán*). This is done in the
832 daytime as well as in the evening, whenever the boy is moved by
533 concupiscence (*makibabbáy*). Such songs, however, are not the exclusive property of the male sex.

584 3. The pronunciation of special terms, otherwise meaningless, that
834 are supposed to have a magical influence on the female sex. These
192 are interwoven in the verses of the song and more or less connected with the rest of the sentence. Such terms are: *dumaripón, dumińídíń, dumardarobó*, etc.

584 4. The use of perfumes (*bańúg*), usually consisting of fragrant
832 herbs or leaves stuck in the headband; although unseen by the girl
302 in the evening, these perfumes forcibly strike her nostrils in an
824 agreeable manner. Any kind of perfume may be used for the purpose, but the most esteemed on such occasions is the *malindáw* (called *indáw* at Bolo). The *malindáw* is a small tree covered with spines and provided with very aromatic leaves. The *Andn* brook near Dangla flows through a thicket that is renowned for the abundance and variety of its odoriferous plants: *sílóyon* (aromatic leaves, parasitic on trees), *dítán* (aromatic seeds, a kind of rattan), *malindáw*, etc.

584 Here two spirits occasionally play an important role: both of them
832 are supposed to spread a very agreeable odor, and they sometimes
776 accompany the boys on their courting expeditions, although nothing is done by the latter to attract them. They are:

Asindw: a spirit who lives in the hills and always wears very nice apparel; he is supposed to be visible at times. He merely accompanies the boy and through his fragrance influences the girl in behalf of her lover.

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Iwaxán: a spirit who formerly was a man, assiduous in courting the girls and very clever in causing the latter to allow him to perform coitus with them. If the boy who goes to court the girls happens to have a small bottle of coconut oil on his person, which is quite customary, *Iwaxán* sometimes enters the bottle, so that the girl may smell the fragrance he emits and fall in love with the boy.

5. The wearing of beads. The most powerful in this line are the *buláwan*, round beads, varying much in size, of the color of silver, and possessing a kind of silky lustre. They appear in strings that are worn as necklaces or as ornaments around the headband. Although they prove very attractive to the girl when worn by the boy who comes to court her, these beads are not the exclusive property of the male sex: both men and women make use of them for ornamental purposes.

6. The giving of presents, as rings, trinkets, clothes, and so on. Isneg young men of marriageable age very often carry their articles for chewing bětel nut in a pouch (*kělây*), a rather large and generally multicolored handkerchief, hanging from the neck and dangling on the chest; two ends are knotted immediately over the contents with a large double knot, the other two are joined at the top and reach the neck of the wearer. All along both sides, from the receptacle up to about half-way between the latter and the neck, a series of rings (*sańkilát*) covers the cloth. The girl takes betel nut, etc., out of the pouch, and both, boy and girl, occasionally interchange rings, the boy detaching one of his own from his *kělây* to give it to the girl, and the latter adding one of her rings to those of the boy's *kělây*. Such an interchange of rings, however, is not always necessarily a sign of consent on the part of the girl to the advances of the boy: this in modification of a statement made by me in a previous paper (CAC–P, 1:226).

Incidentally it should be noted here that lovers' gifts are never returned, even though no further steps be taken or though some obstacle come in the way of the realization of the young people's dreams; such gifts always remain the property of the donee.

7. The use of love charms (*mańimud*) to force the girl to think of him. This item is so exceedingly important that I feel obliged to devote a few paragraphs to the same.

Love charms are used exclusively and very often, if not universally, by young men, never by girls. They usually consist of some herbs

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593 when he called out: " Here he is, now take a look at him ". At this juncture I do not know whether the wonder and astonishment that could be read all over the woman's face was any greater than the joy that radiated from old *Balúkat*'s eyes at having been able to give so much satisfaction to his wife. The first period of bewilderment and surprise being over, Mrs. *Balúkat* put down her basket, and both husband and wife started distributing fruits and vegetables to the whole company, putting aside the best part for the object of the old girl's wonderment. I am sorry not to be able after this lapse of time to write down the exact conversation that went on between the two; but I remember most distinctly that the whole trend of the dialogue showed clearly and patently how grateful the old woman was toward her husband for having granted her an entertainment which in her eyes was more than splendid, and how pleased the old man was for having been able to bring about the meeting in question.

852 After the birth of the first child, the young married couple *magpísi-*, which means that they prepare a certain amount of native sweets or cakes, called *písi-* on this occasion, and bring them to the parents of the husband. They themselves, however, are not allowed to eat any of them. The purpose of the *písi-* ceremony is to cause the child to grow up quickly and to protect it against sickness.

• 776 Besides *Sisína*, who is invoked at the time of the *amómân*, in case
593 the latter happens while a *sây-ám* sacrifice is in progress, there is another female spirit, called *Si-rápan*, who is supposed to have some influence on the relations between husband and wife. *Si-rápan* cleans their mind, as the Isneg put it, which means that she helps them to understand one another well and to be free from jealousy, quarrelsomeness and so on, provided their habits are to her liking. Married people who are displeasing to *Si-rápan* " are not taken care of by her and come to grief ".

2. Property and Inheritance

421 Husband and wife retain each their own property, whether movable or immovable (fields and so on), separately, and whatever they obtain, either by inheritance from their respective parents or other relatives, or through their own personal exertions, remains their own exclusively. The husband has no more right to his wife's belongings than the latter has to her husband's. Just to give an example: no man can sell his wife's *ikó* knife, nor any woman her husband's headax.

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These three facts combined prove that the Isneg, at least implicitly, consider a living man as consisting of two elements: the *baggí* or body, of which no more mention is made after death, as an *innát* (corpse) takes its place, and the *kaduduwá* or spiritual element that continues to live and is usually invisible.

Through death "a person ceases to exist as an ordinary human being". Indeed, the *kaduduwá*, although its life is similar in many respects to that of a living person on earth, is usually quite invisible and "continues to live indefinitely". I say "indefinitely": why not "eternally"? It must be remembered that the Isneg have no notion of eternity as such; they know that the *kaduduwá* continues to live, they never heard of a *kaduduwá* dying, but if it lives eternally, that goes beyond their comprehension, or, to be exact, they never think as far ahead as that. And so what looks to the Isneg as "indefinite" (living on indefinitely), if considered under our own viewpoint, would probably mean "eternal" (living on eternally). The corpse also is far from existing as an ordinary human being. Not that the Isneg consider it to be completely devoid of any animating principle, but that it is dead for the time being, and if it lives afterwards in the state of a *balańóbáń*, its life cannot be compared with that of an ordinary man.

The *kaduduwá* goes to live "ultimately at least in the realm of the dead". This will be explained more fully when referring to the state of man after death.

"Leaving behind an *innát*". *Innát* is the body of a man immediately after death, as long as it stays in the house, and before burial, if burial takes place. The *innát* is dead, it neither moves nor breathes, it needs neither food nor drink. We shall see presently whether the Isneg believe all dead bodies to remain in that state, in the state of *innát*, until decay sets in.

2. *Future Life*

What happens after death? And first as to the *kaduduwá*.

The night after a person's death (some say: "at any time after his death"; but this could never mean "immediately after death" on account of the necessity of the *innát* being clothed), *Kútaw*, the ferryman, or rather the ferry spirit, comes along to bring the *kaduduwá* over the great pond (*lablabbáń*) to the realm of the dead. Here, according to some informants, the *kaduduwá* receives hospitality at *Kútaw*'s house until the latter brings it on its way to the house of its relatives who died before.

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811 *Kútaw*'s boat, which is always fastened at the *dodóñān* (place on
772 the bank of a river where a boat is fastened, landing place) on this
side of the pond when not in use, has only one *pidpíd* or side plank,
776 which means that one side of the boat is open and unprotected, and
nevertheless no water ever enters her and she never goes down. Thus
the *kaduduwá* is ferried over the water in a boat that consists of only
about one half of an ordinary one, a boat cut in two from stem to
stern. When asked how anybody could possibly cross the *lablabbáñ*
in such a contrivance, the Isneg merely state that they do not know.
And in this they are most certainly right. But who would dare say
that the actions of the spirits have to correspond exactly with our
own? Their ways are not our ways, and that settles the matter.
Besides, the *lablabbáñ* is not an ordinary *labbán*, neither are *Kútaw*
and the *kaduduwá* ordinary men, so why should the boat be an ordi-
nary one?

772 The only other detail I have heard about the *lablabbáñ* is that it is
full of cogon grass (*tabbáñ*) and of worms.

776 *Kútaw* himself was once described to me as wearing a coat from
which a certain portion of cloth had been torn out entirely, and his
292 headax or *aliwá* as being deprived of one of its essential parts, namely
411 the *sáwit* or blunt projection at the back (cf. CAC–P, 1:233, fig. 68).

Once at the other side, the *kaduduwá* live a happy life in the
Aglalannawán (called *Tagtaggáyan* at Bayag) or realm of the dead:
775 it is good (*napiyá*) to be there. Their life is comparable to a dream:
they live in the same way as we do when we are dreaming. For the
rest, they do not change in their ways: they plant and reap as before,
have the same likes and dislikes, live on the same kind of food, with
none of their old preferences gone, and so on. The house they live
in, however, is not made of timber or bamboo; it is a real gold or
775 silver one. There they stay and never come back, except at times
and temporarily,—for instance, when they come to get one of their
787 relatives, in which case the latter is *makaduduwá*, becomes sick and
dies (such *kaduduwá* are called *gíbu-*), or when they enter the body
of a shaman in order to communicate with the living, or even appear
to the latter (perhaps only to the shaman), at the time of a *sáy-ám*
sacrifice, etc.

775 It seems to result from all this that even the Isneg have a kind of
double fate for man after death: one of happiness for those who prove
acceptable to *Kútaw*, and one of privation for those who have to
remain behind or are left unguided at the entrance to the *Aglalan-*

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764 And now the *inndt*? What happens to it after death?

776 As long as the corpse retains its name of *inndt*, which means, as long as the body is left in the house unburied, it merely remains as it is, inert and lifeless, at least apparently. The only calamity that might befall it, is to be snatched away and devoured by either *Karásaw* or *Wirwér*. Both are spirits with exceedingly long legs: while one of the legs rests on Kabugaw soil, the other one may have found a point of support at the other side of the river, at Alumani, a distance of at least one mile. Others state that *Wirwér* is the only long-legged spirit; according to these informants, *Karásaw* has no body, he has nothing else but two long arms that are completely scorched. When these imps want to feed on an *inndt*, and the latter remains unguarded, they pass the upper part of their body (or the arms only in the case of *Karásaw*, according to some informants) through the opening at one of the gables of the house, and, leaning on the tie-beam, catch the *inndt* and run away with it to devour it at leisure. According to another version, *Karásaw* is the only one who enters by the gable; *Wirwér* uses the door of the house to make his entrance. This has happened in the past *kanó*, say the Isneg. Now the little term *kanó* is a very convenient one for all kinds of incredible statements; it can best be translated by the Latin *dicitur*. *Kanó*, "so it is said", and that settles the matter.

The Isneg would probably find in these former losses of *inndt*, the origin of the custom of watching the dead: indeed they usually state that *Karásaw* and *Wirwér* only steal *inndt* that are not watched. In our viewpoint, the two are rationalizations to explain the old custom of watching the *inndt*. Anyhow both spirits are hated by the Isneg. Just exactly why they consider the theft of an *inndt* by *Karásaw* or *Wirwér* as a calamity, I do not know: indeed a dead body can do the living no good; on the contrary, it very often annoys them, as will be seen in due time, and besides, the custom of the *tarimbáñon*, which will be explained presently, seems to show that there may have been a time when the Isneg tried to get rid of an *inndt* without burying it. Or would the use to which a corpse is put by these *inndt*-eating spirits, entail the vengeance of the *kadudwá*, who may have nothing against the *tarimbáñon* with consequent failure of burial, but may have retained enough interest in something that was himself or a part of himself in bygone times, not to want it devoured by an uncanny member of the world of spirits? Such is probably the reason; the

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devouring of the corpse by *Karásaw* or by *Wirwér* must bring some punishment to the neglectful relatives, either by the *kodudusd* or by some spirit; while a corpse left unburied on account of the *tarimbáñon*, remains safe and in no danger of being fed upon by man-eating spirits, it merely loses its identity as an *innát* immediately, without having to be buried in a tomb. We shall meet *Wirwér* again in the description of a dead Isneg's burial.

Another reason for being watchful when an *innát* is present in the house, is explained like this by the Isneg: if at any time all people are asleep in the house, the *innát* or dead body stands up and starts counting the sleepers (*da-dáp*) two by two, and in case there is one left without a companion, which points to an odd number of course, this one left will die very soon. After that the *innát* leaves the house and takes a walk, only to return very soon to its former state and place. The sand that cleaves to the dead body is promptly noticed by the awakened relatives, and it furnishes them with a striking proof of the activities of the *innát* during their sleep.

What is to be understood by the *tarimbáñon?* This is how the Isneg describe it: in olden times, as soon as a person died and his body was laid down at the customary place, with the head near the wall of the house, before it was even washed or clothed, one of the inmates of the house (usually the husband or wife of the deceased) took hold of an *allú* or pestle (used to pound rice in a mortar), and with it rammed with all his might either the wall of the house or the floor from beneath, near the head of the deceased. At this juncture the *innát* invariably disappeared and left no traces behind. This was done, according to my informants, in order to get rid of the corpse without the necessity of burying it, and formerly it was a general custom. When I asked if a woman would *manarimbáñon* as well as a man, they answered me: "Yes, provided she dare do it"; but at the same time they insisted that in bygone times no corpses were buried, and that all *innát* were disposed of by the *tarimbáñon* in order to avoid the trouble attendant upon the burial of a dead person. The whole custom looks exceedingly strange, and many things about it cannot be explained satisfactorily, at least in the light of actual Isneg belief. What about the care taken by our people with reference to the clothing of the dead, the difficulties encountered by a *kodudusd* whose *innát* has not been attired in new clothes, the thousand and one ceremonies that are scrupulously performed before and at the time of burial, etc.? Indeed the *tarimbáñon* is said to take place even

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Iloko, means "communication, participation"; but in Isneg the term is very hard to translate. I shall give a couple of examples to illustrate its meaning: 761 192

In the case of death by accident, e.g., falling from a coconut tree: *neránud xapó kiyá iyág*, he died (!) on account of the coconut tree.

Christian Isneg explain Christian martyrdom in the same way: *ni San Pedro neránud xapó kiyá ápo Dios*, St. Peter died (!) on account of (or: for) the Lord God.

Students say: *ni Rizal neránud xapó kiyá ilina*, Rizal (the Filipino hero executed by the Spaniards in 1896) died (!) on account of (or: for) his country.

The other kind of death, which is obviously the most frequent and ordinary one, I call "supernatural" because the Isneg ascribe its cause to the intervention of the spirits. Death, in this case, is caused by the loss of the kidneys (*bokól*): some spirit, who is certainly to be classed under the malevolent ones, deprives a person of his kidneys and devours them, death being the inevitable result. 761 753 776

Among the spirits that are addicted to this destructive practice may be cited:

Libuxót, who lives in bushy thickets;

Xasilá- or *Xasilaw:* after having devoured the kidneys, this spirit besmears with blood the leaves of the trees and herbs that grow on the mountain on which he has fixed his abode;

Ápo, who devours the kidneys of people who die of what we call dysentery;

Mañlatóñ: this is the real angel of death; he does away with the kidneys of all people who die on that account, except of course those that have been bereft of their kidneys by some other spirit. *Mañlatóñ* kills all those that are spurned by others, he is the kidney-eater and executioner *par excellence*.

The error of such a belief might easily be ascertained, but autopsy is unknown among the Isneg, and so it stands. The better to understand Isneg mentality, it should be borne in mind that sickness as such is never considered as the sole or immediate cause of death, and this for obvious reasons. The Isneg know only diseases that appear outwardly, as skin diseases (*bunî* "tetter", *rasâ*, "itch"), *dazâñ*, "fever", dysentery, beriberi, and so on, while diseases with no or only slight outward signs are entirely unknown to the natives. And so if a person dies from cardiopathy, pneumonia, diabetes, etc., the Isneg do not doubt for a single moment that some ill-minded imp [763]

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must have intervened. With reference to the former class of ailments, some of them never cause death, except if they are coupled with further complications, while in the rest the symptoms (as passing of blood in dysentery, general swelling of the body in beriberi) are considered as the visible effect of the work initiated by a spirit inside the body.

In the same way, whenever some dangerous sickness fails to prove fatal and is overcome either by the strong constitution of the patient, or by some medicine, the Isneg attribute the cure, not to its real cause, but to the superior force of some spirit in league with the shaman, or to magic, all of which has subdued for the time being or completely driven away the terrible kidney-eater, who on that account has been unable to finish the work he began.

After what has been said here, it should not be wondered at that doctors and nurses have a very difficult time with these people, who have little or no faith in their ministrations and consider medicines as either operating through magic (in case of a cure) or entirely useless. Most of the time, however, medicines are given no credit at all, and the cure is merely attributed to the work of the shaman, whose help is always invoked, even in those rare cases in which recourse has been had to natural means.

Suicide (*magbanól*, "to commit suicide") must be listed in the second class: its victims are supposed to die through the action of a kidney-hunter. Suicide, however, by hanging oneself (*magpattól*) or otherwise, not by jumping into the water (*malimát*, "to be drowned"), is rare among the Isneg. I know of only one case in recent times: a few years ago a person hanged himself at Utul, but I have not been able to discover the reason. Drowning oneself would certainly be shunned by Isneg, on account of the probability of the *innát* being lost and deprived of its necessary preparation for the acceptance of the *kaduduwá* by *Kútaw*. It is universally believed by the natives that the relatives of a person who died by drowning, whether voluntary or accidental, will continually dream about him at night; this seems to be a kind of revenge on the part of the deceased, probably out of spite for encountering so many difficulties on his way to the other world. That is one of the reasons why the Isneg so sedulously try to find the body of a drowned person even for weeks at a time; if the body is recovered and buried, no such dreams affect the relatives of the deceased.

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formed by any of the shamans. Indeed, why should the spirits be enticed to obsess the shaman at a time when everybody is bent on keeping them at a distance? Besides, the souls of the dead should be left where they are as long as the *innát* is in the house, probably lest the *kaduduwá* of the deceased be interfered with on its trip to the other world.

Women mourn and lament in a loud voice almost uninterruptedly, usually two or three at a time: when one group is tired, another one takes its place. Men rarely imitate them in this, especially after the first general outburst of grief, that takes place immediately after death is over, but they *magbibisnág* (slap one another's thighs: the game previously described, CAC-P, 3: 123-26). According to the Isneg, playing *bisnág* is a man's way of showing his grief: a certain chastisement of the body is undoubtedly involved in the whole performance, and just as the near relatives sometimes cut themselves at the death of one of their loved ones in order to show the intensity of their sorrow, so also the men, relatives, neighbors and friends, slap one another's thighs, often until blood spurts out, in order to prove to the whole assembly that they also take part and are far from remaining insensible in the presence of death. That a certain amount of voluntary infliction of pain is at the root of this question, is corroborated by the fact that some women occasionally take part in the *bisnág*, the more so that no member of the weaker sex ever plays the rôle of agent (*maúná*), but merely receives the slaps (*magtán*) without rendering them. Expressions like the following may be heard frequently among the Isneg: "*Urăy magdáxa ya apélko ta xakkánnā-magsáńit* (even though my thighs bleed, as I do not weep)". In both cases, namely in that of men and in that of women, the *bisnág* is resorted to more especially by those who do little or no weeping; people, whether men or women, who do a good deal of lamenting, rarely take part in *bisnág*.

It goes without saying that the spirits are wide awake at the death of an Isneg, and that the survivors are annoyed with their unwelcome presence at every turn. Among others the following deserve special mention:

Dupappá-, whose tastes are very peculiar; indeed, he it is who absorbs the decayed matter (*saxó*) that flows from the nose and mouth of the deceased.

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776 764 *Ruńád:* a spirit who invariably approaches the house at the death of one of its inmates. He looks like a big tree, and at his arrival the whole house shakes.

Xánat: a kind of giant who is to be seen roaming around, either at the house of a dead person, or along some road leading to it.

Tuktukkál: a whole swarm of spirits who come to mourn and weep at the house of a dead person, especially if the latter is a child.

851 753 The Isneg strictly forbid all children to play noisily anywhere in the settlement where an *innát* is awaiting burial; if any youngster should disobey this injunction, he would invariably become afflicted with *bońkál* (wens).

765 A person who arrives from some other agglomeration bringing in a new jar at the time a corpse is present in one of the houses, may be sure not to be able to enjoy the use of his jar for a long time: the latter is *ma-dammán.*

764 As has been stated previously, the body has to be watched night and day. At night, when most of the mourners are sleeping, from one to three persons must always remain awake, and when the latter feel very sleepy, others must take their place, lest the punishment which has already been referred to be meted out to one of their number.

In case the deceased is a married man, the widow (*bálo*) has to stay near the corpse of her husband, as soon as the body has been dressed and placed in the required position, and she has to remain there until one night after burial. For this purpose a diminutive tent (*aróbón*) is put up near the head of the dead person, on the other side of the post, toward the hearth (fig. 3). This *aróbón* usually consists of a couple of boards for the sides and a blanket for the cover, the whole outfit leaning against the wall of the house. Only men take part in fixing the *aróbón.* The widow has to stay inside all the time, she remains invisible, and she neither weeps nor laments, at least not in a loud voice: if she does so, her sobs should remain inaudible or almost so. There she partakes of the food that is pushed in by her relatives, and there she sleeps. Since the *aróbón* is comparatively small, it is quite impossible for her ever to stretch her legs. If she has to go out for some urgent reason, a board is taken out of the wall, which is not at all difficult in Isneg houses, and a ladder is placed against it. As soon as the woman leaves the house through this improvised door, she has to wrap herself up completely in another blanket, and to reenter as soon as possible. In some places she

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and, in any case, it is much too easily consumed to allow them any degree of comfort.

Several reasons may be assigned for the exceptional poverty of these people. The spirit *Laádúsān* is very often the culprit. If it happens through his machinations that people are brought to the verge of starvation, the latter are said to be *malaádúsān*. Sometimes, too, a want of civic spirit that has been observed in a certain person, may induce other people to pray the spirits to have his plants consumed by animals, and consequently to cause him to become poor. In such a case, the enemies of this unworthy citizen are said to *maglábuy*.

Other people are simply *nakurmáń*, they are unlucky: they cannot raise anything on their fields, and the result is wretchedness and want of food.

It may also happen that some people are unable to complete any kind of work in their rice fields: they are *nadannág*. Whatever they try to accomplish, whether planting or weeding, whether clearing a field or fencing it, they can never bring it to a finish. This, of course, almost inevitably leads to poverty and ultimately ends in the lack of the necessary livelihood. Nevertheless there is an easy remedy to this sad situation: the only thing to be done is to prepare *inapúxān* (betel for chewing), and to offer it to the spirit in charge by laying it down somewhere within his reach, at the same time reciting the following prayer, which was given me by *Púlog* from Dangla (O dialect, Main branch):[2]

Iápugko iów aníto ta dinā- pagdandannaxán (I offer betel [for chewing] to you, spirit, so that you do not make me lazy).[3]

A rather remote, but very real cause of destitution, is a person's habit of being late (*nekábut*) whenever some work has to be done. In such a case the only means for him to escape being numbered sooner or later among the needy is to shake off his inbred torpor and to imitate his more diligent companions.

In this connection I should be allowed to mention the lines of the hand, as the art of palmistry is far from being unknown among the Isneg, and a person who is *rappád*, which means that one of the lines

[2] The way to prepare *inapúxān* will soon be explained at length. For explanation of Isneg dialects and branches, see M. Vanoverbergh, Isneg Life Cycle, II, Marriage, Death, and Burial, Publ. Cath. Anthrop. Conf., 1935, v. 3, no. 3, pp. 261-64.

[3] Lest I be prevented from finishing my work. This is said only of work in the rice fields: clearing land, planting rice, etc.

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intricate and obviously of rather rare occurrence: this is probably the reason why such an unusual way of flying has rendered it suspicious to the natives. It happens like this: the bird flies first from right to left, and then from left to right, in front of the person who is on its way to the field; after that it flies first from front to rear, and then from rear to front, at the right-hand side. This fourfold movement of the *labág*-bird is called *magsúñit*.

If, after having begun (*sumikáp*, " to start work ") any kind of work in the field, you happen to see a buzzard (*bukkáw*) for the first time, or a rat (*butít*) any time, stop then and there, return home and stay here for the rest of the day. As may be seen by the above statement, there is a considerable difference between the two: indeed, a *bukkáw* or buzzard sends you home only when it is seen for the first time, while a rat keeps you idle for a day whenever it makes an appearance.

There are a few other things of importance, which it is very useful for the Isneg to know.

For instance, if you happen to meet the spirit *Gabbuwá* on your way to work and he jumps out in front of you, you may be sure that you will become ill in the near future. Then it is up to you to take your precautions as soon as you come back home.

The influence of the spirit *Barôyan* is also very nefarious: should he accompany you on your way, you will be unable to perform anything worth while and your body will be aching all over; in some cases he has even caused people to become completely mad.

Never walk over the first plant or seed which you confided to the soil, whether it be rice or tobacco or anything else, because, if you are careless in this respect, not a single plant will grow in that particular field or garden of yours.

When you reach home, after having planted (*magmúla*, *mulán*) something, never take hold of a *báña* [18] in such a way as to insert your hand or your fingers (*magkuwál*). When it is absolutely necessary to take up a *báña*, be careful to touch it only at the outside, otherwise whatever you have planted will be consumed sooner or later by wild animals.

An Isneg who wants to become skilled in planting (*aragmúla*) must try as much as possible to observe what follows:

[18] An earthen jar used for cooking rice, etc.

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it; after a comparatively short time the hole will have become a well and, in some cases, even a small pond.

Now before I give a detailed account of the process of growing rice, I shall try to make clear a few things the knowledge of which is of paramount importance to every Isneg farmer.

This has to do with the *Pílăy* or *Ílăy*. Merely to say that they are the tutelary spirits of the palay would be putting it much too mildly, as will be seen presently. The *Pílăy* (in some places called *Ílăy*, in others known by both names) are spirits, some of them female, others male, and all of them young, in fact mere children, but they have a tremendous power either for good or for evil. Here are some names of *Pílăy*-spirits: *Aggăyén, Kano-nít, Darikokkó, Kópań, Rukkiná-, Lapindy, Dapindy, Ruppitá-, Alindodóăy*, etc. The latter is a female *Pílăy*, as she is said to carry palay on her head (*magtotón*), which is the way for women to carry loads; men carry theirs on their shoulders (*mańagtó*). These *Pílăy* will be mentioned over and over later on, but here I shall give their special characteristics, their habitat, a few general means for winning their favor, etc.

Although there are many of them, the *Pílăy* are never gregarious, and so it never happens that two of them are met together in one and the same spot: each of them keeps to his or her own place. Some of them protect the *kómăn*, others reside in granaries, and in every Isneg house a *Pílăy* takes his abode near the post of the house that is next to one of the four corners of the hearth, either at its base, just above the floor, or more especially on the *páza*, a shelf that is fixed over the hearth.

Pílăy (a term that also means "lame") is not the name of any of the ruling spirits, nevertheless he it is who guards your rice and punishes with lameness any stranger who dares touch a granary that does not belong to him, even though he does so without any malicious intent. Not only does *Pílăy* guard your palay, but he even causes it to increase, and, to accomplish this, he does not shrink from stealing rice for you from people who are not his votaries. One of these *Pílăy* rice thieves is called *Ruńád*. Whosoever is not able to walk, whosoever walks with difficulty, is supposed to have been struck by *Pílăy*, who punishes people not only for touching their neighbor's granary, but also for other acts that may be displeasing to him. Some of *Pílăy*'s victims are *madapindy*, one of their legs is shorter than the other; others are *pákań*, these can hardly walk and their pace is quite irregular; others again are *dapilán*, they crawl over the ground on their

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knees; and finally there are the *páñol*, who are expressly believed to have been punished by *Pílăy*, not for having trespassed on somebody else's property by touching palay which was not their own, but for having done something of which he does not approve: the *páñol* are unable to walk or almost so on account of their legs being swollen at the knees.

Whenever an Isneg prepares rice pudding or sweets made from *díkat*-rice, he never fails to give a share to the *Pílăy* who resides in the shelf over the hearth: usually a very small portion is sufficient. Should a shaman do the cooking and at the same time pronounce the following words:

"*Batbattuxám ni N.*" (Satiate N.), *Pílăy* will throw things (pebbles, etc.) at the boy or girl in question as soon as the sweets are being cut into pieces, and this will prove a blessing to the child, as, with *Pílăy's* help, it will be favored with an abundance of palay at the next harvest.

One of *Pílăy*'s assistants is the *agammáy, ag-agammáy* or *ugammáy*, a kind of mantis, which usually lives in rice fields, where it helps *Pílăy* increase the palay. These mantes thrive in full security as no Isneg would dare kill such valuable insects.

Here follow a few formulas of prayers that may profitably be addressed to the *Pílăy* at any time, provided they be accompanied with the offering of sweets, that are usually made from *díkat*-rice with the addition of sugar, coconut meat, etc.:

Ne uwámo pílăy séno batbattuxánnaami péyañ (Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you be always satiating us).

Ne uwámo pílăy ta dímo pagtaitán de balbalásañ (Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you do not make the girls sick).

Ne uwámo pílăy ta tuplámmo ka ammáy dăyá ómānmi (Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you fill our rice fields with rice).

Ne uwámo pílăy ta pannowámmo peyapéyañ dăyá álañmi (Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you always fill our granaries).

Ne uwámo pílăy dínaami pagtaitán (Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you do not make us sick).

Ne uwámo pílăy aduwámmo ya ammáymi ya ómăñ se ya álañmi (Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you increase our rice on our rice fields and in our granaries).

Ne uwámo pílăy dímo balbalsiánan dăyá tólăy no umáñ kiyá sixăy (Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you do not make the persons sick when they come to the hut [in the field]).

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Ne uwámo pílăy dímo as-assăyán dăyá ammáy dăyá isagaddán[19] (Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you do not lessen the rice of the people).

Ne uwámo ílăy ta batbattuxánnă- (Here, this is yours, Ilay, so that you be satiating me).

The text of these formulas was given me by men from Dangla (O dialect, Main branch), the last one by *Lampá*, the others by *Púlog*.

Whatever I have said of the *Pílăy* so far applies to the majority of Apayaw villages. Nevertheless in a few agglomerations, the *Pílăy*, instead of being loved and invoked with religious awe, are loathed and execrated by the inhabitants, who do everything in their power to drive them away. This seeming anomaly may be easily accounted for in the following way. It has been said in a preceding paragraph that some *Pílăy* steal rice in order to increase the harvest of their devotees; consequently there must be somebody somewhere whom they are in the habit of robbing, and the victims can do nothing else, of course, but resent it tremendously. Therefore we find Isneg who use this or a similar ceremony in order to make the *Pílăy* decamp: they go to the bushes, near some tree, and, holding a receptacle for lime (*agapúxăn*) in one hand, they recite the following prayer. My informant, *Dagámi*, a Bayag woman (O dialect), gave it this title:

Makpídut Pílăy (To extract Pilay[20])

[19] *Púlog*, my informant, gave "people, men" as the meaning of *isagaddán*. According to most of my informants, *isagaddán* (never pronounced *isazaddán*) means: members of the Christian tribes, especially the Kagayan and the Iloko; while *ibańńán* means: natives, Isneg. In prayers, however, *isagaddán* mostly stands for "the people who offer a sacrifice, who pray, who seek protection from the spirits". Actually these terms are rarely or never used in ordinary conversation. Now, taking everything into consideration, I cannot help believing that originally the term *isagaddán* stood for something like "the faithful, those who pray, those who offer a sacrifice, the devout, the initiated, etc.", while *ibańńán* meant "the outsiders, those who are invited to a sacrifice, the uninitiated, etc.", and that later on the term *isagaddán* came to be applied to those tribes (Kagayan, Iloko) who were recognized by the Isneg as possessing a culture (perhaps) and a power (certainly) superior to their own, and the term *ibańńán* to themselves. With the advent of Christianity, these terms would then have become obsolete in ordinary speech, and the terms Ibanag (Christians) and Isneg would have taken their place. Even now the term Ibanag for "Christian" is becoming more and more obsolete: to the Isneg of the younger generation Ibanag means Kagayan, and the other Christian tribes are known by their own tribal name.

[20] *Pídut* usually means "extracting the sickness from someone's body". In Iloko *pídut* means "picking up".

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Umarăy-dyka[21] *iddí dyo wennó tańtáń ta pumánawkańin; no atán dín mańikkám a iddí magálitka ma-dín; kańka*[22] *tumáliyin kiyá- ńa nagganăyánmo* (Crawl on this tree or in this small calabash[23] so that you go away now; if somebody takes hold of[24] this you should move;[25] do not come back any more to me from whom you came).

Besides the *Pílăy* and some other spirits, which will be accounted for in due time, there are three more protectors of the rice fields in general, namely: *Maxammám*, who helps to guard the *kómăn*, *A-néb* and *Parráy*. The last usually resides in the rice field, but he follows the Isneg into his hut (in the field) whenever it rains, and, if his protection is duly acknowledged, he never fails to lend a helping hand to the reapers, so that their exertions may be crowned with success. *A-néb* is a spirit who lives at the edge of the rice field; his influence depends on the attention that is paid to him by the owner of the field in question.

Pokól from Bayag (O dialect) furnished me with the following prayer addressed to the spirits who reside in the *kómăn*. While it is recited, rice should be thrown into the field:

Ne ma- maggiyán ki lusá- ta ma-mágăn (Here then, the one who resides in the soil, so that it become good).

Not all spirits, however, are well intentioned; a good many of them are malevolent imps who, if left unmolested, bring nothing but harm to the rice fields in which they have taken their abode.

Again I am indebted to *Dagámi* from Bayag for the text of a kind of exorcism used to drive away evil spirits from the *kómăn*. She prefaced it:

Maggiyán ka ómăn (Those who reside in the rice field).

Daxăyó maggiyán iyá ómăn ńa aníto maglińádkăyo (You, spirits who reside in the rice field, hide).

Up till now I have only given a few general hints to the Isneg farmer in order to help him in the raising of a good crop of rice. From now on I shall explain in detail how he has to proceed, beginning

[21] The initial U is scarcely audible.

[22] Shortened for *bakkáńka*.

[23] Used for storing lime.

[24] In ordinary speech *mańikkám* means "to get the *ikkám*", the amount of rice harvested in one day; here its meaning is much less restricted.

[25] Towards him, leaving me.

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243 The third day, or the next day after the enforced idleness just mentioned, is called *sarsár*. Now the Isneg *manarsár*, which means that he begins work in earnest, starting for his field early in the morning.

The farmer begins clearing his field at the lower edge (*atád*), near the *tálon*, or small patch cleared two days previously, and gradually climbs up the slope, until he reaches the upper edge (*arpád*). Should the field be level, the Isneg call this work *maxónut* instead of *mañumá*. While cutting the grasses, he causes them to fall to the left or to the right, but always backwards, that is toward the *atád* or lower edge, so that they will not interfere with his subsequent work. All large trees are left standing, nothing is torn down but what can be cut either at one stroke of the hatchet (*magtaggád, taggadán*), or at least with little difficulty, so as not to hinder considerably the progress of the work. Usually in this kind of work the Isneg has two hatchets in his possession, the second one or *takám* being used in case the first one becomes dull.

[776] The spirit that is to be feared more than any other at this time of the year, is *Pagpaxasápat*, a killer of men at the time of the *mañumá*.

An accident that may easily befall the Isneg at this juncture is the snapping of the helve of his *aliwá* at its junction with the blade, inside the iron ring or *palábo*. In this case the wielder of the hatchet is said to *magpañúd* and the hatchet itself is *napñudán*. Should such a catastrophe (and it is no exaggeration to call it by that name) occur on the day of the *sarsár*, the farmer is obliged to abandon the whole business and begin all over again, going in search of another field, observing the omen, cutting the *tálon* or first patch, *xumowáñ* or resting the next day, and so on. But this is not obligatory if the same accident happens on some other day after the *sarsár*, and not without reason: otherwise he might be obliged to clear fields until doomsday, as the helve of an Isneg hatchet, if used more or less carelessly, is apt to break very easily at this point, the thinned fork of the helve being very brittle at the place where the iron tang is fixed into it. This also may be a practical reason for leaving comparatively large trees intact for the time being.

243 824 When clearing a patch of ground that has been left untouched for several years, the Isneg is liable to come across all kinds of plants. Whereas his principal aim is to make the work progress as quickly and smoothly as possible, and to cut down whatever comes in his way, the

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the cutting of its branches, not the felling of the whole tree, is tabooed in the *kómān*.

The spirits whom the farmer has to fear at this time of the year, are *Dalípunáw* and his aid *Agpáw*, who are intent on killing people at the time of the *tádaw*.

Should the Isneg know of a tree where the spirit *Pinańgáw* has taken his abode, he must skip it and leave it intact; besides, even though he tried to lop (*magtádaw*) it, he would never be able to do so.

Anything that is left untouched, not cut, for any kind of reason, is called *pinuró-*. To leave any kind of plant standing in the *kómān* is *purokán*.

Almost immediately following the *tádaw*, we have the *maggańát*, also a man's job. This consists in cutting up the trunks of small trees and the large boughs that are strewn all over the field after the *tádaw*.

And now, at the first opportunity, the Isneg burns his field, *manidúg* or *sumi-dúg*. This of course mostly depends on the weather, because, if the grasses and canes are not thoroughly dry, they will hardly catch fire, and if the wind does not blow from the right direction, it is no use trying to start a blaze. Indeed, the fire is always started at the lower end of the *kómān*, after which helped by the wind it creeps up the mountain slope devouring everything in its wake, and scorching (without destroying) all the neighboring parts of the forest and bushes, including the *naglatán* (or boundary of untouched bushes between two contiguous fields) mentioned before.

It is really an awe-inspiring and never-to-be-forgotten spectacle, when all around, as far as the eye can reach, the mountain slopes are converted into huge bonfires. At every gust of wind and whenever the flames have met some fresh heap of fuel more especially ready for the conflagration, the whole valley is filled with a crepitating and roaring noise intermittently brought to a climax by loud reports of bursting bamboos.

It is useless to say that this work, which again is a man's job, has to be planned and executed with the utmost care, not only to insure the best results, but also to prevent the burning of houses, granaries, orchards, gardens, etc., lest, besides bringing a blessing to the future rice field, it happen to be a curse to the neighbors and to the owner himself, who must repay his countrymen for all the damages wrought through his carelessness. Such a danger, however, is rather remote, as Apayaw is sparsely inhabited and the Isneg is usually an expert in the choice of a well-located field and in everything that pertains to

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its preparation. In case he were not, he would be wise enough to invoke the help and counsel of other men, who are always willing to offer their services in this respect.

But I believe I am anticipating, and so let us begin with the beginning. The *tarimmatón* or sign for the *si-dúg* or burning of the fields is the *lumbá-*, a tree mentioned before, when it is covered with fruits. This generally happens in April or, at the earliest, about the end of March.

Should it happen that one of the trees that were left standing in the *kómān*, is inhabited by *Danág*-spirits, the Isneg, before beginning to burn his field, goes and looks for a *bátań*, a kind of rather large bracket fungus in the shape of an ear, very hard and not edible, that grows on trees. This he hangs somewhere in the tree inhabited by the *Danág* in question, with the inevitable result that the latter get frightened and either decamp or, at least, leave the owner in peace.

Before applying the torch, the Isneg pronounces the word *sílām* so that all canes and branches be nicely burnt and there remain as little residue as possible. If he fails to pronounce this magic term, he might have to spend several days in gathering and burning the remainder of the rubbish.

Let us now make the acquaintance of a spirit who is a big help to a farmer in possession of a field under clearance. His name is *Alipugpúg* and he occasionally shows his presence in the *kómān* in the shape of a little whirl of wind or eddy (which is also the meaning of his name), that causes leaves and small twigs to whirl around. If he is seen playing in the rice field at any time after the *si-dúg* or burning, this presages a lusty and robust growth of plants. Never forget though that the day following the appearance of this favorable omen must be kept as a holiday: you must stay at home and stop all work, whether you be man or woman.

In case *Alipugpúg* shows himself immediately after the burning of the field, with the fresh ashes turning in a circle, go immediately to meet him and get some of the whirling ashes, applying them to your forehead, as a prophylactic against the headache. Then, on the next day, observe the customary holiday.

And now the Isneg farmer may contemplate with pride the result of his exertions. The field is almost ready for the women to start their work: nothing remains but a few dry half-burnt sticks scattered all around, a few heaps of partly consumed canes of bamboo grass, and

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243 *gaṅán daāyó maggiyán ki sirát* (I plant you so that you shoot up,
782 you bear fruit, you be lasting long; you who reside on the earth, so that you have no reason to destroy [30] my plants; go away, you who reside near our plants; do not give us a fever, you who reside in the bushes).

243 In the evening of the day of the *agalópat*, the woman, owner of the
784 field, *magsima*, which means that she is not allowed to give away anything from the house, not even a leaf of tobacco, and that she may not permit anybody to enter the house. The next morning, however, these prohibitions cease, but at the same time this day has to be kept as a holiday (*ńilin*). The real work of planting begins only on the third day, after which planting is done unremittingly until the end.

If the planter is accompanied by children, these should be warned not to shout in or about the field on account of the spirit *Paxanánāy*, who has taken his abode at the outskirts of the *kómān* ever since the burning of the field, and who stays there until the *tognó* is finished.

243 While planting is going on or, at the latest, immediately after it is
462 finished, the Isneg cut out again the young shoots of bamboo grass
776 that have sprung up in the meanwhile: this plant has a very tough resistance and is subdued by the farmer only after many exertions. To cut out isolated shoots of *bassáw* or bamboo grass, is *magsilsíl*; if they grow in clusters, to cut them out is *magtappíl*, and this is much more thorough than *magsilsíl*, as the roots are taken out as well as the rest. Both men and women perform this job, the first using their *aliwá* or hatchet, the latter their *paló-* or hoe.

At the time of planting one must especially beware of an evil spirit called *Bibirítān*, who roams around to kill people during the *agtotognó*. About the same time also reigns *Bakákaw* (which is also the name of a bird mentioned before), a spirit who is always carrying a heavy load of *agkuláw* or rice straw (from which rice has been shelled).

Later on, when the paddy has been sprouting all over the field, the woman goes to see if there are any voids in the rows, and if she sees that shoots are lacking here and there, she goes home and prepares for a communication with the spirits (*maxanito*). If she is a shaman, she does it by herself; if not, she calls a *dorarákit* (shaman) for the purpose. After this she goes to the field and fills up the gaps: this is called *magtagnáp*.

243 In the meanwhile the men also are busy, and between the *si-dúg*

[30] Literally: to cut off, to rub off.

1[i.e., first planting -- Analyst]

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825 The *pāyakán*, a kind of winged ant, that builds its nest preferably in clusters of young bamboo grass. This insect is edible, and even considered as a dainty by the majority of the Isneg.

The *ag-agammáy*, a kind of mantis, mentioned before. If you get hold of it at the time of the *ballát*, take its neck between your fingers, turn it with the legs upwards, and say: "*Pixá ya ammáy-o* (How much palay will I have?)." If it moves one leg, it means *mṓpo* (one hundred *ísiń*-bundles); if two legs, *duwá ńṓpo* (two hundred bundles); if it moves all its legs, it means *annám ńṓpo* (six hundred bundles). One hundred *ńṓpo* is *matúńal* (ten thousand bundles).

776 At this time of the year one should beware of the spirit *Dalánap*, who kills people during the *agbablát* (weeding time).

243 789 As soon as the weeding is over, place some *ibasán* in your field, so that the paddy grow up into sturdy and robust stalks. The *ibasán* is a kind of grass that resembles the sugar cane, but yields no sugar, and grows in abundance all over the district.

After that make a minute inspection of the whole field, and cut down all weeds that may have been overlooked. This second cleaning is called *manábal*, a term also used to mean "putting the finishing touch to the *umá* (clearing the ground)", as has been mentioned before.

The *agbablát* (weeding time) is followed by the *dawdáwat*, when people occupy themselves with the weaving of baskets (*magláza*). Although this business may be accomplished at any time of the year, nevertheless the period that elapses between the *agbablát* and reaping time, is the most suitable, and consequently it has been set aside by custom for that kind of work, and it has been given a special name: *dawdáwat* or *aglaláza*.

All through the *dawdáwat* a diligent Isneg does not fail to *magso-báń* (a term never used for the same kind of work done before weeding time) or go and see if perchance some palay has been harmed through one cause or another. Indeed from now on everything depends on the vigilance of the farmer, as a legion of enemies are ready to pounce upon the field, especially at the time the ears begin to form. But let us not anticipate.

When the paddy is about half grown, it is advisable to place some *apniyán kapónān* in the field, in order to cause the rice to reach its full height quickly and also to keep away harmful insects. The *apniyán kapónān* is a kind of rattan whose bark is reddish and whose leaves are very white underneath.

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243 The text of this prayer was given me by *Bāydán* from Tawit (O 782 dialect, Main branch).

Before finishing this subject, allow me to warn you against the spirit 776 *Darantán*, who throws stones at people who emit a shout when reaping time approaches.

4. HARVESTING RICE AND STORING IN BARNS

243 The Isneg reap their rice (*maggáni*) some time in November or December. The terms *záni, zaniyán, maggáni*, are used exclusively for harvesting rice.

There is no special *taximmatón* or sign for harvesting time (*aggazáni*), as everything depends on the ripening palay, and this can be examined in the field without the help of other indications. Nevertheless it is said by the Isneg that reaping time in general begins with the appearance of the *papparazdy*[38] or fruit of the *tabbág*-tree (a species of Ficus with fruits growing on the stem and the main branches), but this is only a very vague indication of the time for beginning the harvest, as the fields are not all ready at the same time, so that each particular *kóman* has to be inspected by itself.

243 Reaping, like planting and weeding, is a woman's job. In other 462 parts of the Mountain Province, the men, although much less dexterous than the women, do not scorn to help the latter in this all-important work; but, in Apayaw, no Isneg worth the name would deign to enter the field with his wife and the girls in order to cut down a single ear of rice.

243 The reaper cuts off each ear of palay separately with the help of her *ikó*-knife, held in her right hand, and gathers the ears in her left hand, as many as she can clasp. When the cannot grasp any more, she binds (*magbattá-* or *mamtá-*) them into a small bundle (*battá-*) and throws the latter behind her on the ground. The culm is cut some five inches below the neck or junction of ear and stalk: the part of the culm that remains attached to the ear is called *ákaw*, the rest is the *daxámi* (called *daxádag*, as long as it remains on the field).

There are always several women working together; if there are not enough girls in the family, some of the neighbors come to the rescue. The reapers stand in a row, not very far apart from one another, and go on straight ahead. Behind them the bundles of palay are lying

[38] Children use it for a toy by piercing it with a wooden pin and making it spin like a top.

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Takkág líńān or *kaddát líńān* or *kaddát ińóto* (literally: takkag or herb of the spirit Lingan, of the spirit Ingato): A kind of scandent vine, resembling the *takkág*, but with smaller leaves, found in rice fields long since abandoned. 243 789

Tallá: A low herb, growing all over the district.

Tańtáń líńān (literally: Lingan's calabash for storing lime): A kind of fungus consisting in a white ball supported by a stipe, and parasitic on the stem of other plants.

Turátud: A kind of herb, some six inches tall, with very narrow leaves about two inches long, growing in rocky places.

Before going to the field to start reaping palay, the women have to *magdaán*, that is, to prepare everything the men need at home: they pound enough rice to last them until the end of the harvest, they gather vegetables for viands, leaves to be used for plates, etc., so that the men will have nothing to do but to cook for themselves and for their families, no real cooking being done in the *sízăy*-hut. 243 462

Here follow the names of most of the spirits who come around at this time of the year:[1] 776 782

Abád: Helps the reapers.

Abalád: *Inapúzān* (betel for chewing) is offered to him.

Aglalannawán: Helps the reapers.

Alipuńdán: Causes the reapers' toes to get sore all over and swell.

Ańáp: Kills people at the time of the harvest.

Ańát: A female spirit helping the reapers. If the women dream about her at night, they will offer her *inapúzān* in the *sízăy*-hut the next day.

Ańrizád: Increases the palay. Women often dream about him; when they do, he tells them that they will reap nothing, but they know that it is just the contrary.

Arúriń: When the Isneg take their meals, if they fail to give this female spirit a share, they will not harvest anything.

Babalasińnúd: Lives in the *sízăy*-hut.

Bannít: Is angered by the failure of the Isneg to sacrifice a pig at the beginning of the harvest, in which case little rice is raised.

Binu-sílān: Helps the reapers.

Bońós: Is invoked by the shaman and comes at the sacrifice that takes place before the harvest.

Dagdagamiyán (Bayag pronunciation): A female spirit who makes children sick who play where people are busy harvesting.

Dalimán: *Inapúzān* is offered to him, lest he come near.

[1] [i.e. harvest time, in December. --Analyst]

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Daramiām: Food is offered to him, by being thrown out through the door, at every meal that is taken in the *sixāy*.

Darupāypāy: Consumes the palay that has been placed in the *sixāy*, before it is transferred to the granary.

Dawilíyān: Helps the reapers.

Dékat: Accompanies the reapers.

Doruwáñaw: *Inapúxān* is offered to him at the beginning of the harvest.

Dumińxiw: Accompanies the reapers, increasing the palay.

Duwaxáw: Resides in the rice field.

The *ibańibāń*-spirits: Are invited by the Isneg to accompany them, when they go harvesting.

The *ilāńit*-spirits (literally: inhabiting the sky): Help the reapers.

Imbáñon: Helps the reapers.

Inarxāy: Kills people at the time of the harvest. The following prayer is recited, when *inapúxān* is offered to *Inarxāy*. The text was given me by *Daxidí* from Baliwanan (O dialect, Main branch).

Iápugko iyáw inarxāy ta dinaami patpatāy (I offer betel [for chewing] to you, Inargay, so that you do not kill us).

Irixí: Accompanies the reapers, stays in the *sixāy* with them, goes home with them. Whenever the Isneg take a meal in the *sixāy*, as long as the harvest lasts, they offer him rice and viands, by placing them on a plate in the doorway.

Ximbańónān: Helps the reapers. The following two prayers addressed to *Ximbańónān*:

One called *maglappá-*, "to offer food, etc., to the spirits", contributed by *Yadán* from Nagbabalayan (O dialect, K branch):

Ne uwámo ximbańónān umáńnakami sissímān kiyá dannì xidxídam (Here, this is yours, Gimbangonan, come to espy us at the fall of the day).

One called *ap-ápug*, with offering of *inapúxān*, contributed by *Lampá* from Dangla (O dialect, Main branch):

Iápugko ikáw ximbańónān bumáńon nam āy mańāń ta umadāyyóka (I offer betel [for chewing] to you, Gimbangonan, arising but eating,[40] so that you go away).[41]

Xinālińān: Helps the reapers.

[40] Who eat whenever you arise.

[41] According to the majority of my informants, *Daxidí*, *Yadán*, etc., Gimbangonan favors the reapers.

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Xinuádan: Is driven away at the beginning of the harvest, lest he come to measure the receptacles for palay, and the latter dwindle.

Magkáwăy: *Inapúxăn* is offered to him.

Magwáñag: *Inapúxăn* is offered to him.

Nappiyá: Spirits living in the rice field.

Palpálad: *Inapúxăn* is offered to him.

Pundy: Resembles a bird. *Inapúxăn* is offered to him at the beginning of the harvest.

Sían: A companion of Pilay, at the time of the harvest.

Sibo: A good spirit; always accompanies the women when they are reaping, rain or sunshine.

Sildádo (from the Spanish *soldado*, "soldier"): Spirits resembling horses. If children play boisterously near the house, these spirits will cause the death of one of them.

Sipa: *Inapúxăn* is offered to him in the rice field, on the first day of the harvest.

Sipút: *Inapúxăn* is offered to him, on top of the house ladder, at the beginning of the harvest.

Taxokó: *Inapúxăn* is offered to him.

A nameless female spirit living at the *Nanánan* brook, behind the mountains, on the opposite bank of the Apayaw river from Bayag. She counts the palay while wearing a raincoat; as soon as she is approached by any of the people who live there, she disappears.

When everything is in readiness, the Isneg proceed in the following way.

First of all, a pig is sacrificed, while a *dorarákit* or shaman *maxaníto*, "communicates with the spirits". During this ceremony, a leaf of the betel (*xawád*) is torn up and one of its shreds, called *binurián*, is placed near the hearth. One of the animal's legs (*lótub*) is placed in a small *báña* (earthen pot used for cooking rice, etc.), and the latter is put down on the floor of the granary (*álañ*).

The following prayer, whose text was given me by *Uwíl* from Bolo (O dialect, Main branch), is one of those that are recited during this sacrifice. The spirit is supposed to pronounce the words through the mouth of the shaman.

Mapáñko pĕ ya dordorerĕmăn yo maggiyán kadăyó isagaddán,[42] *ta*

[42] Cf. footnote 19 supra. I think that the following free translation of this prayer comes very near to the meaning intended by the Isneg: I come to take my abode amongst you, my faithful people, lest you be bewitched by the other spirits (or: by the Christians).

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251 Young banana leaves (*adṓn*) are used very extensively for wrapping
245 purposes, especially when things have to be kept fresh, for instance cooked rice, several kinds of viands, etc.

The men cut down (*lappadā́n, maglappā́d*) the leaves with the *aliwá* (hatchet) and gather (*manaxidṓn*) them.

Dry banana leaves (*arupā́t*) are used for wrapping all kinds of small objects.

245 A banana plantation where the leaves are all withered, is supposed
776 to be the abode of the spirit *Alḗxān*. For the rest, no harm is done, as she never attempts to destroy the fruits.

6. YAMS

244 The origin of yams or *úbi* (Dioscorea alata, L., D. pentaphylla, L.,
773 etc.) is authenticated among the Isneg by the following stories:

539 *Uwíl* from Bolo (O dialect, Main branch) told me this:
824

Ya nonōnná ńa úbi

The first yam

Kitó inumbét dató dódon kiddí itó nōnná ńa alxáw āwánda kanó ńa anán dató tólāy ta amminán dató dódon./ Kané āwánda ńa anán kitó mammínda ńa natā́y ináru-da ya anánā-da séda ńa anán ăy imúlada to tabbít nató ababbíń./ Ay to ya nagbalín ka úbi to ya nonōnná ńa úbi.

When the locusts came here in former days, the people, it is said, had nothing to eat, as the locusts consumed everything./ And when they had nothing to eat, so they would all be dead, they took out a part of their children's bodies, and they ate it, and they planted the flesh of the child./ And that became a yam: that is the first yam.

Another man related to me a similar story with reference to the *paddíg*-yam: it is very large, and its skin is very red; it looks as if it were bleeding. On a certain day, a mother took her babe as soon as it was born and cut it into pieces, which she buried in the ground. After a while they grew, and when the woman dug them up, they had become *paddíg*-yams. She cooked them, ate them, and found them to be a savory kind of food.

A different story is woven around the *dinampăyā́n*, a kind of *lo-tó* (Dioscorea fasciculata, Roxb. and D. aculeata, L.). The *lo-tó* are small yams, whose meat is yellowish or white and very soft; their skin is thin and whitish or brown, and is easily peeled off when cooked; their vines and leaves are thorny. Formerly all *lo-tó* were soft

to pay heavy indemnities to the relatives of the injured husband. When the husband is so inclined, he may take one or more wives, provided that he is wealthy enough to support them. However, the wife controls in marriage, her own inherited property.

When the husband dies, the woman retains only her clothing and returns to her relatives. All the property is divided equally among the children. If they are young, the man's relatives take and raise them, keeping the property in trust. Upon marriage each child receives his share.

RELIGION

The Apayao name for a god is "*anito.*" Now, it is hard for anyone to explain how all the "acts of God" are the activity of one single personality; as some "acts" are benevolent and others are malevolent. The Apayaos believe that different "acts" are the doings of differents *anitos*, some benevolent and others malevolent. Natural phenomena are explained as being the work of some *anito*. Each occurrence or activity of a person is governed by some certain *anito*. Therefore they may number up into the thousands. Thus one is constantly aware of his relations with the *anitos*, and the Apayao is very religious. For instance if he is setting a trap for wild pig in the forest, he will ask one *anito* to forgive him for trying to trap the pig; another *anito* to let the pig be guided into the trap; and another *anito* that the trap will spring and catch the pig.

Many *anitos* live in natural objects; but the most prominent ones dwlel in *Guynetban* in the sky. Each

776 one has his separate place there. They now speak a
772 different dialect (called *Elangit*) from the people, which only a priestess, *surraroqueb* can understand.

776 The head *anito*, who made the laws of the sky world and rules it, is *Hatan*. He dwells in *Naglasian* in a great miraculous palace guarded by an enormous snake. He has an automatic *gaod* which strikes as he wills. His shield shoots out fire (a flame thrower), and his spear kills nine men at a time. He uses fierce beasts to help in war and thus has conquered all the country. His wife, *Dinawagan*, came from *Nagcapaslunam*, which is still another world. These two are asked for help in time of need, especially in sickness.

Some time ago *Hatan* became infirm due to age, and so he endued his fourth son, *Ewagan* with his powers. This *anito* lived in *Aguingan* and got his wife in *Dudungan*. Her name is *Hinobangonan* and her father is *Cowatingconan*, while her mother is *Agdamgasam*.

Ewagan is the most notable of the *anitos* and is looked upon as a savior of the people. He has often helped them and is called upon in times of calamity, such as sickness. His only sister, *Hinalingan*, is his close companion. His older brothers are: *Dipparo*, *Haswan* and *Hinadolan* (nicknamed *Enoy*), who eats the hearts of the enemy. Ewagan's younger brothers are *Abbiawan* and *Imlang* (nicknamed *Egatang*). Whenever Imlang dances, everybody dances, even the trees. Ewagan married *Guimbangonan*, who had been contracted to *Dungcuan*, son of a certain *maingel* named Dingpan.

Ewagan is very handsome, shining like a flame. 776
A great bird, *Gabilayan*, carried him through the sky. He has great strength and has magical powers. He can cross a river without a boat and can change his body into a pig. There are many stories told of his fighting, hunting, fishing, and farming.

At one time when the sky was very near, Ewagan 773
lived on earth. He built a house for the poor and 821
made a kaiñgin for the blind and lame who could not work. He showed the people how to make *aliwas* and build good houses. In order that the people might more easily reach the sky, Ewagan planned to build a high tower. He called all the people together and held a big meeting; but the people from the different *barangays* had different dialects and could not understand orders. So he had to drop the project and send the people home. However, he did take the people 491
in his own *barangay* and built a great bridge across the Apayao River at Lucban. You can still see the stone posts of the ancient bridge standing there.

Ewagan stayed for some time on earth; but one night *Hasatan* came to him in a dream, and persuaded him to become an *anito* in the sky world, so that he would never become tired. At the same time, he could help the people just as well and cure them of their ills. Ewagan agreed and Hasatan used his magical powers to change Ewagan into an *anito* in the sky world.

At first, the sky was so very low that the trees could not grow very high, and the strongest of them grew right into the sky. But one day a woman was pounding rice and she raised her pestle so high that

773 it struck the sky. The sky became frightened and
821 raised up, causing a great commotion, and the trees were torn out of the ground.

776 To the family of Hatan, I will add the names of
[771] some other *anitos*. The tendency is for them to lessen in scope, in number, and in interest (i.e.—toward monagony). First I will mention some good *anitos*.

776 *Kaybacan* is the guardian of the house. A feast,
537 *pildap*, is given to him upon completion of a new house.
342 Small spears are placed there in the house where he stays. Whenever there is meat, a small portion is placed on the spears. Otherwise the family will get
[784] sick. No eels, deer, or mud fish are brought into the house; for the *anito* dislikes their smell and would run away, leaving the family to sicken and die.

776 *Pilay* is the guardian of the farm. He lives in
241 the granary. If a stranger touches it, he becomes lame. A small feast, *pespes*, is given to him at the beginning of the harvest.

Ambungan is the guardian of the rice harvest. Before harvest one must mix some burnt rice with shredded coconut and eat it under a certain big tree
[821] where he is. If the owner does not do this, strong winds and rain will come and blow down the grain.

776 *Danag* is the guardian of the fishermen and hunters; while *Ayan* induces the wild pig to run into the trap; but *Siwasion* helps the wild pig and deer to avoid the hunters.

Dagwan makes one strong to work, and *Mangla-bang* is the guardian of the warrior; while *Panuga-tang* is the guide. *Sangasan* guards the entrance to the *barangay*.

Ewagan, *Timalingan*, *Banwaran*, and *Diaban* are called upon in time of sickness, and *Barangseo* helps one to run away if some enemy is trying to kill him, while *Anglabang* will help him kill his enemy. *Lecay* kills other *anitos*. 776

Among the evil *anitos Pungal* is best known and most feared. He causes sickness and death. People always obey him. *Ademat* also gives a fatal illness; while *Kapunan* gives sudden death by hemorrhage. *Anguan* hunts men with dogs and gives one a headache from which he may die. *Dangquico*, *Makel*, and *Kilang* move the winds that kill instantly. 776 753 [82]

Kakayan teaches and tempts people to do evil, and *Anlabbang* causes quarrels; while *Duman* steals beads. *Darantan* lives in the river and is the one who makes a person drown. *Aliang* lives along the streams and entices small children away. Occasionally one see his peculiar foor prints in the sand. *Wirwer* digs up the dead corpse and eats it. 776

There are also various ghosts, giants, and fairies. *Balongobangs* are evil revivals of the dead corpses who cannot bend their legs. They catch people and tear them to bits. One can tell them at night by their nauseous bad odor. Then is the time to run away from that place quicker than possible.

The *Gaggag* are giants who live in the forest and can make themselves into animals. If one even says their name, they will rush out and kill him. They have green blood in their bodies and red blood is only in their heads. So one must hit a *Gaggag* in the head in order to kill him.

776 [824] The *Danag* live in trees and act like fairies. If a tree is cut down and it does not fall, a *Danag* inhabits that tree. *Danags* enjoy playing practical jokes. If something awkard happens on the way, a *Danag* did it. Or sometimes, when some priestess is calling her *anito*, a *Danag* will show up instead.

782 The usual method used to gain the favor or help of an anito is to give him a feast. This may vary in name, size, details, and extent, according to the occa-
796 sion and wealth of the party who gives the feast. The
574 general procedure; however, at a feast is about as follows:

[791] The relatives and family giving the feast gather in the house one evening while the priestess, *durarakit*, performs a ceremony in which she calls the suitable *anito* and invites it to enjoy the feast. She spreads a mat near the door, places on it a bundle of unthreshed rice, some *buyo*, with possibly other articles, and ties a small chicken near by. The priestess stands on the mat and, to the cadence of the drum and bronze gongs, side shuffles her feet and waves her extended arms, at the same time calling in an old chant for the *anito* to come to the feast. In a few minutes her eyes dilate and she begins to tremble in a trance. The *anito* has come. She continues talking to it, telling it to be happy and to please help as desired. After a while she comes out of her trance and starts placing *buyo* with leaves and lime, together with grass bundles, on the jars of *basi* and on the animals which are to be killed. (Dogs and pigs are eaten only at feasts.) The *durarakit* performs this that there may be peace at the feast.

536 is rather monotonous and at other times becomes excitingly thrilling, according to the drift of the story.

538 In order to follow the tune, the narrator will often
522 draw out the end of some words or maybe add meaningless syllables. There are many repetitions of action and thought, as well as inconsequential happenings. Incongruities of action and sudden transitions of scene often occur. Once in awhile the narrative is broken by some ludicrous incident just as you have clowning in a drama. The greater pleasure is not so much in following the development of the plot of the story as it is in the delightful manner of the telling. Yet the plot is interesting, being often based on some
513 practical joke. Listening to such a story is really a very happy way to spend an otherwise dull time. Sometimes the people stay up all night and listen to them.

126 However, if one wrote down every syllable which the story teller uttered in narrating one story, he would have a book which very few people would care to read. Therefore most of the folk tales in this little collection are written in the short way. With some, the popular dialect used (sometimes ungrammatically) is also given. The English following is a free translation. Sometimes two versions of a story are given.

121 Some students make distinction between myths
538 and folktales. But the people have only one name,
773 *adodit*, for both; and as a matter of fact, there are
776 few folktales which do not have a religious element. In the early days the main distinction between *anitos* and men was that they lived in a different place: the only physical difference being that the female *anitos* had only one breast which was in the center of their

bosoms. It was possible for an *anito* to be a man or for a man to become an anito. If the people make so little distinction between gods and men, why should I? 121 538 773 776

Anyhow, here are some of the Apayao tales.

She chewed betel nut and threw it out of the window praying: "Some of you will turn into fat pigs and other animals so that there will be many animals for the feast." 842 [789]

The people came to the feast and marveled at the wonderful house which was constructed better than any man could fashion it. The two brothers and the sister made a generous agreement and explained to all the people how the woman became pregnant and that the boy was really the son of Enoy. They were all satisfied.

BEBEROCA

Beberoca was a *anito* who could change himself at will, and he ate people. One day he found many people fishing in the river. He suggested to the people: "You do not have to work hard to make that dam to turn the river. Just stop and I will lie down and be the dam." The people were pleased and got to one side. Beberoca lay down so that the water was turned aside, and the people picked up many fish. For several hours he lay there. But suddenly a crab bit him on the head. It startled him so that he jumped up. The water came on the people, and they were all drowned and were washed away down the stream. 776

Since he got no people there, he went on up stream. While on his way, Beberoca met several women and asked them: "Why are you fishing like that? It is too hard. I will help you." The women were glad and Beberoca lay down. The water became less and less. The women took many fish. After several hours, a crab bit Beberoca on the back; so he yelled:

"What is biting me?" and jumped up. The water rushed down and swept the women down stream.

Therefore Beberoca continued on up stream until he came to some men fishing with a net. "Stop fishing with that net, men; I will help you," he ordered. The men willingly accepted and Beberoca lay down. As the river backed up and became deeper, Beberoca kept making himself correspondingly bigger and bigger. He aimed to let the men catch all the fish and then he would catch all the men. As they were becoming very tired, a crab bit one of the men on the foot and said: "Beberoca is going to kill an deat you, but I will help you to get out." The men were glad and waited. The crab bit the man again, saying: "Follow me and try the hole which I am making" The man drove down; but the hole was too small. The crab said: "You go back and wait until I make it bigger." So the man did. Then the crab met an eel and asked him to help make the hole larger. "All right," said the eel. It helped the crab to make the hole bigger. The crab then went and bit three more men, saying: "You follow the frog to the bank. Then the frog will make tracks down stream; but you go up stream." The people followed the crab through the hole, climbed out on the bank, and went up stream. The crab stayed there on the bank.

Beberoca noticed that the water was not rising and discovered the hole which let it out. So he jumped up and found the people were gone. He looked for them and found the foot prints of the frog, which he followed. As the frog continued ahead down stream, it met groups of people to whom it said: "People

people, run away from the river or Beberoca will eat you. They ran away. 776

The frog came to a woman and said: "Woman, woman, run away from the river or Beberoca will eat you." But the woman replied: "No, no, he will not eat me. I will stay here." She stayed until Beberoca came. He said: "I will eat you, because I am hungry." The woman agreed. "All right, go ahead." But she kept her small *aliwa* tied in her hair. Beberoca swallowed her whole at one gulp and then went home. He asked the people to treat him for his stomach ache, as it hurt. The people met a woman and called her to the house. The excreta of Beberoca were very bloody, for the woman whom he had swallowed was cutting him up inside. He could neither stand up nor lie down, nor sit comfortably until the woman should come out of his stomach.

The woman cut a hole in the stomach of Beberoca and came out. But at the same time Beberoca died.

HOW BOWA BECAME A DREADFUL ANITO

A long time ago in the *barangay* of Pagsan, there lived a man by the name of Boquet. He was married there in his settlement to one of his distant relatives.

During their married life they had only one baby, a boy. The parents loved their only child very much. In those days clothing was rare, and it was only in Ilocos that one could secure clothing by way of barter. It so happened that they wanted some clothing for

77 their child. The people at that time[1] were wearing
[173] the bark of trees for clothing.

The father planned for a trip to Ilocos, taking with him dried fish to barter for some cloth for his son. He told his wife to take good care of their child while he was gone. Then the next day he started for Ilocos with the dried fish. It took him six days to barter his fish for cloth. One day, after he had left his home, his child became sick and, after two days
[173] of illness died. There were no means of communication during those days. So his wife decided not to bury the child until the father arrived. When the dead child had been in the house for two days, the mother could not stand the bad odor which came from the child. At last they decided to bury the child. The mother saved a jar of fluid from the child to prove to her husband that their only child had passed away.

The next day after the burial of the child, Boquet returned home. He at once inquired where their child was; and the grieving wife told him that their child had been buried the day before. To prove it she brought the jar of fluid from the child and the jar of *basi* that they had used during the day when the child was still in the house.

The father was filled with deep sadness and promptly took the two jars and drank their contents. He told his wife that she would never see him any more. He ran out and climbed up a betel-nut tree and came down again. He turned to his wife again and said, "Never look for me any more. I shall eat all dead human people." He ran away to the forest and became an *anito* named Bowa. From that time

1 [i.e., long ago -- Analyst]

Bowa has always been getting dead human beings from graves for his food. 776

WIR-WER TAKES A MATE

The *anito* Wir-wer goes everywhere spending his time looking for the dead. Wir-wer lives on dead bodies which he digs out of the ground, excavating the graves of dead people. Limbobia is his wife. If there is a dead person, the priests call this *anito*, placating him so that he will not eat the corpse. [764]

A long time ago in Marágat all the children were on the ground after supper playing hide and seek in the dark. One small girl was playing, holding a firebrand. Wir-wer swooped down, grabbed her, and took her into the air. The girl cried, "Mother! Help!!" Wir-wer went through the air very fast to his house in the air. The mother, almost crazy, followed below just as fast. Wir-wer's house was a big cave full of valuable properties taken from graves of dead persons. It was in the forest, in Mount Anag. The mother was there when Wir-wer said: "You must give me beads". "Why do you want my daughter", she scolded. "To stay in my house," Wirwer replied. It was arranged that Wirwer should give her many beads for her daughter. She returned home loaded with so many beads that she could hardly carry them. He also gave her the seedings of the rice called *dumalay;* which most of the people now raise. It ordinarily takes about three days for a person to go from home of Wirwer to Maragat; but the woman made it in only a few hours. 583 776

in the ordinary ground until it comes to a wide river which it cannot cross alone. 304 775

However, at the river the *cadudorsa* meets a ferryman whose name is Kutao. Before taking the *cadudorsa* across, Kutao must first inspect it to see if its appearance is right. He looks on the backs of the hands of the *cadudorsa* to see if they are tattooed with the boat pattern. If they are, Kutao ferries the *cadudorsa across*. If the hands are not tattooed, Kuta cuts them off before taking the *cadudorsa* across the river.

Upon arriving at the place, each *cadudorsa* becomes young and handsome again and changes so that all of the people in that place are similar in appearance. 775

The place of the *cadudorsa* is a wonderful country, with the same kind of plants and animals as on the earth; but everything is perfectly lovely. Life there is much as on earth; but everybody is happy because there is no pain, nor sorrow, nor work.

The ruler of the place is Ewagan fourth son of Hatan. He creates food for the people and takes care of all their needs so that they have no work and responsibilities, living in continuous leisure. [776]

Thus life in the Future is one continuous party. Also a *cadudorsa* is sometimes invited by his relatives to attend a *sayam* in his old home on earth. 769 775

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Apayao OA5
Isneg

In a certain place, not so long ago, they had a teacher whose moral conduct was, to say the least, rather objectionable. When policemen raided the houses of the Isneg in order to hunt up all children of school age, several Isneg parents bluntly told them that they would gladly send their sons, but with reference to their daughters, as long as that teacher remained in charge, never; and they were perfectly right. That man has since been dismissed from the service.

A few defects, which will be recorded in due time, occasionally mar the picture of Isneg family life; but on the whole, it must be said that the Isneg commonly live up to their comparatively high standards with regard to this most important unit of society. Nevertheless the whole life of the Isneg, from the cradle to the grave, is dominated by the fear of the spirits; superstition, magic and spirit worship are inextricably interwoven with their whole life. If a Caucasian or, to take an example from people born, living and dying in the same surroundings, a Negrito had to live under such a continual fear of the supernatural and to comply with such a large number of practices in order to propitiate higher beings or to elude their malevolent intentions, I think his life would be simply miserable. The Isneg, however, do not seem to mind, and although always on the lookout for disagreeable interventions from above, they live a life free of care and are never anxious about the future. They rarely concern themselves with what the next day might bring them, and live happy and content if to-day their immediate wants are provided for: to-morrow will take care of itself.

This seeming contradiction pervades their whole life. On the one hand, they have to take innumerable precautions for the future with regard to superior beings. On the other hand, they do not seem to care a jot for the days to come even with reference to such essential needs as food and raiment. The solution of this apparent puzzle seems to me to be found in the fact that the Isneg do conscientiously every day what they think they have to do and leave the rest to fate. With reference to the supernatural, if they take all possible means to propitiate the spirits, and disregard no taboos, and so on, they feel assured that nothing untoward will happen to them on the part of the spirits. With reference to daily sustenance and the rest, they feel no such assurance, as they know by practical experience that they cannot control the forces of nature, rain, storms, the growth of plants, etc. By strictly observing all injunctions of the shamans and all traditional rites and practices, they believe it possible to control the

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Isneg

181 supernatural for the time to come. Nature, however, is not theirs
771 to direct; they know this all too well, and so why bother about the
789 future. Besides, there will always be something to eat, there is no
152 winter in the tropics, vegetation is luxuriant, and the Isneg are not
777 particular. Nature is ruled by the supernatural, not by human beings. All the latter can do is to influence the supernatural. Man has no direct control over rain and sunshine, sickness and death, but the spirits have; and these have to be moved to pity or to be frightened into submission, as the case may be.

753 An Isneg will say: "What is the use of medicine? If it has been
181 decreed that a person will die, he will do so, medicines or no medi-
777 cines". But nevertheless he will comply with all possible prescrip-
152 tions of the shaman, and if the person dies notwithstanding all
771 precautions have been taken to protect him from the spirits, then: "It was his fate", and that ends the matter.

777 If the locusts are devastating the fields, an Isneg will resign himself
181 to his fate. He has worked diligently, he has observed all possible
152 omens and has broken no taboos; why should he worry, why should
731 he try to destroy these pests. The Government will force him to do
177 so of course, and he will obey as long as he remains under the eagle eye of his rulers, but he will say: "What is the use; if we destroy these, others will take their place, provided it be decreed that way: and if not, it is perfectly useless to tire ourselves for nothing".

777 Such and similar states of mind are not confined to the Isneg. I
181 remember very well how on a certain occasion, in 1914, I was assisting
152 an Ilokо Christian on his deathbed. Wanting to impress upon him
771 the great necessity of a deep sorrow for his sins, I described to him
177 as vividly as possible the horrors of hell, and told him how anxious he
781 should be to avoid an eternity of such pains and torments; but his only answer was an act of absolute conformity to the Divine Will: "If God wants me to go to hell, I am perfectly willing". And that man was far from wanting to be disrespectful to the Deity; his words simply illustrated how little he cared about what the future had in store for him. Pagan Isneg lay the blame for every untoward happening, either merely on fate, or on the intervention of some ill-intentioned imp, while a happy turn of events is usually considered to be the result either of fate pure and simple, or of some special clever means by which the machinations of the spirits have been counteracted. Nowadays the Government, the Ilunag as they call all Christians, has generally to bear the blame of any public calamity

[721]

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Isneg

that may occur, as it is the ultimate cause of the anger of the spirits, who are deprived of their usual offerings through the abolition of headhunting.

But let us come back to our original purpose of describing the Isneg life cycle, and leave those digressions about fete and spirits for some other time. I shall first treat birth; second, education and home life; third, marriage; and fourth, death and burial.

I. Birth and Infancy

The birth of a child is as a matter of course a very important event, not only for the individual in question, but also for everybody concerned. Any addition to the household is hailed with delight by each and every member of the family, and children are considered as a very precious asset by all Isneg. Some five years ago, at the very beginning of my residence among the Isneg, while I was chatting one day with the justice of the peace of Kabugaw at the latter's house, an Isneg woman came to see him in order to ask him to allow her to divorce her husband. When the judge remonstrated and tried to convince her not to resort to such a drastic procedure, by describing its bad effects more especially on her own self, the woman merely replied that she could stand anything from now on, as during her short married life she had been given "gain" (she used the Spanish term *ganancia*); and when the judge asked her what kind of gain she meant, she merely showed him her child. While in the eyes of most persons a child would be an obstacle to the easy divorce of its parents, in the eyes of this Isneg mother, the child that had been given to her was considered as a treasure that would compensate all hardships incident on the separation from her husband.

A. Pregnancy and Gestation

In order to promote pregnancy, some married Isneg women buy what some of them call "medicine" either from the Christian Iloko or from other married people among their own tribe. This "medicine" usually consists of one or more kinds of herbs which are the secret of the seller. The buyer carries them on her body, tying them to her girdle in front, either above the right thigh or above the left one. The *ciawandi*, a herb that grows on trees, is chewed by Isneg women for the same purpose.

A kind of small herb, called *ẓua-dá*, is occasionally used by Isneg women in order to stop bearing children. Somebody goes to the

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in the power of my drugs instead of following exclusively his own superstitions. At least I inferred from his conduct that this was his state of mind; and I believe I was not far from the truth. Similar cases are frequent also among the Isneg: doctors and sanitary inspectors know all too well about them.

"Be generous toward your friends. A miser is abhorred among us. If you bring down a wild boar or deer in the forest, share your good luck with your relatives and friends. These things were not worked for by you; fate brought them into your hands. If you have tobacco, share it with your friends; be a generous companion to every Isneg. When you offer a sacrifice be not stingy with the *bási*, and give everybody who happens to come along his share of rice and vianda. Would you be happy if somebody prevented you from participating in a feast? Would you like to be excluded at the distribution of food and drink? Never cause your companions to say that you *nmaxáwa* (or *iaxáwa*, "to put away dainties when a visitor is seen approaching the house, lest one should have to let him have a share in them") or *gumisdd* (to close the doors at the appearance of a stranger while eating some delicious food, for the same reason) these are very opprobrious terms. With reference to the Ibanag remember that those in authority have come here to help us, and more especially the white man: he has unbounded riches, and he has come here for the evident purpose of spending it upon us. Even though some of us are considered rich among ourselves, they are poor when compared with him. Let him pay double the price for whatever he needs. Is he not rich beyond anything you can imagine? Do not exclude him from your feasts, if he wants to participate in them, but expect him to be generous toward you in all transactions and business affairs."

Kaddw, who is considered the richest man in Apayaw, has come to my house more than once in order to sell articles which he could not get rid of elsewhere, and he usually charged us twice the regular price. When we told him that he is a rich man, which by the way he likes to hear very much, and that he at least should remember how we feed many of his people without remuneration, when we told him that he should help us in order to be merciful to the poor Isneg instead of taking advantage of our good will, he invariably retorted by saying that we have money galore, and what should we do with it except distribute it to the Isneg. Is this not the reason why we live among them? And *Kaddw* is not the only Isneg who entertains such an opinion.

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and, in any case, it is much too easily consumed to allow them any degree of comfort.

Several reasons may be assigned for the exceptional poverty of these people. The spirit *Laṅdúsăn* is very often the culprit. If it happens through his machinations that people are brought to the verge of starvation, the latter are said to be *malaṅdúsăn*. Sometimes, too, a want of civic spirit that has been observed in a certain person, may induce other people to pray the spirits to have his plants consumed by animals, and consequently to cause him to become poor. In such a case, the enemies of this unworthy citizen are said to *maglábuy*. Other people are simply *nakurmáṅ*, they are unlucky: they cannot raise anything on their fields, and the result is wretchedness and want of food.

It may also happen that some people are unable to complete any kind of work in their rice fields: they are *nadannág*. Whatever they try to accomplish, whether planting or weeding, whether clearing a field or fencing it, they can never bring it to a finish. This, of course, almost inevitably leads to poverty and ultimately ends in the lack of the necessary livelihood. Nevertheless there is an easy remedy to this sad situation: the only thing to be done is to prepare *inapúxăn* (betel for chewing), and to offer it to the spirit in charge by laying it down somewhere within his reach, at the same time reciting the following prayer, which was given me by *Púlog* from Dangla (O dialect, Mam branch):[2]

Iápugko iáw aníto ta dinā- pagdandannaxán. (I offer betel [for chewing] to you, spirit, so that you do not make me lazy).[3]

A rather remote, but very real cause of destitution, is a person's habit of being late (*nekábut*) whenever some work has to be done. In such a case the only means for him to escape being numbered sooner or later among the needy is to shake off his inbred torpor and to imitate his more diligent companions.

In this connection I should be allowed to mention the lines of the hand, as the art of palmistry is far from being unknown among the Isneg, and a person who is *rappád*, which means that one of the lines

[2] The way to prepare *inapúxăn* will soon be explained at length. For explanation of Isneg dialects and branches, see M. Vanoverbergh, Isneg Life Cycle, II, Marriage, Death, and Burial, Publ. Cath. Anthrop. Conf., 1938, v. 3, no. 3, pp. 261-64.

[3] Lest I be prevented from finishing my work. This is said only of work in the rice fields: clearing land, planting rice, etc.

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All men who do not belong to the family are forbidden to enter the house, and even those who live there, whether small boys or adults, have to keep away from the mother,—a prohibition which is easily complied with, as Isneg houses are very roomy. The husband alone forms an exception to this rule in a few places, Bayag for instance, where he is allowed to assist the women; but in most other localities, he himself, although permitted to stay in the house, has to turn the other way and is forbidden to witness the birth of his offspring. Nobody, however, is allowed to remain at the door (*sagiyáńa*): this is strictly taboo; all persons have either to enter the house, provided of course they belong to that set of people who are not forbidden to be present on such an occasion, or to stay outside below the ladder.

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The Isneg mother brings forth her child kneeling down on the floor of her house. In order to facilitate the birth of the child, the Isneg sometimes place one or more *pulpultóg* (a fungus in the shape of a small round white ball, growing on wet soil) on the body of the future mother. If she experiences unusual difficulty, the *bańáli* (a thorny woody vine) is used for the same purpose. Occasionally some *kalobbará* (small herbs) are placed over the place of her lungs, lest the latter move. Lung is called *bará* in Isneg.

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A small section of light bamboo (Schizostachyum mucronatum), on which a razorlike edge has been cut by means of a headax, is a very appropriate instrument for the severance of the umbilical cord (*púsag*). The afterbirth, to which has been tied some kind of herb (*kaddát*) known to the shaman as an amulet (*tánib*), is placed either on a *duyát* (wooden plate), or in a *bali-luká* (spathe of the betel nut) or a *táxo-* (coconut shell), and then buried either far away from the house (at Bolo, etc.), or under the house, immediately below the hearth (at Musimut, Bayag, etc.).

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A Bayag man told me that, in case the child was born still enveloped in a membrane, which he said was a very rare occurrence, his people rolled the latter up in a piece of cloth and stowed it away somewhere in one of their trunks; they considered it as a very powerful amulet in business: it would enable the owners to buy many things. He also stated that the newborn babe was bathed immediately in ordinary cold water; in other places, however, and this I consider to be much more general, the child gets its first bath only when it is able to turn itself upon its mat without assistance, or to creep over the floor on hands and knees (*mazadáń*).

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846 On the wound of the navel the Isneg place some soot and a piece
•778 of dried bagasse, in order to sear it and to allow the rest of the
umbilical cord to come off easily. The latter (*kázow*) is then placed
789 in a *táxo-* or coconut shell, some ashes are strewn over it, and the whole is buried either at the place of the afterbirth, or somewhere under the house in case the afterbirth has been buried away from it. It seems, however, that in Bayag it serves the same purpose as that of the membrane just referred to, and that it is rolled up in a piece of cloth and stowed away in some trunk belonging to the parents, to be kept as an amulet in business.

846 The immediate and natural needs of the newborn babe having been
778 attended to, the first concern of the Isneg is to protect the little creature
789 from all possible machinations of the spirits, who seem to have been lying in wait for this new human being to come into the world in order to work their wiles upon it. The Isneg, however, are not backward in finding sure and almost infallible remedies against the machinations of these *anito*, and they usually have the upper hand in this warfare between the world of spirits and that of real men. We have already described how the afterbirth is rendered innocuous or rather how the spirits are obliged to forego all hope of using it as a weapon of offense against the child or its parents; or does the herb that is tied to it force the supernatural world into granting either some of the present wishes of the parents or some of the future ones of the child? Just what is the use of that herb I do not know, and the Isneg will tell you the same; it is the custom, and that is sufficient
[811] in most similar cases. Sometimes explanations are given, and I shall not fail to record them in every instance, but these explanations are very often unsatisfactory, and the connection between a certain practice and the reason why it is said to be performed is very often exceedingly loose, and, at least from our point of view, quite inappropriate.

846 As soon as a child is born in the house, the Isneg take a coconut
789 shell, place some ashes and some water in it, and put it somewhere near the door, at the inside. After that, the first thing to be done is to forbid access to the house both to the spirits and to people who might bring bad luck to the enriched household.

With reference to the spirits, this is not very hard; there are some objects that an *anito* will never approach even from afar, and provided one knows which object to choose, everything is safe from that side. At Bayag the Isneg place an *tzād* at the door of the house, at

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are reciprocated by his sweetheart. To do this he proceeds exactly in the same way as does the Isneg who is intending to go on a journey: he observes the flight of the *labág* bird, whose female is called *palazi-bát*, and if the bird fails to cross his path, the omen is good; if it crosses his path, however, he will wait for another occasion in the not too distant future in order to observe again the flight of the *labág*, and, in case of a favorable answer, to go on with his intentions. The definite steps just referred to consist in the following: the young man takes a bundle of betel leaves, some fifty or more betel nuts, and a ring; he rolls everything in a handkerchief, and carries his precious burden to the house of his sweetheart, some time in the evening. Once there he drops the whole package, called *luptág*, into one of the girl's *aligmamán* baskets, without saying the least word about the same. If the girl brings it back to him, it is a sign of refusal on her part; but if she keeps it, the boy knows for certain that his love has been reciprocated, and both consider themselves as engaged by tacit agreement.

From now on the young man will pay his girl regular visits, even though he may continue occasionally to see other girls. If such visits should stop for a considerable time, although without direct fault of the boy, any Isneg girl would have to conclude that the boy's love had shifted toward somebody else. Should the boy break the engagement, either on his own account or in obedience to the wishes of his elders, he is liable to be fined by the parents of the outraged girl.

To know for sure that the other party's interest has not slackened, Isneg lovers sometimes resort to the proposal of a date for some future meeting. If the girl does not appear at the trysting place, the boy is *maikáwa* (disappointed, annoyed), as this is an unmistakable sign that the girl does not love him any more; if the boy fails to make an appearance, the girl knows that his love toward her has ceased. Although this is done by young people, whether engaged or not, it goes without saying that in the former case it takes place only if some doubt has arisen in the boy's mind or in that of the girl as to the faithfulness of his or her partner.

As soon as two people have become engaged, actual Isneg custom allows them to have sexual relations, although no ceremonies have been performed and they are not yet living together. This happens very often of course when the boy goes to see his girl in the evening. A boy who passes his evenings or nights at the house of the girl to whom he has become engaged, is said to *maral-allág* or *maad-adág*.

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postponed for a considerable time. Others again say that *Kútaw* robs it of its garments and dons them himself, to the great dismay and shame of the poor *kadudúwá*, who from now on is obliged to wear either no clothes or at least only such as are not cared for any more by its companions at the other side of the grave. The latter informants usually add that *Kútaw* refuses to ferry this *kadudúwá* over the pond, unless it gives its brand-new clothes to him; some of them say that it may happen that *Kútaw* takes to himself not only the clothes, but also the whole *kadudúwá* (as a kind of servant). One more detail was given me by a Bayag informant: if the dead person has only one of his forearms tattooed (not both of them), *Kútaw* cuts off this tattooed limb and keeps it to himself.

To resume: some informants state that all *kadudúwá* are always ferried over the pond by *Kútaw*, but that those whose *inndt* wears no new clothes, remain like that at least for some time to come, or are left to their own devices as soon as they reach the other side, without being able to find their relatives, at least immediately, while those whose *inndt* wear new clothes without rent are either despoiled by *Kútaw* or kept back for at least a considerable time from the enjoyment that is their due. Other informants state that some *kadudúwá* are simply scorned by *Kútaw* and left on this side of the pond: either those whose *inndt* wear old clothes, or those whose new garments have not been torn. On the other hand, when asked what *kadudúwá* are living in the realm of the dead, even these last informants generally affirm that they all do.

A *labbáń* is a kind of lagoon or pool of stagnant water, of a type found in abundance all along the northern coast of Luzon, between Sanchez Mira and Aparri, and even farther east. At Nagbabalayan there is also a *labbáń*, which consists of a pool of water separated from the Apayaw river by a small elevation of land; at every large rise of the Apayaw river, however, it forms one with the latter. This Nagbabalayan *labbáń* is the regular abode of crocodiles, to whom the Nagbabalayan people offer gifts at every sacrifice. But the name *lablabbáń* belongs exclusively to the pond that separates our abode from that of the dead. Such a reduplication as occurs here usually hints at something similar to what the simple stem implies. Thus *lablabbáń* would mean a *labbáń* that is not an ordinary one, and, considering its place and use, no further proof is needed to convince everybody that it is a very peculiar pool indeed. The following mysterious fact adds to its differentiation from any other *labbáń*:

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find its abode to its taste, and may creep out stealthily, shake off with both hands the earth that clung to it while winding its way out, and roam around at night feeding on chickens and charcoal (*bergáń*). That it feeds on chickens proves that the *balańóbáń* is really alive; that it feeds on charcoal shows that its life is not that of an ordinary human being.

These *balańóbáń* are also supposed to be very fond of annoying the women who go to work in the field: which seems but natural, as the women are usually much more afraid of ghosts than the men, and consequently will imagine much more easily that they have to do with a phantom, whenever they see something more or less out of the ordinary. Nevertheless, all Isneg, whether men or women, believe in *balańóbáń*, and I rarely met a man who did not positively assure me that he had seen one. Crossroads (*sisiníyán*) seem also to be a favorite haunt of these *balańóbáń:* the Isneg state that a *sisiníyán* is the usual place where they can be encountered, so that anybody who is anxious to meet a ghost, should lie in wait at a *sisiníyán*, and he will rarely be disappointed.

In some places, in order to prevent a dead body from leaving its tomb, the Isneg sometimes put a heavy stone (only one) upon the lid of the coffin, inside the grave; in others stones were placed on top of the tomb, after it has been filled up: but I doubt very much if the latter practice is resorted to by the Isneg with the purpose of keeping the buried corpse at bay. The description of tombs and of all purely magical practices which are of use in Apayaw, either to cause a dead body to leave its tomb and annoy the neighbors, or to prevent it from doing so, will find its place further on.

What does a *balańóbáń* look like? All Isneg agree that it has the shape of a man and that it is full of worms, but beyond this nothing definite can be gathered from native informants. When you ask people who live in more civilized areas and pretend to have seen ghosts, what the latter look like, you may get as many answers as there are informants, the one answer as vague as the other. The Isneg, like some weak-minded and credulous people among our own, see a ghost, especially at night, in every gnarled branch of a tree, in every disfigured shape, which they cannot clearly distinguish. The generality of the Isneg, if not all of them, will assure you most positively that they have seen real ghosts, and indeed they see ghosts at night in everything whose shape does not seem to correspond to something known to them, whether it be earth or stone, plant or animal,

In the morning the family prepares the food for the guests. The men butcher the dog, chickens, and pigs. They might go out and get a wild pig or two. The women cook the rice, vegetables and meat. Boys carry invitations to the houses of the guests, who begin to arrive about noon, all dressed up in their best clothes.

When a guest arrives, he is given a drink of *basi* and also food, if he is hungry. Individual servings of rice, together with some meat and vegetables, are wrapped up in sections of bamboo leaf and passed around. One package of food is placed for the family *anito* under the sacred big tree or bamboo clump where it lives, and where it is the custom to hang the heads taken by the family warriors. As the various animals are killed, a little of the blood and liver are placed in a coconut shell or a section of bamboo and hung up for the *anito* of the feast. That is his share. The people eat the rest for him. Also *runo* leaves are hung from a rafter above the stove, one for each pig killed.

Dancing, *talip*, in the house starts early in the afternoon. The intriguing music is supplied by the women, who beat a staccato rhythm on three instruments: the *ludog*, a drum fashioned of a hollowed log with a skin secured over one end; a large, shallow curved-bottomed kettle-shaped bronze gong; and the *ganza*, a smaller, flat-bottomed bronze gong. Each has its own tone (base, soprano, alto) and beat, while the notes are short: quarter, eighth, and sixteenth. Thus the rhythm is fast and intricate: hard to follow. One couple dances at a time. One of the family hands a special cloth to an honored guest. He starts walk-

inumbet nakisawad ki ya dordori, nalocsaw to dordori, se na ñga nan kid-di, "Amogko din ta matay ka kia pagsinkadam nana. Ngem kane mabalin mañgahi kito matay ay, nekalin na la kito nagsisikadan na se matay. ooo

Kane amuan da to makin panpane kito natay ay, inayaban da ñgamin da tu cabulon da ta mawe da ñga palayan to dordori, to ya makin basol kito natay. Kane ombet da ñga mamatay kito dordori ñga nan da ay pahamuan ay nammin da ñga natay kane iamog na to dordori ñga matay da ñgamin.

Kanen umbet ya nududi ñga algaw ay awan nin to an anting na ya dordori to-to te-taman da kito sidong na to abay ñga cayo ñga magñgahanka alipawen. To idi ñga cayo ay attangkam ñga sib-biag panda kid-diyin.

——During the olden times there lived a family in 778
our settlement, which is called Madatag. In this settlement there lived one family which was the richest of all. They had all the different kinds of ancient jars, the most precious of which is called *dordori*. If the head of that family went to a certain place, that *Dordori* would give advice concerning the jars as to which was *dordori*. This often caused arguments with the people. But the jar insisted upon the truth of what it had been telling the head. "You know that jar; it is the most precious of all the jars: it can even buy a beautiful young maiden; but this jar is even more wonderful, for it can even walk from place to place to find its enemy."

778 One bright morning, all the members of that family went out to work and forgot to fasten the door of their house. Soon it so happened that a man came and spoke some indecent words so that the jar was hurt by them. Then it uttered these words: "How I wish that you would die at this moment." Instantly, the man fell to the ground just as the jar was uttering the words.

When the relatives of the man who died, came to the house of that rich family, they started a great fight against that family which resulted in the death of all the people in my settlement (Madatag). They were all eaten by the jar (*Dordori*), and this *Dordori* is still in Madatag. It is buried under an *alipawen* tree. If some one dies, it is always the jar who will eat him.

Simadun A Ato

WILD DOGS

(Bayag River Dialect)

000 *Dean pon algaw uuei ma sit a gake ungaden nod Guipngay.*

In the old times there was a man whose name was Guipngay.

Unuauadet Kampote deag mad deidec a gabon nangted mad banuua.

He lived in Kampote, near the mountain Gabon, toward the trail.

He told his neighbors what he had seen and also of the place. 000

Mangũpun to awan pot toon anganup deag mad decdec a canadean ma cueva.

From that time, no person hunts near this mountain where the tunnel is.

WHY MOUNT KINGKINGAN IS BARE

Long ago in time immemorial there lived in Agnoan an Old Man named Osud. He was the ruler of the people. The people believed that there was no human being higher than he. The people believed that he was the one who made their plants to grow, and everything that they saw. Their belief was that tobacco was once a wicked person. Osud, the ruler, was the enemy of that person. Because of his evil nature, Osud ordered him to be changed into a plant. So it was done. The wicked person became the first tobacco of the people. 778

Osud was always kind to his people. Whenever he tapped the ground with his arrow, instantly he would be surrounded by a company of dwarfs who were ready to do his bidding. His commands were always kind. Sometimes he ordered the dwarfs to carry sweet herbs to the people of the country. Sometimes he set them to work in the tobacco fields situated on the hillside, and chuckled with glee when he saw that the farmers raised big crops.

The people depended upon their plants for their living. The kiañgins extended far upon the moun-

778 tains and were famous for the abundance and the quality of the crops. When the season was too dry, Osud ordered the dwarfs to water the plants in the night. When the rainy season was heavy and the lowland was covered by the rivers in flood, the sun still shone on the high slopes of the mountains. The people were so grateful to Osud that they were willing to do anything that he wanted them to do.

When they asked what he desired, Osud always replied. "I do not want anything that you could give me. All I demand is that you will never set foot above the line which I have drawn around near the top of the mountain. That part belongs to me." The people did not understand about this line. Some three quarters of the way up the mountain the Old Man had drawn a line clear around the mountain. The tobacco fields went up the mountain to the line; but beyond it was a wilderness of brush and stone. It seemed very strange that the ruler, Osud, would forbid them to cross the line. But they loved him so dearly that they willingly obeyed. Never once did a native cross into the uncultivated wilderness.

One day Osud called his people together. He told them that he was going on a long journey. He asked them to promise not to cross his line: telling them that, if they did so, their homes and rich fields of tobacco would be destroyed. The people, eager to please him, gave their promise, and begged him to return to them as soon as possible. The people cried as he tapped the ground with his arrow and disappeared into the earth.

Many years passed; but Osud did not return. The 778
people began to question, and one young man said: "Why should we not plant above this useless line? There is no reason why we should not grow more tobacco than we do; and I, for one, believe that the top of the mountain has the richest soil of all." At first the people were shocked at the idea of disobeying the Old Man. But those who had promised were now too old to work. Osud had been gone so many years that the work was done by their sons.

"We did not promise," the young men said. "Why should we not plant above the line?" So they did, and each year planted higher and higher until the whole mountain was covered with waving green plants.

Never had the people been so rich and happy. But one day the earth shook. The mountain top opened and there stood Osud, their ruler. His eyes were flashing with anger. "Begone!" he shouted, "away from my mountain top!"

The people were greatly frightened and fled. In terror they ran down through the tobacco fields until they reached the lowlands. Then, pausing to look back, they saw a horrible sight. All the tobacco was gone.

Above, on the top of the mountain, stood Osud. He spoke saying: "I sentence you. No tree shall grow on this mountain because you have disobeyed me. From this time forth, you will never become rich and, since you disliked the lowlands, you will always stay on the mountain sides." After he had spoken he disappeared in the mountain where he stood. A great fire

778 enveloped the tobacco fields, and all the trees were consumed in fulfilment of the saying that: "no tree shall grow here."

Many years have passed; but the mountain is still bare. And, if you come up to Apayao, you will see for yourself the place which Osud set on fire. Not a single tree has since grow on that mountain. This mountain is located below Magabta. It is called *bantay kungkingan.* If a stranger should pass by this mountain for the first time, he must pray and leave some gift. If he fails to do so, he will get caught in a heavy rain and become sick.

THE DISCOVERY OF LAKE DANAO

Long long ago in the *barangay* of Namaltugan there was a lake called *"Danao,"* (lake). One day, while the Colidao people, who lived in Namaltugan were hunting, they discovered the lake. It gave them a great surprise because they found it in the middle of a thick forest which the natives called *"ginobat."*
[311] They believed that it was enchanted by an *anito* because, in spite of the fact that it was in the midst of the thick, dark forest, not a single leaf floated on the water or lay in the bottom of the lake.

ooo Then the Colidao people spread to all the others the news of their discovery. When the Madatag people heard about the lake, they thought that it would be the best place for them to hide their precious jars; because they had heard that a man named Toliao was coming to fight with them. He was from the lowlands,

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supernatural for the time to come. Nature, however, is not theirs to direct; they know this all too well, and so why bother about the future. Besides, there will always be something to eat, there is no winter in the tropics, vegetation is luxuriant, and the Isneg are not particular. Nature is ruled by the supernatural, not by human beings. All the latter can do is to influence the supernatural. Man has no direct control over rain and sunshine, sickness and death, but the spirits have; and these have to be moved to pity or to be frightened into submission, as the case may be.

An Isneg will say: "What is the use of medicine? If it has been decreed that a person will die, he will do so, medicines or no medicines". But nevertheless he will comply with all possible prescriptions of the shaman, and if the person dies notwithstanding all precautions have been taken to protect him from the spirits, then: "It was his fate", and that ends the matter.

If the locusts are devastating the fields, an Isneg will resign himself to his fate. He has worked diligently, he has observed all possible omens and has broken no taboos; why should he worry, why should he try to destroy these pests. The Government will force him to do so of course, and he will obey as long as he remains under the eagle eye of his rulers, but he will say: "What is the use; if we destroy these, others will take their place, provided it be decreed that way: and if not, it is perfectly useless to tire ourselves for nothing".

Such and similar states of mind are not confined to the Isneg. I remember very well how on a certain occasion, in 1914, I was assisting an Ifugao Christian on his deathbed. Wanting to impress upon him the great necessity of a deep sorrow for his sins, I described to him as vividly as possible the horrors of hell, and told him how anxious he should be to avoid an eternity of such pains and torments; but his only answer was an act of absolute conformity to the Divine Will: "If God wants me to go to hell, I am perfectly willing". And that man was far from wanting to be disrespectful to the Deity; his words simply illustrated how little he cared about what the future had in store for him. Pagan Isneg lay the blame for every untoward happening, either merely on fate, or on the intervention of some ill-intentioned imp, while a happy turn of events is usually considered to be the result either of fate pure and simple, or of some special clever means by which the machinations of the spirits have been counteracted. Nowadays the Government, the Ibanag as they call all Christians, has generally to bear the blame of any public calamity

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that may occur, as it is the ultimate cause of the anger of the spirits, who are deprived of their usual offerings through the abolition of headhunting.

But let us come back to our original purpose of describing the Isneg life cycle, and leave those digressions about fate and spirits for some other time. I shall first treat birth; second, education and home life; third, marriage; and fourth, death and burial.

I. Birth and Infancy

The birth of a child is as a matter of course a very important event, not only for the individual in question, but also for everybody concerned. Any addition to the household is hailed with delight by each and every member of the family, and children are considered as a very precious asset by all Isneg. Some five years ago, at the very beginning of my residence among the Isneg, while I was chatting one day with the justice of the peace of Kabugaw at the latter's house, an Isneg woman came to see him in order to ask him to allow her to divorce her husband. When the judge remonstrated and tried to convince her not to resort to such a drastic procedure, by describing its bad effects more especially on her own self, the woman merely replied that she could stand anything from now on, as during her short married life she had been given "gain" (she used the Spanish term *ganancia*); and when the judge asked her what kind of gain she meant, she merely showed him her child. While in the eyes of most persons a child would be an obstacle to the easy divorce of its parents, in the eyes of this Isneg mother, the child that had been given to her was considered as a treasure that would compensate all hardships incident on the separation from her husband.

A. Pregnancy and Gestation

In order to promote pregnancy, some married Isneg women buy what some of them call "medicine" either from the Christian Ilokо or from other married people among their own tribe. This "medicine" usually consists of one or more kinds of herbs which are the secret of the seller. The buyer carries them on her body, tying them to her girdle in front, either above the right thigh or above the left one. The *ayunad-*, a herb that grows on trees, is chewed by Isneg women for the same purpose.

A kind of small herb, called *ámadá*, is occasionally used by Isneg women in order to stop bearing children. Somebody goes to the

Do not jump over a child. If you do, his growth will be retarded. 784

At first glance one might think that life in Apayao is greatly restricted by the necessity of placating all the *anitos* and of observing the many auguries, omens, and prohibitions. But, after being around some, I cannot help getting the impression somehow, that all this is partly just the men's sly way to getting out of a lot of hard work and disagreeable duties. At least, the placating of the *anitos* gives them the occasion for many very pleasant social times. 771 784 787 782 781

BURIAL

When death comes, the Apayaos, unlike the Christians, do not dread it as being the end of life on this earth; for the spirit *cadudorosa*, continues to exist somewhere and enjoy many of their physical pleasures without the discomforts. The people respect these spirits and go to great pains to see that they are made happy, both during the funeral ceremony and also during the following years. At all the feasts a portion of the best food and *basi* is placed on a plate, which is then set near the stove where the immediate supply of rice is kept. The people want to keep the spirits of their ancestors happy and contented for, if one should become discontented, he will select a person in the house to keep him company. The person then becomes sick and will die if a feast is not held to make that spirt happy and contented again. 761 775 769 [753]

When a person dies, all the relatives immediately gather in his house and hold a *callas* in his memory. 764

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In a certain place, not so long ago, they had a teacher whose moral conduct was, to say the least, rather objectionable. When policemen raided the houses of the Isneg in order to hunt up all children of school age, several Isneg parents bluntly told them that they would gladly send their sons, but with reference to their daughters, as long as that teacher remained in charge, never; and they were perfectly right. That man has since been dismissed from the service.

A few defects, which will be recorded in due time, occasionally mar the picture of Isneg family life; but on the whole, it must be said that the Isneg commonly live up to their comparatively high standards with regard to this most important unit of society. Nevertheless the whole life of the Isneg, from the cradle to the grave, is dominated by the fear of the spirits; superstition, magic and spirit worship are inextricably interwoven with their whole life. If a Caucasian or, to take an example from people born, living and dying in the same surroundings, a Negrito had to live under such a continual fear of the supernatural and to comply with such a large number of practices in order to propitiate higher beings or to elude their malevolent intentions, I think his life would be simply miserable. The Isneg, however, do not seem to mind, and although always on the lookout for disagreeable interventions from above, they live a life free of care and are never anxious about the future. They rarely concern themselves with what the next day might bring them, and live happy and content if to-day their immediate wants are provided for: to-morrow will take care of itself.

This seeming contradiction pervades their whole life. On the one hand, they have to take innumerable precautions for the future with regard to superior beings. On the other hand, they do not seem to care a jot for the days to come even with reference to such essential needs as food and raiment. The solution of this apparent puzzle seems to me to be found in the fact that the Isneg do conscientiously every day what they think they have to do and leave the rest to fate. With reference to the supernatural, if they take all possible means to propitiate the spirits, and disregard no taboos, and so on, they feel assured that nothing untoward will happen to them on the part of the spirits. With reference to daily sustenance and the rest, they feel no such assurance, as they know by practical experience that they cannot control the forces of nature, rain, storms, the growth of plants, etc. By strictly observing all injunctions of the shamans and all traditional rites and practices, they believe it possible to control the

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many details as possible, although I am far from claiming that my study about Isneg religion and morality has so far been exhaustive or that my knowledge of these subjects cannot be improved upon. A whole lifetime would scarcely be sufficient to disentagle all the intricate knots, the more so that, especially as regards religion, the Isneg are sometimes far from logical in their reasoning.

In religious instruction the *dorarákit* or shaman plays the dominant rôle, as it is she who conducts religious ceremonies, and it is she through whom the spirits and the souls of the dead are supposed to communicate with man. Now let us see in how far the shaman imparts formal instruction, and in how far young people have to learn by merely looking on.

The *dorarákit* directly teaches her pupils by explaining to them the meaning of the rites and ceremonies, at the time of some *sây-âm* or other sacrifice accompanied by *maxanito*, and almost exclusively on such occasions. Her pupils at the time are first of all the young *dorarákit*, who have been chosen and consecrated mostly when still in their infancy, and secondly all members of the younger generation who are willing to listen. Consequently this kind of teaching is done while the ceremonies in question are under way and it is illustrated by their performance. It is not the place here to enter into details about the ceremonies just referred to; it will suffice to say that the *sây-âm* is a kind of public sacrifice in which dogs and pigs are offered to the spirits, and that *maxanito* refers to the action of the shaman at the time she is supposed to be possessed either by a spirit or by the soul of a deceased person, who speaks through her mouth. In this the Isneg shaman differs from the Kankanay one; the latter is usually supposed merely to communicate with beings of the other world, to talk to them, while in the case of the Isneg the spirit is supposed to talk through the shaman. Besides, a Kankanay shaman plays a very secondary rôle: she is mostly of use only at the time of sickness, when she has altercations with the spirits who are supposed to cause the disease or when she goes around to look for the *ab-abîik* (Kankanay) or soul, which a sick person is supposed to have lost; while sacrifices, whether public or private, are presided over by men. Let this be enough for the time being.

I just stated that the Isneg shaman explains the meaning of religious rites and ceremonies to her puipls. The manner of conducting these ceremonies, however, is not formally taught: in this respect a young *dorarákit* is a mere looker-on. When the time comes for the

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869 latter to conduct a similar ceremony or to assist her elders at the same, the only aid she will get from some experienced shaman will be an occasional hint as to what she has to do. In general, however, she will already have learned these things on previous occasions, so that she simply imitates now what she has often seen before. The explanations given previously by the older shamans with reference to the meaning of these ceremonies will of course have helped her the better to impress everything upon her memory.

869 I have been told very positively that the prayers or formulas, which
• 782 are recited on certain occasions, especially in cases of sickness, are never the subject of any direct teaching on the part of the shaman.
788 It is true that the number of Isneg prayers is comparatively small, and that, in general, Isneg recitations, whether in prayer or song, are far from being stereotyped. Some of them, however, especially some formulas more or less in verse or rhyme, which are recited by the shamans while they extract the cause of sickness in the form of iron, herbs, etc., from the body of a sick person, are rather complicated, and as far as I know, of a certain stable and less variable nature.

869 Now how aspirant *dorarákit* are able to learn them without receiving formal instruction, I should say even often repeated instruction, is more or less of a puzzle to me, the more so that these formulas are rarely pronounced distinctly and that many of the terms have become obsolete and are actually meaningless to the natives. Nevertheless, I repeat it, it was told me most positively that they are not taught, that they are simply listened to and picked up. Perhaps what seems very indistinct to outsiders is much less so to the initiated, and probably the rhythm and rhyme help the younger shamans to learn these recitations by heart without too much difficulty. Besides, I know from personal experience that the same regular sequence of sentences or
[126] verses is rarely adhered to. Whenever I have tried to write down some of these formulas at the dictation of a shaman, my informant almost invariably inverted the order of the sentences at a second recitation; these women often made me quite nervous, as it was well nigh impossible to write down exactly what they had been reciting. Isneg shamans always talk very quickly when reciting from memory, so I had very often to ask them to repeat a certain part, after I had written down as correctly as possible one or more catch phrases of each verse or sentence; but their second recitation almost never coincided with the first one. Such a state of affairs, of course, makes the task of the recorder doubly difficult, although it may happen to

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at night and that the owners had allowed him to do so. He immediately set out for Kabugaw, firmly intent in claiming his daughter back, and he only desisted from his purpose after he had been convinced that the rumor was entirely unfounded. On the other hand another Baliwanan girl was allowed to follow a Kagayan into another village and to live maritally with him for a certain period of time, after which she came back home.

Go to another near-by settlement: some parents object to their daughters going to school for reasons given in the introduction of this paper, while others allow them not only to go to school but even to live at the house of the teacher.

Let us pass over to Talifugu. A girl becomes pregnant, and the case is dropped. The same man, a Kagayan, deflowers another girl with the same result, and he is left no peace until he marries her.

At Dagara: a girl has the reputation, which I understand to be deserved, of being of very loose morals; she is left all liberty by her parents; while the generality of the Dagara girls behave as decently as anywhere else.

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I twice assisted at a small Isneg sacrifice, once at Ampaw and once at Abbil. In the former place, everything went on as if it were the most serious and most important act that could be performed by an Isneg: all details were attended to with the utmost earnestness and accuracy; while at Abbil, the whole ceremony seemed rather to be considered as an irksome duty: it looked like a joke when compared with the Ampaw case. It must be conceded that the Abbil people were more or less ill at ease on account of my presence; but I was equally present at Ampaw, and in the latter place I was even sitting much nearer the shaman than at Abbil, nevertheless the shaman and her helpers never flinched.

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I have little chance to read books on anthropology, but I understand it has been stated in some of them that primitives think in common, that among primitives every community has something like one mind for all individuals; how exactly the books express it I do not know, but I am sure that my readers who know about it, understand what I mean. Now, I know nothing at all from personal experience about primitives living in other parts of the world, but with reference to our Mountain people, whether Negritos or Malays, Kankanay or Isneg, I dare say that anybody who would pass a few weeks among them, would not have to take the trouble any more to form an opinion on the subject or to try to frame some theory, the

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postponed for a considerable time. Others again say that *Kútaw* robs it of its garments and dons them himself, to the great dismay and shame of the poor *kadudúwá*, who from now on is obliged to wear either no clothes or at least only such as are not cared for any more by its companions at the other side of the grave. The latter informants usually add that *Kútaw* refuses to ferry this *kadudúwá* over the pond, unless it gives its brand-new clothes to him; some of them say that it may happen that *Kútaw* takes to himself not only the clothes, but also the whole *kadudúwá* (as a kind of servant). One more detail was given me by a Bayag informant: if the dead person has only one of his forearms tattooed (not both of them), *Kútaw* cuts off this tattooed limb and keeps it to himself.

To resume: some informants state that all *kadudúwá* are always ferried over the pond by *Kútaw*, but that those whose *inndt* wears no new clothes, remain like that at least for some time to come, or are left to their own devices as soon as they reach the other side, without being able to find their relatives, at least immediately, while those whose *inndt* wear new clothes without rent are either despoiled by *Kútaw* or kept back for at least a considerable time from the enjoyment that is their due. Other informants state that some *kadudúwá* are simply scorned by *Kútaw* and left on this side of the pond: either those whose *inndt* wear old clothes, or those whose new garments have not been torn. On the other hand, when asked what *kadudúwá* are living in the realm of the dead, even these last informants generally affirm that they all do.

A *labbáń* is a kind of lagoon or pool of stagnant water, of a type found in abundance all along the northern coast of Luzon, between Sanchez Mira and Aparri, and even farther east. At Nagbabalayan there is also a *labbáń*, which consists of a pool of water separated from the Apayaw river by a small elevation of land; at every large rise of the Apayaw river, however, it forms one with the latter. This Nagbabalayan *labbáń* is the regular abode of crocodiles, to whom the Nagbabalayan people offer gifts at every sacrifice. But the name *lablabbáń* belongs exclusively to the pond that separates our abode from that of the dead. Such a reduplication as occurs here usually hints at something similar to what the simple stem implies. Thus *lablabbáń* would mean a *labbáń* that is not an ordinary one, and, considering its place and use, no further proof is needed to convince everybody that it is a very peculiar pool indeed. The following mysterious fact adds to its differentiation from any other *labbáń*:

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766 inside its lower half, a certain amount of clothes being pushed between the sides of the jar and the *tandt* in order to keep the latter straight and to prevent it from falling forwards or backwards and from leaning to either side.

But these are exceptional cases and happen only to the very rich (Musimut, Nagbabalayan, etc.) or to persons that stand very high in the estimation of their people (Lettuakan, Bayag, etc.). At Musimut and so on, very rich people may be kept two days like that before they are finally interred. At Lettuakan, a few years ago, *Antón*, who does not seem to have been either rich or influential, was kept in a sitting posture for three days. At Bayag also, three days usually elapse before the jar is buried with its contents. I believe, however, that formerly such bodies would have been kept from burial for a much longer time. This opinion is based, not only on analogy with similar customs that obtain among other tribes, but also on information received in Apayaw with reference to the time that elapses between death and burial, all of which will be mentioned later on.

764 171 Among the Isneg there is no question of preservation of the body either by mummification or by the use of any other means. Abandonment of the coffined body under some large rock in the neighborhood of the settlement, which obtains among the Kankanay and the Bontok Igorot, burial in elaborate monuments, as is customary among the rich Kalinga, cremation, etc., are all unknown in Apayaw. The body is simply interred, as will be explained presently.

764 After the death of a person, one of his relatives (all of whom are called *matáydn*) goes to announce (*magba-ba-ndn*) the sad news to the absent members of his kindred. As long as the body remains unburied, friends and neighbors come and go, men and women showing in their own way their participation in the sorrow of the bereaved relatives. Women who go to the house of the deceased, usually take along with them some *anúlut* (a kind of herb) as a precaution, lest the *balańóbáń* of the person they go to mourn for be following them in the future. The *bási* that is abundantly distributed on such occasions, proves a very strong attraction to some of the men, and, in case the deceased was a man of means, the pigs that are slaughtered are also a powerful incentive and inevitably induce our Isneg to flock to the house of the dead (*makixánat* or *mepaxinnatáy*) and 824 751 764 participate in the ceremonies connected with mourning. No real sacrifices (*pildóp*, etc.), however, are offered, and no *maxoúito* is per- 782

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formed by any of the shamans. Indeed, why should the spirits be enticed to obsess the shaman at a time when everybody is bent on keeping them at a distance? Besides, the souls of the dead should be left where they are as long as the *inndt* is in the house, probably lest the *kadudwá* of the deceased be interfered with on its trip to the other world.

Women mourn and lament in a loud voice almost uninterruptedly, usually two or three at a time: when one group is tired, another one takes its place. Men rarely imitate them in this, especially after the first general outburst of grief, that takes place immedintely after death is over, but they *magbibisndg* (slap one another's thighs: the game previously described, CAC–P, 3: 123-26). According to the Isneg, playing *bisndg* is a man's way of showing his grief: a certain chastisement of the body is undoubtedly involved in the whole performance, and just as the near relatives sometimes cut themselves at the death of one of their loved ones in order to show the intensity of their sorrow, so also the men, relatives, neighbors and friends, slap one another's thighs, often until blood spurts out, in order to prove to the whole assembly that they also take part and are far from remaining insensible in the presence of death. That a certain amount of voluntary infliction of pain is at the root of this question, is corroborated by the fact that some women occasionally take part in the *bisndg*, the more so that no member of the weaker sex ever plays the rôle of agent (*maúná*), but merely receives the slaps (*magtán*) without rendering them. Expressions like the following may be heard frequently among the Isneg: "*Uráy magdáxa ya apélko ta xakkánnámagsáñit* (even though my thighs bleed, as I do not weep)". In both cases, namely in that of men and in that of women, the *bisndg* is resorted to more especially by those who do little or no weeping; people, whether men or women, who do a good deal of lamenting, rarely take part in *bisndg*.

It goes without saying that the spirits are wide awake at the death of an Isneg, and that the survivors are annoyed with their unwelcome presence at every turn. Among others the following deserve special mention:

Dupappá-, whose tastes are very peculiar; indeed, he it is who absorbs the decayed matter (*saxó*) that flows from the nose and mouth of the deceased.

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765 or some special one in particular, perhaps even the *balañóbāñ* of the deceased.

After that everybody goes home and the *tádag* or bier is thrown into the river to the mercy of the current.

At Bayag, a large pebble is brought up from the river and placed in the house on the site till recently occupied by the *innát*.

[782] Immediately after the burial of a person, a dog, or occasionally a pig, has to be killed, but no invocations, no offerings, no *maxanito* take place: this is the *attóñ*. The Isneg call it the share of the deceased; nevertheless the living (anybody except the inmates of the house, to whom it is taboo) are those who consume it. At the same time one or more coconut trees (one at Baliwanan, Dibagat, Magapta, etc.; two at Bayag, etc.; two or three at Bolo, etc.) are cut down: these also are called *attóñ* and considered as the share of the deceased; their fruits, however, may be consumed, if so desired, by the living, except the owners of the house.

For three consecutive nights, an old woman, who need not necessarily be a shamaness, has to go to the grave every morning and every evening. Once there, she builds a fire (*maxap-apúy*) over the tomb, and laments for some time. The Isneg believe that the spirit *Toxăyón* guards the tomb for the same number of nights and that, after the third one, he leaves it never to come back again.

Should another person die in the settlement within two nights after a funeral, this second one is said to be *meludûn*.

From now on it is the duty of the surviving relatives to look after the faithful observation of all taboos connected with the death of a person, and to conduct the mourning that is customary under the circumstances. Taboos and mourning always last until the day of the *obóbāt* or ceremony performed at the putting aside of the mourning apparel. The period of time that elapses between the funeral and the *obóbāt* varies from one month to one year, according to the wishes of the nearest relative of the deceased. From one to two months, however, is the usual period of mourning; but, if the deceased was a married person, the surviving husband or wife may postpone the *obóbāt* ceremony even to the seventh month after his death. A whole year of mourning is rather extraordinary.

And first the *lapát* or taboos.

The first duty that is incumbent on the surviving members of the household is to warn all strangers about the departure from this life of one of their people. Indeed, one of the principal taboos that

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head. In February 1929, a man from Aputan had come home from a distant town to find his wife dead and buried. One day, when I was visiting the place, a few days afterwards, I saw him come back from his work some time before noon, and walk toward the cemetery, which was situated at a little distance from the settlement. While on his way, he wept and lamented in a loud voice. After he had reached the tomb of his wife, I could still distinctly hear him lamenting and crying intermittently for about half an hour. The neighbors told me that this had been repeated every day since he came back home and that the same scene would probably be enacted in the same way for several days to come.

And so we reach the close of this most important period, namely the *obóbāt* ceremony which ends mourning once for all. Indeed after the *obóbāt* all taboos cease, *lapát* (tabooed) coconuts have been freed (*inúkas*), all signs of mourning are gone, and if some of the relatives are not yet prepared to forget the deceased, they merely resort to *magló* in order to continue to show their undying love.

During the *obóbāt*, pigs are usually offered in sacrifice, while the *maxaníto* is performed by the shamaness, who at the time is supposed to be obsessed by the spirit or *kadudúwā* of the deceased. The deceased, through her mouth, generally voices all his grievances against the living, whether they be present or absent, and insists on all his dues being rendered him. Nevertheless, if no pigs are killed and a dog is the only animal to be offered in sacrifice, no *maxaníto* takes place.

About the middle of the ceremony, after the killing of the dog, either before or after eating, the mourners proceed to change their apparel, they *magba-bát*. If the deceased was a married person, it is the duty of one of the male relatives, either of the husband or of the wife (no matter which of the two departed this life), to give new clothes and a string of beads to the surviving widow or widower. As soon as the said male relative (*mama-bát*) has handed the new clothes to the survivor, the latter leaves the group and goes into some corner of the house in order to change his or her apparel, which action is always accompanied by a fresh outburst of grief and loud lamentations on his or her part. After the brand-new garments have been donned, he or she again joins the company, and is adorned by the *mama-bát* in person with the string of beads he has brought for the purpose.

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is who finds a means to keep the wolf from the door. On occasions like these, it is clearly apparent how training and experience have rendered the Isneg girl fit for meeting almost any kind of emergency, while the customary indolence of the male makes him an easy prey to downheartedness, so much so that he becomes utterly unable to save himself and his family from the pangs of hunger.

If we come to consider the situation from the point of view of the Isneg, it is not to be wondered at that nowadays famines are of rather frequent occurrence in Apayaw. Indeed, foreign authorities have invaded the land: not understanding the position of the Isneg with reference to the tutelary spirits of the country, they have all but extirpated headhunting. What can be expected after this? Being denied their usual offerings, the spirits stop protecting the crops. It is true that the Isneg does not cease to propitiate them by all possible means, but the great sacrifice has been rendered almost impossible, and so the fields have become a prey to evil imps, while the protectors of the rice, the purveyors of the Isneg, have become either powerless or indifferent.

Nevertheless, under ordinary circumstances, the average Isneg raises enough rice to last him and his family for a year. He may not be able to store it up for future consumption, but what he has usually keeps him alive from one harvest to the next, and besides almost always allows him to offer an occasional sacrifice to the spirits and to invite his relatives and neighbors to the ceremony. Such is the normal state of affairs with the great majority of the people.

Now in almost every agglomeration one will find at least one man who is styled "rich" (*ba-nán*), a man who raises rice in abundance (*aragammáy*) and consequently is able to offer one or more solemn sacrifices every year and to provide food to the inhabitants of several villages for days at a time. However, these so-called rich people do not fare any better than the average citizen, as their surplus is easily consumed at their *sǎy-ám* or solemn sacrifices.

On the other hand, there are always a few who may be called poor (*nakimrút*): their rice, if they raise any at all, never lasts them the whole year round, and, in the meanwhile, they have to content themselves with Indian corn, yams, taro and the rest; but only in times of famine, are they obliged to feed on coconut flowers and other outlandish foods. Others again seem never to be able to make both ends meet: these are the *síbud*; their rice, which should be sufficient for ordinary persons, is usually gone almost before they are aware of it,

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and, in any case, it is much too easily consumed to allow them any degree of comfort.

Several reasons may be assigned for the exceptional poverty of these people. The spirit *Laúdúsān* is very often the culprit. If it happens through his machinations that people are brought to the verge of starvation, the latter are said to be *malaúdúsān*. Sometimes, too, a want of civic spirit that has been observed in a certain person, may induce other people to pray the spirits to have his plants consumed by animals, and consequently to cause him to become poor. In such a case, the enemies of this unworthy citizen are said to *maglábuy*. Other people are simply *nakúrmáú*, they are unlucky: they cannot raise anything on their fields, and the result is wretchedness and want of food.

It may also happen that some people are unable to complete any kind of work in their rice fields: they are *nadannág*. Whatever they try to accomplish, whether planting or weeding, whether clearing a field or fencing it, they can never bring it to a finish. This, of course, almost inevitably leads to poverty and ultimately ends in the lack of the necessary livelihood. Nevertheless there is an easy remedy to this sad situation: the only thing to be done is to prepare *inapúxān* (betel for chewing), and to offer it to the spirit in charge by laying it down somewhere within his reach, at the same time reciting the following prayer, which was given me by *Púlog* from Dangla (O dialect, Main branch):[2]

Iápugko iāw aníto ta dinā- pagdandannaxán (I offer betel [for chewing] to you, spirit, so that you do not make me lazy).[3]

A rather remote, but very real cause of destitution, is a person's habit of being late (*nekábut*) whenever some work has to be done. In such a case the only means for him to escape being numbered sooner or later among the needy is to shake off his inbred torpor and to imitate his more diligent companions.

In this connection I should be allowed to mention the lines of the hand, as the art of palmistry is far from being unknown among the Isneg, and a person who is *rappád*, which means that one of the lines

[2] The way to prepare *inapúxān* will soon be explained at length. For explanation of Isneg dialects and branches, see M. Vanoverbergh, Isneg Life Cycle, II, Marriage, Death, and Burial, Publ. Cath. Anthrop. Conf., 1938, v. 3, no. 3, pp. 261-64.

[3] Lest I be prevented from finishing my work. This is said only of work in the rice fields: clearing land, planting rice, etc.

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it is made of burnt shells[9] and usually kept in a small calabash (*busiŋán* or *tabáyad*).[10] The betel (*xawád*) may be the same as that used by man (any of several varieties) or it may consist in the very small leaves (*dazapá*) that are absolutely of no use to human beings.

In order to become a proficient farmer it is necessary to have at least a fair knowledge of what the Isneg call the *taximmatón* or *taxemmatón*, the "signs". Here are a few of them:

The *yaŋyáŋ*, which is supposed to be a small insect: it announces the coming of the dry season, usually some time in March. No Isneg can claim ever to have set eyes upon it, as it is completely invisible: it is known only from its voice, which is very sweet.

The *sibulbúg*, a kind of large bird: its cry announces the arrival of the rainy season, usually some time in November.

The first appearance of the *buŋílon* or rainbow, which is one of the multitudinous spirits known by the Isneg: it proves that the rainy season has set in.

The *ariwánat* or Milky Way: if it becomes visible after a prolonged period of rain, it forecasts fair weather for several days to come.

The *bíbig*, which is a kind of bird of average size with grey plumage: it foreshadows a period of very heavy rainfall.

Other *taximmatón* that indicate the time at which some particular kind of work is to be performed, will be mentioned in due time.

As it is exceedingly important for the progress and the final success of any kind of business that all necessary rules be observed, that no taboos be infringed, and that nothing be done that might go counter to the will of the spirits, indicated in various ways, I shall now give a few hints to the farmer with reference to work in the field in general. At the same time, some of these hints may be of use to an Isneg who wants to embark on some enterprise that has nothing to do with farming or gardening.

First of all, the Isneg should be convinced that none of his exertions will be of any benefit to him, if they go on without the blessing and coöperation of the spirits. Therefore, whenever possible, he must recite the following prayer, or a similar one, in the morning, before going to work:

[9] *Dazíkan*, *azodóŋ*, etc., different kinds of fresh-water gastropods, all of them having a long tapering spire. The *azodóŋ* is larger than the *dazíkan*.

[10] The *tabáyad* is a small white calabash with a very narrow neck, although less narrow than that of the *taŋtáŋ*, which is the kind of calabash used by the Isneg when they prepare *inapázan* in honor of the *Pílay*-spirits, at harvesting time.

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Umáńnakami iddaggán kiyá agwiwiliyán (Come to wait for us where we go to work).[11]

The text of this prayer was furnished by *Yadán* from Nagbabalayan (O dialect, K branch).

Very often the spirits give the Isneg warning not to work on a certain day, lest he incur their anger and his work be of no avail or the result of it be destroyed or rendered void. He should heed them and keep a holiday (*magúlin*) whenever it is intimated to him. Here follow some of these warnings:

When you hear the voice of one of the following birds: the *buwákaw*, the *bakákaw*, the *bissaxáw*,[12] or the *púro*,[13] for the first time, you must stay at home for one whole day without going out to work. Should you be on your way in the morning, do not proceed, but come back home, and remain there for the rest of the day. Should you hear it in the evening, stay at home the next day. If you happen to hear it again later on, it does not signify anything.

When you hear for the first time the lowing (*úxa*) of a deer (*ugtá*), whether in the evening or at night or early in the morning, do not go to work in the field the next day, whether you be man or woman, because, if you do, the deer will inevitably consume all your plants (*múla*). In some districts, however, this is observed only by men at the time of clearing the ground for a prospective rice field, which is exclusively a man's job.

In case of hail (*ulalázo*), which the Isneg consider as the substance of the rain (*baggát udán*), the following day should be observed as a holiday. The same obtains during the dry season, when there is a shower of heavy rain (*arnáb*), so that rivers and brooks swell considerably, or when the streams become muddy and swollen (*balanbán*),[14] a sure sign that it rained hard somewhere upstream.

When you go to your work in the morning and you meet an omen bird or *labág*[15] that *magsúńit*, turn back (*maxullí*) immediately lest you meet danger on the way. The *magsúńit*-flying is more or less

[11] Literally: Where we go and from where we come back on the same day.

[12] So called from its cry. It is smaller than the *bakákaw* and is usually heard early in the evening.

[13] So called from its cry. It lives in the bushes and may be heard either in the morning or in the evening.

[14] Not to be confounded with *balańbáń*, which is the name of the temporary fence built around the house of a deceased person.

[15] A small bird with red plumage, black at the throat.

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knees; and finally there are the *páñol*, who are expressly believed to have been punished by *Pílăy*, not for having trespassed on somebody else's property by touching palay which was not their own, but for havine done something of which he does not approve: the *páñol* are unable to walk or almost so on account of their legs being swollen at the knees.

Whenever an Isneg prepares rice pudding or sweets made from *díkat*-rice, he never fails to give a share to the *Pílăy* who resides in the shelf over the hearth: usually a very small portion is sufficient. Should a shaman do the cooking and at the same time pronounce the following words:

"*Batbattuxám ni N.*" (Satiate N.), *Pílăy* will throw things (pebbles, etc.) at the boy or girl in question as soon as the sweets are being cut into pieces, and this will prove a blessing to the child, as, with *Pílăy's* help, it will be favored with an abundance of palay at the next harvest.

One of *Pílăy*'s assistants is the *agammáy, ag-agammáy* or *ugammáy*, a kind of mantis, which usually lives in rice fields, where it helps *Pílăy* increase the palay. These mantes thrive in full security as no Isneg would dare kill such valuable insects.

Here follow a few formulas of prayers that may profitably be addressed to the *Pílăy* at any time, provided they be accompanied with the offering of sweets, that are usually made from *díkat*-rice with the addition of sugar, coconut meat, etc.:

Ne uwámo pílăy séno batbattuxánnaami péyań (Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you be always satiating us).

Ne uwámo pílăy ta dímo pagtaitán de balbalásań (Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you do not make the girls sick).

Ne uwámo pílăy ta tuplámmo ka ammáy dăyá ómănmi (Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you fill our rice fields with rice).

Ne uwámo pílăy ta pannowámmo peyapéyań dăyá álańmi (Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you always fill our granaries).

Ne uwámo pílăy dínaami pagtaitán (Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you do not make us sick).

Ne uwámo pílăy aduwámmo ya ammáymi ya ómăn se ya álańmi (Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you increase our rice on our rice fields and in our granaries).

Ne uwámo pílăy dímo balbalsiánan dăyá tóláy no umáń kiyá síxăy (Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you do not make the persons sick when they come to the hut [in the field]).

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Ne uwámo pílăy dímo as-assăyán dăyá ammáy dăyá isagaddán[19] (Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you do not lessen the rice of the people).

Ne uwámo ílăy ta batbatturánnă- (Here, this is yours, Ilay, so that you be satiating me).

The text of these formulas was given me by men from Dangla (O dialect, Main branch), the last one by *Lampá*, the others by *Púlog*.

Whatever I have said of the *Pílăy* so far applies to the majority of Apayaw villages. Nevertheless in a few agglomerations, the *Pílăy*, instead of being loved and invoked with religious awe, are loathed and execrated by the inhabitants, who do everything in their power to drive them away. This seeming anomaly may be easily accounted for in the following way. It has been said in a preceding paragraph that some *Pílăy* steal rice in order to increase the harvest of their devotees; consequently there must be somebody somewhere whom they are in the habit of robbing, and the victims can do nothing else, of course, but resent it tremendously. Therefore we find Isneg who use this or a similar ceremony in order to make the *Pílăy* decamp: they go to the bushes, near some tree, and, holding a receptacle for lime (*agapúzān*) in one hand, they recite the following prayer. My informant, *Dagámi*, a Bayag woman (O dialect), gave it this title:

Makpídut Pílăy (To extract Pilay[20])

[19] *Púlog*, my informant, gave "people, men" as the meaning of *isagaddán*. According to most of my informants, *isagaddán* (never pronounced *isazaddán*) means: members of the Christian tribes, especially the Kagayan and the Iloko; while *ibaññán* means: natives, Isneg. In prayers, however, *isagaddán* mostly stands for "the people who offer a sacrifice, who pray, who seek protection from the spirits". Actually these terms are rarely or never used in ordinary conversation. Now, taking everything into consideration, I cannot help believing that originally the term *isagaddán* stood for something like "the faithful, those who pray, those who offer a sacrifice, the devout, the initiated, etc.", while *ibaññán* meant "the outsiders, those who are invited to a sacrifice, the uninitiated, etc.", and that later on the term *isagaddán* came to be applied to those tribes (Kagayan, Iloko) who were recognized by the Isneg as possessing a culture (perhaps) and a power (certainly) superior to their own, and the term *ibaññán* to themselves. With the advent of Christianity, these terms would then have become obsolete in ordinary speech, and the terms Ibanag (Christians) and Isneg would have taken their place. Even now the term Ibanag for "Christian" is becoming more and more obsolete: to the Isneg of the younger generation Ibanag means Kagayan, and the other Christian tribes are known by their own tribal name.

[20] *Pídut* usually means "extracting the sickness from someone's body". In Iloko *pídut* means "picking up".

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Umarăy-áyka[21] *iddí áyo wennó tańtáń ta pumánawkańin; no atán din mańikkám a iddí magálitka ma-dín; káńka*[22] *tumáliyin kiyá- ńa nagganăyánmo* (Crawl on this tree or in this small calabash[23] so that you go away now; if somebody takes hold of[24] this you should move;[25] do not come back any more to me from whom you came).

Besides the *Pílăy* and some other spirits, which will be accounted for in due time, there are three more protectors of the rice fields in general, namely: *Maxammám*, who helps to guard the *kómăn*, *A-néb* and *Parrág*. The last usually resides in the rice field, but he follows the Isneg into his hut (in the field) whenever it rains, and, if his protection is duly acknowledged, he never fails to lend a helping hand to the reapers, so that their exertions may be crowned with success. *A-néb* is a spirit who lives at the edge of the rice field; his influence depends on the attention that is paid to him by the owner of the field in question.

Pokól from Bayag (O dialect) furnished me with the following prayer addressed to the spirits who reside in the *kómăn*. While it is recited, rice should be thrown into the field:

Ne ma- maggiyán ki lusá- ta ma-mágăn (Here then, the one who resides in the soil, so that it become good).

Not all spirits, however, are well intentioned; a good many of them are malevolent imps who, if left unmolested, bring nothing but harm to the rice fields in which they have taken their abode.

Again I am indebted to *Dagámi* from Bayag for the text of a kind of exorcism used to drive away evil spirits from the *kómăn*. She prefaced it:

Maggiyán ka ómăn (Those who reside in the rice field).

Daxăyó maggiyán iyá ómăn ńa aníto maglińádkăyo (You, spirits who reside in the rice field, hide).

Up till now I have only given a few general hints to the Isneg farmer in order to help him in the raising of a good crop of rice. From now on I shall explain in detail how he has to proceed, beginning

[21] The initial U is scarcely audible.

[22] Shortened for *bakkáńka*.

[23] Used for storing lime.

[24] In ordinary speech *mańikkám* means "to get the *ikkám*", the amount of rice harvested in one day; here its meaning is much less restricted.

[25] Towards him, leaving me.

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the latter being usually the most plentiful, over a small space called *tálon*. This *tálon* is generally not much larger than one square yard, and so the first day's work is finished within a comparatively short time.

Besides the observances that are usual for all kinds of work, and which have been mentioned previously, here are a few practices that are peculiar to the *mańumá* (clearing), which it is good for the Isneg to heed. And so, before beginning to cut anything, he should perform the ceremony called *sapsapó*. This consists in strewing a certain amount of ashes, brought along for this purpose, first to the left, then to the right, and finally behind his back, in order to avoid, if not the approach, at least the bites of mosquitoes for the entire duration of the *mańumá*. Besides, if he is a careful man, he will have provided himself with one or more of the following: *alimbódo, anagláw, talésăy*. The *alimbódo* is a kind of herb that keeps you from any kind of harm, from anything that might hurt you, provided it be placed at the spot where you begin your work. The *anagláw* is a low herb with comparatively long leaves, that grows all over the district, and is put down at the same place as the preceding, for the benefit of the worker and his *kómăn*. The *talésăy* also is a small herb, and serves the same purpose as the *anagláw*, but it is found only in forested areas. At the same time the following prayer may be recited. The text was given me by *Yadán* from Nagbabalayan (O dialect, K branch).

Dinakami paipalagmán kiyá sípăt năyá inammăyán (Do not disobey us at the clearing of the rice field).

Now pronounce the word *óka* or *póka*, and begin attacking the bushes. This word should be pronounced every day before the first stroke of the hatchet, until the whole field is cleared. Its pronunciation will help you to go up the slope in a lively way and to finish the work quickly. Should somebody come along and pronounce the same word, while you are busy cutting the bushes, its pronunciation will have the same effect, making the work easy for you.

The next day, that is the day after the *tálon* has been cleared, the Isneg *xumowáń*, which means that he stays at home and does nothing: he makes it a holiday (*ńílin*). Woe to him if he infringes this taboo. What would befall him, nobody really knows, as it has never happened yet that this holiday was not kept: no Isneg willfully disobeys any of the customs of his people, and this special taboo is known by everybody.

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burning of a heap of any kind of rubbish, whether in the field or in the house yard.

2. PLANTING RICE AND OTHER ACTIVITIES IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING

The Isneg plant their rice in the months of May and June. But before that they have to prepare the seeds (*maxaggí-*), which is usually done at home by the women, and is a quite elaborate process, as will be seen anon.

The seeds (*aggí-*: a general name for seeds of rice, Indian corn, beans, peas, and the like) are simply the rice kernels shelled off from the ears. A mat (*abá-*), mostly an old one, is spread over the floor for the purpose; a few bundles of rice, the number varying with the amount of rice seeds that are needed, are brought into it from the granary; and these are shelled by treading on them and pressing them under the feet, until all the kernels are separated from the straw (*agkuláw*). The mat in question is called the *agaggikán*.

To make the matter more complicated, a number of things have to be observed, on which depends the success of the whole business. Now let us see in detail what has to be done lest the crop prove a failure.

After a small amount of seeds has been made ready, these are placed in a basket (*la-bá*), and all further progress of the work is stopped until they have been blessed. The woman who shells this first rice and performs the blessing ceremony, is ordinarily of mature age, although not necessarily a shaman, and is called *mañodál*. The seeds having been gathered in the *la-bá*, this woman *maglubí*, which means that she mixes with them a whole assortment of objects, while reciting at the same time an appropriate prayer, for instance, one of those given above and addressed to *Pílay*. The following are the ingredients that are absolutely necessary:

Inapúxan, described before;
A piece of *landíg* or husk of a ripe betel nut;
One or more of the following:

Añlubí: A small herb with elongated brown flowers, that grows in the forest. In Bayag they use the *lubí*, a small herb with diminutive red flowers, that grows almost anywhere;

A section of *banatá* cut into pieces. The *banatá* is a tall herb, about two feet high, with large round leaves and fruits resembling those of the betel pepper; it grows all over the district;

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A part of the fruit and leaf of the lemon;

A few seeds of *laññá* or sesame: these seeds have a peculiar aptitude for "teaching" the rice how to grow vigorously;

A seed of *oldiyátan*, in order to guard the spirit of the rice, lest it leave the rice and the ears become empty. The *oldiyátan* is a forest tree with a thorny stem and round seeds that are used for toys;

A piece of zedoary or rhizome of *kannig* (Curcuma zedoaria [Berg.] Rosc.), which grows wild;

A piece of galangale or rhizome of *disôl* (Kaempferia galanga, L.), cut into small pieces. This plant is often cultivated, as old women use it for perfume;

Some pudding made from *madíliya*-rice, mentioned before.

All these are amulets (*tánib*) that insure the nice growth of the palay.

The seeds of this *la-bá* are now kept apart; and they will be planted in the field before any other ones.

Then the work of shelling goes on and, whenever there is a sufficient amount of *aggí-*, it is transferred to a bamboo tube, called *agaggikán* like the old mat itself. The term *agaggikán* consists of the stem *aggí-* and the locative combination *ag . . . ān*: when referring to the mat, it means "the place where the woman *maxaggí-* or shells rice"; when applied to the bamboo tube, it means "the place of the *aggí-*". In some localities, instead of using a bamboo tube, the Isneg wrap the seeds in the leaves of the *asipúlo* or *sipúlo*: a forest tree with very large round leaves; its bark is sometimes used for chewing with the betel nut.

When the time of planting (*tognó*) draws near, the Isneg puts the finishing touch to the cleaning of his *kómān*. Some of the plants that had been cut during the *añumá* or clearing, have sprung up again (*rumsí-*), after the field was burnt. And so the man takes his hatchet and the woman her *paló-* (hoe), which will be described presently, and proceed to the field in order to clean everything thoroughly before the planting is begun: this final preparation is called *magpatari-sí-* (*tarí-sí-* means: young shoot of plants in general).

For the planting or *tognó* (a term used for rice and Indian corn, not for beans, etc.), which is the exclusive work of the women, the latter need a special implement, namely a dibble.

Here I shall give the description of the aforementioned *paló-* (hoe) and of the two kinds of dibble used for planting rice, the *saguwá-* and the *xádañ*.

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412 portion. The blade consists in a thin piece of iron, about two inches broad over its whole length, sharp at one end, and provided at the opposite end with a hollow socket that encloses the end of the handle. The handle is made of any kind of wood. The *saguwá-* is used for planting (*magtognó, tognowán*) rice and Indian corn.

The *xádaṅ* is another kind of dibble which consists merely of a straight stick of hard wood, about one yard long and pointed at one end. It is used, like the *saguwá-*, for planting rice and Indian corn.

243 When the Isneg woman goes planting, she also takes along a recep-
[415] tacle for seeds, called *tupáṅ*, which is just an ordinary *dúyog* or coconut shell. She ties it somewhere at her waist in such a way as to be easily reached with the left hand. The *tupáṅ* is used for holding seeds of rice or Indian corn.

The *taximmatón* or sign for the *agtotognó* (time of planting) is the appearance of the *biyóṅ* or pods of the *tablâṅ* or coral tree, which has been mentioned formerly under the same circumstances. As soon as the coral tree is covered with fruits the Isneg woman understands that it is time for her to confide the *aggi-* (seeds) of rice to the soil.

Planting is done like this: the woman holds the dibble (*saguwá-* or *xádaṅ*) in her right hand and bores a hole (*magtuná-*) in the ground; at the same time she gets a few seeds (usually three) from the *tupáṅ*-cup and drops them into the hole, with her left hand; then she covers the hole and fills it up with her right foot. The whole work is done standing, and if any kind of stooping is necessary, it is very slight, so that an experienced planter can finish a large plot in a comparatively short time. The holes are usually bored in such a way as to form more or less parallel rows (*tarintén*), which are rarely straight: the only aim of the woman is to render subsequent work in the field easy for herself and safe for the plants. The distance between the plants is mostly about one foot (*taṅadapán*): if the planter is still a novice, she measures the distance with one of her feet, while experienced planters scorn to do so.

243 As soon as the *agtotognó* or time of planting has come, the Isneg
781 merely waits for a favorable opportunity to begin the work. In some places, at Bayag for instance, the man or the woman goes to the field on the day that precedes the *alópat* (which will be described presently) in order to perform the *agpaâyab*, which has been mentioned before in connection with the *si-dúg* (burning). Once there, a few grains of rice are thrown into the field, and one of the following prayers is recited:

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Ne ma- úlag ta umad-adăyyóa[27] (Here then, rat, so that you be going away).

Ne ma- ómăn ta magla-la-nás-a (Here then, rice field, so that you be [planted] quickly).

These texts were given me by *Pokól*, a Bayag man (O dialect), who claimed that the second prayer was regularly used by his father.

Both these prayers may also be used by those who *magpaďyab* immediately after the burning of the field.

On the first day of the regular planting (at Bayag, the day after the *agpaďyab*), the woman *maxalópat* (*magalompapát* at Bayag): some time in the afternoon, she goes to the field and plants about one square yard (in some places only two or three *tognó* or holes); after which she goes home and does no more work that day. But before she starts on that business, she has to offer *inapúxăn* (betel for chewing) to a few spirits that are either favorable or bent on mischief more especially at the *agtotognó*: while doing so she recites a prayer appropriate to the occasion.[28] The spirit that always heads the list is *Róyo*. After him are invoked or propitiated one or more of the following: *Ikkúl, Tukká, Xusíń, Do-ráw*. The last is begged not to follow the planter, lest no palay be harvested that year.

Next to the first hole she bores in the ground, a zealous Isneg woman places one or both of the following amulets:

One or more leaves of the *talalítaw* vine (Hoya sp., or very near), a very sturdy asclepiadaceous plant with thick leaves often used for decorating purposes. Its leaves being placed next to the first plant cause the leaves of the palay to be green and full of life;

A part of the *sapitán*-herb, a cultivated plant about two feet high, with leaves resembling those of cogon-grass.

The following prayer may be recited when the first seeds, whether of rice or, more especially, of Indian corn, are confided to the soil. My informant, *Dagámi*, a Bayag woman (O dialect), entitled it:

Maktuná- (To start planting [corn, rice])

Imúlaka ta maktubotúboa magbúńaa magbăybăyágka; daăyó maggiyán kiyá al-alawagán ta áwánnu pagan-anítăn ya múlao; umadăyyóăyo[29] *a maggiyán kiya adanní năyá múlami; dídaxami pagda-*

[27] The initial u is scarcely audible.

[28] These prayers may be found scattered all over this treatise: any prayer that accompanies the offering of *inapúxăn* will do, only the name of the spirit has to be changed in order to fit in.

[29] Cf. footnote 27 supra.

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243 722 *gaúán daàyó maggiyán ki sirát* (I plant you so that you shoot up, you bear fruit, you be lasting long; you who reside on the earth, so that you have no reason to destroy [20] my plants; go away, you who reside near our plants; do not give us a fever, you who reside in the bushes).

243 784 In the evening of the day of the *agalópat*, the woman, owner of the field, *magsima*, which means that she is not allowed to give away anything from the house, not even a leaf of tobacco, and that she may not permit anybody to enter the house. The next morning, however, these prohibitions cease, but at the same time this day has to be kept as a holiday (*úilin*). The real work of planting begins only on the third day, after which planting is done unremittingly until the end.

If the planter is accompanied by children, these should be warned not to shout in or about the field on account of the spirit *Paranándy*, who has taken his abode at the outskirts of the *kóman* ever since the burning of the field, and who stays there until the *tognó* is finished.

243 462 776 While planting is going on or, at the latest, immediately after it is finished, the Isneg cut out again the young shoots of bamboo grass that have sprung up in the meanwhile: this plant has a very tough resistance and is subdued by the farmer only after many exertions. To cut out isolated shoots of *bassáw* or bamboo grass, is *magsílil*; if they grow in clusters, to cut them out is *magtappíl*, and this is much more thorough than *magsílil*, as the roots are taken out as well as the rest. Both men and women perform this job, the first using their *aliwá* or hatchet, the latter their *paló-* or hoe.

At the time of planting one must especially beware of an evil spirit called *Bibirítan*, who roams around to kill people during the *agtotognó*. About the same time also reigns *Bakákaw* (which is also the name of a bird mentioned before), a spirit who is always carrying a heavy load of *agkukiw* or rice straw (from which rice has been shelled).

Later on, when the paddy has been sprouting all over the field, the woman goes to see if there are any voids in the rows, and if she sees that shoots are lacking here and there, she goes home and prepares for a communication with the spirits (*mazanito*). If she is a shaman, she does it by herself; if not, she calls a *dorarókit* (shaman) for the purpose. After this she goes to the field and fills up the gaps: this is called *magtagnáp*.

243 In the meanwhile the men also are busy, and between the *si-dág*

[20] Literally: to cut off, to rub off.

1 [i.e., first planting — Analyst]

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243 yard, and this work is mostly done before building the fence. This *alasiyáń* serves several very useful purposes: it allows the builder of the fence a clear space for his work and the occasional passerby an easy passage; it prevents the vines from overgrowing the fence and ultimately bringing about its downfall, not exactly on account of their weight, but by causing it to rot through an excess of moisture; and finally it serves for a scarecrow to wild animals, because, when they emerge from the bushes, this clear path barred by a fence of canes always looks suspicious to them.

243 343 And now as to the *sízăy*-hut, without which no rice field is complete. The *sízăy* is a hut, either big or small, raised on posts, but not as high above the ground as an ordinary house, and made of light materials, as bamboo, canes of bamboo grass, rattan, cogon-grass, leaves, stems of young bamboo grass, palm leaves, etc. The posts are often nothing but stems of the *lańpá*-palm (Livistona rotundifolia, Mart.). The only distinctive features of the *sízăy* are: that it is built in a rice field and that it is square in shape (*magbakál*). If length and breadth were not equal, the Isneg believe that everything would go wrong with the crop.

Here the farmer and his family find shelter from sun and rain. Here they often take their midday meal for weeks at a time, even sometimes for a whole month or more, according to the work that has to be done. Here on certain occasions, for instance when guarding the ripening crop or when lying in wait for wild boars and so on, they pass the night (*magtáw*).[92] Later on the *sízăy* will be the starting point of the reapers. Here palay will first be stored up, etc. I shall mention this hut again when I describe the harvest. Here I shall only remind you of a few observances that have to be attended to when occupying a *sízăy*.

243 782 Whenever you move to a new *sízăy*-hut, the first time you go to occupy it, you must offer *inapúzăn* (betel for chewing) and *aludákid* to the *Kapónăn*-spirits. The *aludákid* consists of a narrow strip (about half an inch) of coconut meat, cut out around the edge of a nut that has been divided into halves, and retaining its full thickness.

[92] This term *magtáw*, which usually means "to pass the night in the *sízăy*", also means "to die (under certain circumstances)": if it happens that, leaving your house in the village where you are actually living and going to your field in order to look it over, you hear the chatter of monkeys on your way, that is a sure sign that one of your housemates will die (*magtáw*). Does it mean that his spirit left home to wander about in his field and take his rest in the *sízăy* (*magtáw*)? Perhaps.

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Both these offerings must be hung on top of a long pole stuck in the ground somewhere near the *sízăy*. The *Kapónăn*-spirits reign over flowering bamboo grass, which they use for paddy, without ever consuming it: they are much to be dreaded, as they deeply resent the destruction of their property and revenge themselves by causing the culprits to become sick. Now, as almost anybody occasionally cuts down one of these canes in flower, the only way to avoid their wrath is to do as has been told whenever you move into a new *sízăy*-hut.

When you enter your *sízăy* for the first time, especially if you have children with you, hang a small piece of *binaladdibád*-pudding somewhere above the door, as an offering to the tutelary spirits of the hut. Besides, whenever you go to your *sízăy* accompanied by one or more children, take along a little pudding and strew it along the road, lest the little ones become *masi-mát* (sickness caused by spirits); but if you have no youngsters with you, it is not necessary to do this. In case there is no pudding at hand, leave your children at home.

The spirit who takes all huts under his protection, whether they be *sízăy* or *báwi*,[33] is called *Baláwi*: he resides in the mountains, and must be propitiated by the offering of *inapúzăn*, lest the owner of the hut become sick.

An appropriate prayer to go with the offering that is made on the occasion of a new *sízăy* or *báwi*, is the following: it is one of those called *pisi-* (offering), and the text was given me by *Uwil* from Bolo (O dialect, Main branch).

Nénu aníto ta umad-adăyyókăyo kiyá pazag-agiyandnmi (Here is for you, spirits, so that you go away from our dwelling).

Whenever the husband brings home *nízăy* [34] for his family to eat, if the meal takes place in the *sízăy* (not in the house), a small part of each *nízăy* must be thrown away as an offering to the spirits, lest any member of the household present at the time be *mabalsíkăn* (sickness caused by spirits).

The presence of an *arípit*-bird near the *sízăy* is usually disastrous to the owners of the *kómăn*. Indeed, should its cry happen to be heard at that place, while work is being done in the field, whether planting or anything else, the crop will certainly be spoiled; if heard at planting time, nothing will spring up; if later, no rice will be harvested.

[33] Temporary huts built on the ground, not raised on posts, in any place except the rice field.

[34] Living beings caught for food, as fishes, birds, deer, etc., not insects.

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If some stalks of palay at this same stage of growth seem affected by the heat of the sun and threaten to wither and die, plant a *ratúb* in the middle of the field and everything will come out all right. The *ratúb* is a kind of headless *bólo*-bamboo (Schizostachyum mucronatum, Mack.), namely one that was found headless before it was cut, for instance one whose top had been blown off by the wind. 243 789

Should the paddy be very weak and a good many stalks have fallen down already, put some *xánăy* among the latter, so that they will rise again and be able to ear at leisure. The *xánăy* is a sturdy kind of grass that grows in forests and reaches a height of two yards; its leaves are covered with hair and comparatively very broad.

Palay that is overhanging a path along the field, without being protected by a fence, should be kept upright by means of a *săysáy*, which consists of bamboos tied at a convenient height to a few sticks stuck in the ground, at regular intervals, all along the path. The *săysáy* prevents the rice from being spoiled, for instance by being trampled upon by passers-by.

In order to cause the paddy to flower quickly, it is advisable to place *amusabúsa-* in the *kómăn*. This is a grass that grows in the forest and is some fifteen inches tall; its leaves are red underneath, and its inflorescence resembles those of the ditch millet and of the joint grass.

As soon as the ears start flowering, wrap a *pantád* in a piece of cloth, and tie it to the first flowering palay you come across. The *pantád* is a kind of branchless madrepore that must be fetched from the seashore.

When preparing rice pudding at this time of the year,[1] a part of the same should be offered (*písi-*) to the spirits, while reciting the following prayer. The text was given me by *Umilá* from Abbil (O dialect). 782

Ne ma- awámo abulbulón ditálon ta día umad-adamní kiyá ómănko (Here then, this is yours, companion of the jungle fowl, so that you be not approaching my rice field).

The Isneg distinguish four stages of the rice when it is earing, namely: 243 789

Maxabu-sit: "To be pregnant" (also said of animals), when the ears are still covered, but their presence is already clearly apparent.

Maxabótog: when the ears are peeping out, but as yet without spreading.

Nabuyág: when the ears are spreading and ready to flower.

[1] [i.e. weeding time, August — Analyst]

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these are rarely sufficient, as the birds are usually very numerous and they soon get used to what they feared at first. So the only real remedy consists in watching the field and driving the birds away by shouting (*makasáraw*), by throwing missiles at them, by pulling strings that set scarecrows in motion, etc. This is of course a very tedious process and it would take much valuable time, were it not that it can be done by the children, without any trouble on the part of the parents, except that of going now and then to see if the youngsters are not napping. The latter, however, generally enjoy this kind of a job, and get lots of fun out of it, the more so that they usually find leisure to obtain an occasional dainty, either by hunting for it in the near-by forest, or by pilfering it from an adjoining garden. Besides, they are rarely alone, and a group of Isneg boys and girls is never at a loss to find amusement in some kind of game or play, in order to fill up the time between an occasional shout, the throwing of a pebble, or the pulling of a string connected with scarecrows. The latter contrivance is one of the most convenient, as it allows the watchers to lie down, when they grow tired: the only thing for them to do is to attach the end of the string to one of their toes and to move the leg from time to time.

It also happens that the ears of rice are attacked by the *duñgali*, a kind of smut fungus; but fortunately this occurs very rarely and always in rather isolated cases, which is probably due to the Isneg system of farming: fields that are scattered and are never planted with rice twice in succession.

Finally we have the most cunning of all foes, man.

A passer-by may become envious of your splendid crop and, full of spite at your prospective luck, nip (*magbu-sil*) one of the young kernels, without detaching it from its ear. Such a proceeding causes the *kómān* to be ravaged by birds.

Or a woman who has little rice herself, may be coveting yours, and stick some *añrappút*-herbs in your field, pouring coconut oil all around them. In this way she causes your palay to disappear and to be lost to you.

When damage has been done in your rice field by evil spirits, you should go and plant a spear in it, offer *inapúxān* (betel for chewing) and pray:

Italná-ko ya orúñān ta dumálo ya atoná dăyá mañrawát **(I drive the shaft [of a spear] into the ground so that the poison of the destroying spirits gather here).**

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The text of this prayer was given me by *Bǎydán* from Tawit (O dialect, Main branch).

Before finishing this subject, allow me to warn you against the spirit *Darantán*, who throws stones at people who emit a shout when reaping time approaches.

4. HARVESTING RICE AND STORING IN BARNS

The Isneg reap their rice (*maggáni*) some time in November or December. The terms *xáni, xaniyán, maggáni,* are used exclusively for harvesting rice.

There is no special *taximmatón* or sign for harvesting time (*aggaxáni*), as everything depends on the ripening palay, and this can be examined in the field without the help of other indications. Nevertheless it is said by the Isneg that reaping time in general begins with the appearance of the *papparaxáy*[38] or fruit of the *tabbág*-tree (a species of Ficus with fruits growing on the stem and the main branches), but this is only a very vague indication of the time for beginning the harvest, as the fields are not all ready at the same time, so that each particular *kómān* has to be inspected by itself.

Reaping, like planting and weeding, is a woman's job. In other parts of the Mountain Province, the men, although much less dexterous than the women, do not scorn to help the latter in this all-important work; but, in Apayaw, no Isneg worth the name would deign to enter the field with his wife and the girls in order to cut down a single ear of rice.

The reaper cuts off each ear of palay separately with the help of her *ikó*-knife, held in her right hand, and gathers the ears in her left hand, as many as she can clasp. When the cannot grasp any more, she binds (*magbattá-* or *mamtá-*) them into a small bundle (*battá-*) and throws the latter behind her on the ground. The culm is cut some five inches below the neck or junction of ear and stalk: the part of the culm that remains attached to the ear is called *ákaw*, the rest is the *daxámi* (called *daxádag*, as long as it remains on the field).

There are always several women working together; if there are not enough girls in the family, some of the neighbors come to the rescue. The reapers stand in a row, not very far apart from one another, and go on straight ahead. Behind them the bundles of palay are lying

[38] Children use it for a toy by piercing it with a wooden pin and making it spin like a top.

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243 782 415 Then the *sixăy*-hut has to be looked over, and if anything is wanting, it must be brought in. In each *sixăy* there should be a *dapûg* or hearth, with fire (*apúy*), but no taxáñ (three stones for supporting cooking utensils), as no cooking is done there.

A mortar (*altóñ*) and one or more pestles (*alló*) must also be present, but the former may find its place at the outside.

Before the harvest begins, the following objects have to be brought to the *sixăy*:

The *subná-*: a bunch of betel nuts and one of betel leaves (no lime). The *subná-* is put down on the floor of the hut, near the fire, and every day, as long as the harvest lasts, some part of it is used for the *inapúxăn* (betel for chewing) of the spirits.

A *patuxáw*: a large basket (ordinary type: square bottom, round rim) for storing the *xúput* or immature rice and the rest, that has been collected in the *arín*-baskets of the reapers, mentioned above. It is placed near the fire, and people are absolutely forbidden to walk over it, on pain of causing the spirit (*kaduduwá*) [39] of their rice to leave and to go over to someone else's rice. At each meal eaten in this hut, at harvesting time, the Isneg place *inapúxăn* and a few ears of palay in the *patuxáw*. This basket is not removed from the *sixăy* till after the harvest, when the *inapúxăn* it contains is thrown away, and the palay is roasted over the fire, pounded and eaten.

Last but not least, the *aligmamán*. Strictly speaking, the *aligmamán* is a small basket of the ordinary type (square bottom, round rim), and is of daily use for storing betel, lime and so on. In the *sixăy*-hut, however, it is used for storing amulets, and the name *aligmamán* is given to any kind of small basket, whether the *aligmamán* proper or some other one, for instance the *sinalimbáñ*, which is a kind of small fancy basket of different shapes, made from sundry materials, and consequently rather ornate. At the beginning of the harvest, and later on, at any time, as long as palay is being cut in that particular field, amulets are placed in the *aligmamán*, so that very soon there is a whole assortment of them. They may be chosen from the following list:

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Xippaxippáw: A kind of herb placed in the *aligmamán* on the first day, before any reaping has been done.

Karráñ: A leafless plant, mentioned before. A whole basketful of these is placed in the hut on the morning of the first day of the

[39] The same term is used for the spirit of man.

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Takkág líńān or *kaddát líńān* or *kaddát ińáto* (literally: takkag or herb of the spirit Lingan, of the spirit Ingato): A kind of scandent vine, resembling the *takkág*, but with smaller leaves, found in rice fields long since abandoned. 243 789

Tallá: A low herb, growing all over the district.

Tańtáń líńān (literally: Lingan's calabash for storing lime): A kind of fungus consisting in a white ball supported by a stipe, and parasitic on the stem of other plants.

Turátud: A kind of herb, some six inches tall, with very narrow leaves about two inches long, growing in rocky places.

Before going to the field to start reaping palay, the women have to *magdaán*, that is, to prepare everything the men need at home: they pound enough rice to last them until the end of the harvest, they gather vegetables for viands, leaves to be used for plates, etc., so that the men will have nothing to do but to cook for themselves and for their families, no real cooking being done in the *síxăy*-hut. 243 462

Here follow the names of most of the spirits who come around at this time of the year:[1] 776 782

Abád: Helps the reapers.

Abalúd: *Inapúxān* (betel for chewing) is offered to him.

Aglalannawán: Helps the reapers.

Alipuńdán: Causes the reapers' toes to get sore all over and swell.

Ańáp: Kills people at the time of the harvest.

Ańát: A female spirit helping the reapers. If the women dream about her at night, they will offer her *inapúxān* in the *síxăy*-hut the next day.

Ańrixád: Increases the palay. Women often dreám about him; when they do, he tells them that they will reap nothing, but they know that it is just the contrary.

Arúriń: When the Isneg take their meals, if they fail to give this female spirit a share, they will not harvest anything.

Babalasińnúd: Lives in the *síxăy*-hut.

Bannít: Is angered by the failure of the Isneg to sacrifice a pig at the beginning of the harvest, in which case little rice is raised.

Binu-sílān: Helps the reapers.

Bońós: Is invoked by the shaman and comes at the sacrifice that takes place before the harvest.

Dagdagamiyán (Bayag pronunciation): A female spirit who makes children sick who play where people are busy harvesting.

Dalimáń: *Inapúxān* is offered to him, lest he come near.

[1] [i.e. harvest time, in December. --Analyst]

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Daramíām: Food is offered to him, by being thrown out through the door, at every meal that is taken in the *sixāy*.

Darupāypāy: Consumes the palay that has been placed in the *sixāy*, before it is transferred to the granary.

Dawilíyān: Helps the reapers.

Dékat: Accompanies the reapers.

Doruwáńaw: *Inapúxān* is offered to him at the beginning of the harvest.

Dumińxíw: Accompanies the reapers, increasing the palay.

Duwakáw: Resides in the rice field.

The *ibańibāń*-spirits: Are invited by the Isneg to accompany them, when they go harvesting.

The *iláńit*-spirits (literally: inhabiting the sky): Help the reapers.

Imbáńon: Helps the reapers.

Inarxāy: Kills people at the time of the harvest. The following prayer is recited, when *inapúxān* is offered to *Inarxāy*. The text was given me by *Daxidí* from Baliwanan (O dialect, Main branch).

Iápugko iyáw inarxāy ta dínaami patpatāy (I offer betel [for chewing] to you, Inargay, so that you do not kill us).

Irixí: Accompanies the reapers, stays in the *sixāy* with them, goes home with them. Whenever the Isneg take a meal in the *sixāy*, as long as the harvest lasts, they offer him rice and viands, by placing them on a plate in the doorway.

Ximbańónān: Helps the reapers. The following two prayers addressed to *Ximbańónān*:

One called *maglappá-*, "to offer food, etc., to the spirits", contributed by *Yadán* from Nagbabalayan (O dialect, K branch):

Ne uwámo ximbańónān umáńnakami sissímān kiyá danní xidxídam (Here, this is yours, Gimbangonan, come to espy us at the fall of the day).

One called *ap-ápug*, with offering of *inapúxān*, contributed by *Lampá* from Dangla (O dialect, Main branch):

Iápugko ikáw ximbańónān bumáńon nam ăy mańán ta umadăyyóka (I offer betel [for chewing] to you, Gimbangonan, arising but eating,[40] so that you go away).[41]

Xinālińán: Helps the reapers.

[40] Who eat whenever you arise.

[41] According to the majority of my informants, *Daxidí*, *Yadán*, etc., Gimbangonan favors the reapers.

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Xinuúdān: Is driven away at the beginning of the harvest, lest he come to measure the receptacles for palay, and the latter dwindle.

Magkáwăy: *Inapúxān* is offered to him.

Magwáŋag: *Inapúxān* is offered to him.

Nappiyá: Spirits living in the rice field.

Palpálad: *Inapúxān* is offered to him.

Punây: Resembles a bird. *Inapúxān* is offered to him at the beginning of the harvest.

Sían: A companion of Pilay, at the time of the harvest.

Sibo: A good spirit; always accompanies the women when they are reaping, rain or sunshine.

Sildádo (from the Spanish *soldado*, "soldier"): Spirits resembling horses. If children play boisterously near the house, these spirits will cause the death of one of them.

Sipa: *Inapúxān* is offered to him in the rice field, on the first day of the harvest.

Sipnút: *Inapúxān* is offered to him, on top of the house ladder, at the beginning of the harvest.

Taxokó: *Inapúxān* is offered to him.

A nameless female spirit living at the *Nanápan* brook, behind the mountains, on the opposite bank of the Apayáw river from Bayag. She counts the palay while wearing a raincoat; as soon as she is approached by any of the people who live there, she disappears.

When everything is in readiness, the Isneg proceed in the following way.

First of all, a pig is sacrificed, while a *dorarákit* or shaman *maxaníto*, "communicates with the spirits". During this ceremony, a leaf of the betel (*zawád*) is torn up and one of its shreds, called *binurían*, is placed near the hearth. One of the animal's legs (*lótub*) is placed in a small *bánia* (earthen pot used for cooking rice, etc.), and the latter is put down on the floor of the granary (*álań*).

The following prayer, whose text was given me by *Uwil* from Bolo (O dialect, Main branch), is one of those that are recited during this sacrifice. The spirit is supposed to pronounce the words through the mouth of the shaman.

Mapáńko pĕ ya dordorerćmān yo maggiyán kadăyó isagaddán,[42] *ta*

[42] Cf. footnote 19 supra. I think that the following free translation of this prayer comes very near to the meaning intended by the Isneg: I come to take my abode amongst you, my faithful people, lest you be bewitched by the other spirits (or: by the Christians).

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243 782 789 *mañsiñta pĕ ña mabalsiān kiyó am-ammowán dăyó ilañitān*[43] *ña isagaddán* (I shall go now to approach residing among the Christians, as we are afraid now to be made sick through the knowledge of the heavenly Christians).

Once this indispensable business has been duly attended to, an old woman, not necessarily a shaman, makes ready to arrange the *pinudóñ*, which will be explained presently. Before leaving the house, she offers rice pudding to the Pilay-spirit who resides on the *páza*-shelf above the hearth, and recites the following prayer, called *pisi-* (offering food, etc. to the spirits):

Ne uwámo ilăy ta batbattuxámmo ya an-anâ-o, uwaámmo ka mabtúgda péyañ (Here, this is yours, Ilay, so that you satiate my children, make that they be always satiated).

The text of this prayer was obtained from *Uwíl*, a Bolo man (O dialect, Main branch).

The same woman also takes a little of the new rice that has been toasted over the fire, and puts it in a small *bakóba-* (a dry calabash used for storing rice). Then she places the latter near the hearth, where it has to remain indefinitely; that rice is never eaten. The calabash with its contents is called *indág*.

In the meanwhile, a man has gone to bar with a *sarañásañ* the path that leads to the *kómān*, in order to warn all passersby not to approach the reapers. This barrier remains from three to five days, after which it is removed together with the taboo. There are two ways of building a *sarañásañ*:

One consists in placing two or three bamboo sticks spaced one above another, across the path.

The other way consists in fixing a single bamboo stick, provided at one end with an ax (*parakól*) and at the other end with a hatchet (*aliwá*), across the path.

At about 5 o'clock in the evening, the old woman proceeds to the field (*mañútud*) taking along the following objects:

A *damázan*, a small basket, round and almost spherical.

A leaf of the *táraw* palm (a fan palm, probably a species of Livistona), that serves for a cover to the *damázan*-basket.

One or more sections of *bulálaw* or *bokáñ* (two varieties of sugar cane).

A bunch of *takkág*-ferns, mentioned before.

[43] *Láñit* means: sky, heaven; *ilâñit*: resident(s) of the sky, heaven, a class of spirits; *ilañitān*: heavenly, beautiful, majestic, etc.

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Some *namandanán* or sea sand, of which a certain amount is always kept in the house. 243

One internode of a *túboń* cane filled with sea sand. The *túboń* resembles the *bassáw* or bamboo grass, but its leaves are larger. 782 789

A few amulets that will be mentioned presently.

After she has arrived in the rice field, she places the *túboń*-internode filled with sand in the *sízăy*, and the *damázan*-basket with its cover and its contents of *takkág*-ferns, together with the sugar cane, behind the *sízăy*-hut. Then she goes to the stalks of rice that grow next to the *sízăy* and sprinkles them with the *namandanán*-sand.

Others, instead of sea sand, use *rabrób*, "sand gathered at the source of a brook"; in which case they wrap it in a piece of cloth, cut one stalk of rice, and tie both cloth and stalk to one of the posts of the *sízăy*.

In other places again, they use a *tupdń*, which consists in the lower section of a *túboń*-reed, whose upper part has been removed by accident, and whose hollow has been filled up with sand without the help of man. This they tie, by means of *takkág*-ferns, to a stalk of palay, together with the other objects that will be mentioned presently.

After the sprinkling of the rice with sand, the woman *mazapaapúg*, that is, she ties one or more of the following amulets to the nearest stalk of palay, at its base, using *takkág*-ferns for bands:

Inapúzăn, never omitted.

A-mám: A kind of hard black lichen growing on wet rocks.

Ańinamáy: A kind of herb. It is used with both palay and maize, and causes them to last long.

Tazimbáńon: A kind of amaranthaceous plant, one yard tall, with dark-brown leaves, red underneath. It is extensively cultivated for ornamental purposes.

In case the woman happens to own more than one rice field, a stalk of palay is provided with *inapúzăn*, *takkág* and the rest, at the corner of each field. After the harvest, the ears of these stalks and the three bundles (*battá-*) that will be mentioned presently, are bound together by means of *takkág*-ferns, and placed in the granary before all other palay. This belongs to Pilay, it is the spirit of the rice; and, whenever an old granary is abandoned for a new one, Pilay's property is transferred to the latter. Even though it may have accumulated into a comparatively large amount, it is never consumed, but always transferred from one granary to another.

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243 782 789 Each of the stalks just mentioned, and also each bundle (*battá-*) made from their ears, are both called *pinudóń*. The same name is also applied to the *damázan*-basket and the rest, behind the *sízăy*-hut. This third variety of *pinudóń* is prepared in the following way:

When the old woman is through with the ceremonies at the first stalk or palay, she harvests three small bundles (*battá-*),[44] and brings them behind the *sízăy*-hut. Here she lays the sugar cane on the ground, and superimposes the *damázan*-basket filled with *takkág*-ferns, among which she has thrust the customary *inapúzăn*. Then she arranges the three bundles of palay around the basket in such a way as to keep the latter in the middle.

I shall give here the names of a few more amulets, some or all of which may be used in this connection:

To be placed in the *damázan*-basket:

A *paggó*, a small brown pebble from the river; never to be omitted. After the harvest, when the palay is transferred to the granary, this *paggá* is put in a small *báńa*-jar, and placed in the granary. The same pebble is used every year for the same purpose, so that it is not necessary to get a fresh one from the river.

Taxalitaw: A plant mentioned before.

To be tied to the first of the three *battá-* (bundles of the *pinudóń*):

An *abatbattúg*-insect wrapped in a piece of cloth. This is a very small brown wingless insect that moves along jumping.

Amsíń: A low herb growing all over the district.

To be tied to, stuck in, or placed on the *pinudóń* (stalk, bundle or palay behind the hut):

Ańńodán: A herb some twelve inches tall, with white-and-blue flowers. When placed on the *pinudóń*, it brings heavy rainfall.

Ammodońán: A creeping herb with small white flowers, growing in the forest.

Ańigáw: A herb some four inches tall, found in forested areas.

Balásań: A kind of herb not growing at Kabugaw.

Dćmăy: A low herb with small leaves, found all over the district.

Inindaggán: A plant, some four inches tall, with five or six red leaves, and flowers hanging down; it grows in dense forests.

Inugldy: A low herb with very small leaves and spiny fruits, growing almost anywhere.

[44] Four *battá-* equal one ordinary bundle or *ćsiń*. One hundred *ćsiń* or four hundred *battá-* equal one *ńópo*.

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Marabatónit: A herb, some five inches tall, with white flowers; it resembles the globe amaranth, but has smaller leaves. 243 782 789

Takkág líńăn: A plant mentioned before.

Tóyug: A very tall herb with white flowers and red fruits, found almost anywhere.

Turátud: A plant mentioned before.

One or more of the following amulets may be placed in the *sixăy*, on the floor:

Labní: A herb, some five inches tall, growing in forests. It increases the palay.

Ambág: A herbaceous vine with white flowers, found all over the district.

Labiyáń: A low herb growing in forested areas.

Besides these, another amulet may be placed at random somewhere in the rice field, namely: the *maradúra-*, which is a herb some six inches tall and grows in forests.

While the old woman offers the *inapúxăn* to the spirits, at the time of the preparation of the *pinudóń*, she recites one or more or the following prayers. The texts were given me by *Lampá* from Dangla (O dialect, Main branch). 243 789

Ne uwám anddyo maggiyán ka tańaluxagtáp ka ńódo (Here, this is yours, Andayo, who reside in the [visible] sky above).

Iápugko ikáw ńilńilá dapán ta umad-adăyyóka (I offer betel [for chewing] to you, Yellow-soled [spirit], so that you be going away):

Iápugko ikáw maggiyán ka íli lixăyan ta dínă- balbalsiánan (I offer betel to you, who reside at the town of Ligayan, so that you do not make us sick).

Iápugko ikáw maggiyán ka laăy ta iddánă- ka bittć- ammăy (I offer betel to you, who reside at Laay, so that you give me a little rice).

Iápugko ikáw alindodóăy umáńmo ipóăy ya sinotónmo ńa ammăy (I offer betel to you, Alindodoay, come and drop the rice you carried on your head).

After the completion of all these ceremonies in the *kóman*, the woman comes back home.

In Apayaw customs differ with regard to the time and the circumstances in which reaping is begun in earnest.

In most places, the Isneg start on the morning following the *pinudóń*-ceremony, and reap palay for about an hour. The next day, they remain in the field until noon; and after that, they stay the entire day: this lasts until all rice has been cut.

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243 782 Elsewhere, they go to the field on the day after the *pinudóń*-ceremony, either in the morning or in the afternoon, and harvest one basketful of palay (*manalégāt*: Bayag pronunciation). But after that, they stay at home for three whole days without repairing to the *kómān*. Then finally they go again (*mamalāńon*), and this time continue the reaping until the whole work is done. The palay of the first basket is not pounded in the regular way, but simply roasted over the fire, and the rice is put in a calabash and placed over the hearth. When the harvest is over, this rice is pounded and eaten just like ordinary rice.

In any case, on the day following the *pinudóń*-ceremony, the reapers take with them to the field a *sípań* (young coconut) and place it in the *sixāy*-hut. This *sípań* must be so young that it could not have formed before the *agtotognó* or time of planting. At Bayag, and only there, if the *sípań* is all too young, the old woman takes it with her on the day of the *pinudóń*; if not, they do as elsewhere and take it with them the next morning.

After the reapers have come home in the evening of the first day (the day following the *pinudóń*-ceremony), the owner of the rice field, the man, takes a coconut and divides it (*magbakká*) with his hatchet, while he pronounces the following words:

To di bakkánnu aníto ta dínu bakkán ólomi (Divide this, spirits, so that you do not divide our heads).

Then they cut out the *aludákid* (a narrow strip of coconut meat mentioned before) or *ludákid* around the edge of one of the halves, bind it into a bundle together with some palay, some charcoal, and a short slender stick cut out of bamboo, and hang it on a cane of *bassáw* or bamboo grass stuck in the ground among the bushes, not far from the house. The whole outfit is called *bāyúbāy* and should prevent the reapers from getting sick. If this ceremony were omitted, there is every reason to believe that some of the women would fall victims to disease.

755 Should it happen that a member of the household, whether a reaper or not, becomes sick at the beginning of the harvest, the Isneg perform the *púpug*-ceremony. A chicken is caught by a shaman; she kills it inside the house and recites the usual prayers; then the meat is consumed by the inmates of the house, both men and women. While the women of the immediate neighborhood, no others, are allowed to be present, all men who do not belong to the house, are strictly forbidden to attend the *púpug*.

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In case you are mourning a member of your household who died at reaping time, you must reserve the *tagăytăy* (Bayag pronunciation) for him, before you begin to harvest your fields in earnest. The *tagăytăy* consists of four very small bundles of palay, not thicker than one's finger, that have to be placed near the *sizăy*, at the outside.

When rice pudding is offered to the spirits at the beginning of the harvest, the following prayers (*pispisi-*) may be recited:

Ne uwámo ńa dadam-án ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, Dadam-an,[45] so that you go away).

Ne uwámo ńa napiyá ńa aníto ta umáńnā- sidúńān (Here, this is yours, good spirit, so that you come under my house [to help me]).

Ne uwámo ńa naggupán ka laxíma ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, you who use a *laxíma*-pot[46] for a plate, so that you go away).

Ne uwámo naggupán ka rusúd ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, you who use a *rusúd*-pot[47] for a plate, so that you go away).

Ne uwámo naggupán ka amotó ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, you who use an *amotó*-jar[48] for a plate, so that you go away).

Ne uwámo naggupán ka báńa ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, you who use a *báńa*-jar[49] for a plate, so that you go away).

Ne uwámo naggupán ka xituldán ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, you who use a *xituldán*-pot[50] for a plate, so that you go away).

Ne uwámo naggupán ka táxo- ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, you who use a coconut shell for a plate, so that you go away).

Ne uwámo naggupán ka duyát ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, you who use a wooden basin for a plate, so that you go away).

Ne uwámo naggupán ka dońdóń ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, you who use a *dońdóń*-jar[51] for a plate, so that you go away).

[45] *Dadam-án* also means: doorsill. *Dadam-án* here is the spirit who resides at the doorsill, just above the ladder.

[46] The *laxíma* is a small iron pot with a round bottom (not flat), used in the kitchen.

[47] The *rusúd* is a large iron pot with a round bottom, used for boiling the juice of the sugar cane.

[48] The *amotó* is a jar of earthenware, used for holding drinking water.

[49] The *báńa* is a jar of earthenware, used for cooking rice, etc.

[50] The *xituldán* is a rather large iron pot with a round bottom, used for preparing *bási*-beer, etc. The *xituldán* is larger than the *laxíma*, but smaller than the *rusúd*. All three have the same shape; the *laxíma* has a round iron handle, the other two have none.

[51] The *dońdóń* is a large jar of earthenware, used for cooking rice, etc., mostly when there is a feast.

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243 *Ne uwámo naggupán ka bísin ta umadăyyóka* (Here, this is yours, you who use a *bísin*-ornament [52] for a plate, so that you go away).

183 *Ne uwámo battúg ta umadăyyóka* (Here, this is yours, Battug,[53] so that you go away).

Ne uwámo matá taxasinnánnakami (Here, this is yours, sun, look after us).

Ne uwámo ña naggupán ka tariyáw ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, you who use a *tariyáw* [54] for a plate, so that you go away).

Ne uwámo ña naggupán ka múlat ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, you who use a *múlat*-bowl [55] for a plate, so that you go away).

Ne uwámo anito kiyá labbáñ taxasinnánnakami (Here, this is yours, spirit in the coconut cut in halves, look after us).

Ne uwámo anito kiyá ápat ta sidúñannakami (Here, this is yours, spirit in the cotton, so that you stay under our house).

Ne uwámo di-rán ta ialátmo kiyá- to xásat (Here, this is yours, Di-ran, so that you show me good luck).

Ne uwámo abuwés ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, Abuwes, so that you go away).

Ne uwámo árān ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, Aran, so that you go away).

These texts were given me by *Băydán* from Tawit (O dialect, Main branch).

243 After all necessary precautions have been taken and all customary ceremonies have been attended to, the women finally begin harvesting in earnest, and stay in the field the whole day. They begin with the *kalaxán*-rice, usually a small field or part of a field of early palay, and continue with the rest, until the last rice has been harvested and brought into the *sixăy*, where it is piled up in one of the corners (*magdalatún*) [56] into a *bañíbáñ* (heap of palay).

The first two or three bundles (*battá-*) that are brought into the *sixăy*, to begin a *bañíbáñ*, are called *tañípan*; the others have no special name.

[52] The *bísin* consists of a combination of beads and pieces of shell of different size and shape, hung from the neck.

[53] *Battúg* also means: satiety. The spirit in question is supposed to eat his fill and so to consume everything or, at least, a large amount.

[54] The *tariyáw* is a plate of earthenware of Chinese origin.

[55] The *múlat* is a large wooden bowl.

[56] To pile up (stones, palay, etc.) in general is: *dugnúkan*.

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243 Generally only one full meal is taken in the *sízăy*, everybody
264 partakes of it, and the following two ceremonies have to be performed
782 every time:

They take three small leaves (any kind) and put a pinch of *pinatúpāt*, placed in the *sízăy* for this purpose, mixed with coconut oil on each of them. The *pinatúpāt* is a block of rice pudding wrapped up in strips of palm leaves. Then the *manúxan* places one of these leaves in the hearth (*dapāg*), one on the palay stored inside (*bañíbāñ*), and one outside, near the ladder. At this juncture the following prayer may be recited. My informant, *Yadán* from Nagbabalayan (O dialect, K branch), called it *maglappá-*, a synonym for *pisi-* (offering food, etc. to the spirits).

Ne kuxámo ilāy paglaxíbannakami maggáni (Here, this is yours, Ilay, watch us harvesting).

For the second ceremony they take several (at least four) leaves of the *balbál*, a small tree with brown bark and leaves resembling those of the cabbage. On each of these leaves they put a little *nabáw* (cooked rice) and a small amount of *láda-* (just mentioned). Then they place one such leaf in the *patuxáw*-basket (containing immature rice, etc.), one on the *bañíbāñ* (heap of palay), one in the hearth, and one in the *damáxan*-basket, at the *pinudóñ*, behind the hut. The one in the hearth, near the fire, is placed there in honor of Pilay, so that he be favorably inclined toward his clients and make them *nadañgán*, "blessed with a rich harvest".

243 Before going on with the description of the activities of the reapers,
784 I shall explain the taboos that have to be observed by them. The reason is that these prohibitions are especially stringent at the beginning of the harvest, the first three or five days, namely all the time the *sarañásañ*-barrier (mentioned before) obstructs the path that leads to the field.

The *manírut*, or reapers who bind palay into *battá-* (bundles), are not allowed to swim, to enter the *baláwa* (place near the house where rice is pounded), to take hold of a hatchet, to eat from a plate or dish (they must use leaves), to eat chicken. These taboos remain in force as long as their work lasts.

Any kind of loud noise is absolutely forbidden in and around the *kómān*. The reason for this and similar taboos is to prevent the spirit (*kaduduwá*) of the rice from becoming frightened and escaping.

Shouting and singing in or around the *kómān* is tabooed, under pain of imminent illness (*masipñúd*).

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The following terms have been heard at Talifugu (Bo dialect):

	Common language	Reapers' cant
Dog:	*áto*	*alíal*
Hog:	*ábuy*	*dinakán*
Chicken:	*anú-*	*kăyabkáb*
Monkey:	*ayóń*	*kilsáp*
Cat:	*kusá*	*lannáń*
To eat:	*mańán*	*mańunág* [50]

This is also the time[1] for proposing riddles (*baníko*), a pastime that is taboo in other seasons. Most of these riddles are stereotyped and well known all over the district, otherwise the solution of some of them would be absolutely impossible, as they consist of words that have become obsolete or that are entirely without meaning. Nevertheless new riddles are always welcome, and so the inventive genius of some of the natives is given much scope.

In order to avoid crowding into this paper too large a number of native texts, I refer the reader to a paper to be published subsequently, in which I give a long list of riddles and of their answers, all of them gathered during my prolonged sojourn in Apayaw.

It is also customary among the natives to set snares (*ilug*) for jungle fowls all around the *kómăn*, at the time of the harvest, when these birds are especially bold. An Isneg never fails to improve the opportunity of getting a few choice morsels at little cost.

Harvest time is the season in which most spirits, good and bad, are abroad, and so the Isneg has a busy time, first to force his protectors to come and help him, and then to propitiate or drive away the evil imps that are intent either on stealing or harming his paddy, his most valued possession, or on playing all kinds of mischief and mean tricks. Besides these, in almost every village, we find one or more dwelling places of special *aníto* (spirits) that have to be remembered at this time of the year. At Dangla, for instance, the reapers never omit to pay their respects to the genius who lives at *Pinazolowăn*, by offering him *inapúxăn* (betel for chewing).

When offering *inapúxăn* to the spirits, at harvesting time, some or all of the following prayers may be recited:

Iápugko ikáw ulát ta umad-adăyyóka kadakamí (I offer betel [for chewing] to you, Famine, so that you be going away from us).

[50] *Maxunóg*, in ordinary language, means: to enter the house.

1 [i.e., at harvest time -- Analyst]

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243 *Iápugko ikáw maggiyán ka dammáń ńa maggupán sinublán magsido-*
772 *ka latóxān umadāyyóka* (I offer betel to you who reside at the other side of the river, who use a *sinublán*-pot [60] for a plate and a *latóxān* [61] for a spoon, go away).

Iápugko ikáw maggiyán ka dammáń magkaw-awíli ańán ta umadāyyóka (I offer betel to you who reside at the other side of the river, who eat everything in one day, so that you go away).

Iápugko ikáw maggiyán ka dóxo masí maxammáyka magkaw-awíli ta umadāyyóka (I offer betel to you who reside at Dogo Masi, who gather your rice in one day, so that you go away).

Iápugko ikáw dummasisi maggiyán ka dóxo masí ta umadāyyóka (I offer betel to you, Dummasisi, who reside at Dogo Masi, so that you go away).

Iápugko ikáw darapāypāy magkímat.ka kímat ammáy umbétka (I offer betel to you, Darapaypay, whose eyelashes are awns of rice, come).

Iápugko ikáw la-lakáy magtottotón a báxat xāyát ta nagkálap ta umadāyyóka (I offer betel to you, old man, who are carrying a banana on the head after having gone to get products from another district, so that you go away).

Iápugko ikáw tarkíray ya magtottotón ka lina-bá ńa ammáy ta lumbétka (I offer betel to you, Tarkiray, who are carrying a *la-bá*-basket full of rice on the head, so that you come).

When the last of the above prayers is recited, and people are eating rice pudding, Pilay must be given a share near the hearth.

All the foregoing texts were given me by *Lampá* from Dangla (O dialect, Main branch).

Yadán from Nagbabalayan (O dialect, K branch) gave me the text of another prayer unaccompanied by the usual offering:

Umáńko pē tagtaxińán ned inalakkán (I come now to sit down with this [rice] I took).

Taxíń means "sitting down in company"; *inalakkán* here means "harvested rice". What follows is a free translation of this prayer, which consists of a statement put in the mouth of a spirit: I come to watch the rice that has been harvested.

[60] The *sinublán* is the same as the *rusúd*. Cf. footnotes 47 and 50.

[61] The *latóxān* is a piece of soft wood, placed under the crusher in a sugar mill, and used for collecting juice.

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Isneg reapers usually provide themselves with amulets, which they place in their *túput* (pouch) tied around the waist. The following are noteworthy:

Leaves of the *banítug*, a kind of forest tree with smooth leaves and white flowers, whose fruits and young leaves are edible. They prevent the bearer from feeling the pangs of hunger.

Katálin: a herbaceous vine with thick leaves, growing on the banks of rivers.

Palamían: a low herb, found almost anywhere.

Other amulets may be placed on the *bańíbāń* (heap of rice) in the *síxăy*:

Aúímăy: A low herb, with small leaves and very hairy fruits, found all over the district.

Basáñal: A creeping herb, mentioned among the amulets of the *aligmamán*-basket.

Binóāg: A low herb with white flowers, growing in forests.

Iput butít (literally: rat's tail): A grass, some two feet tall, probably a species of Setaria,[62] found almost anywhere. It keeps the rats from playing havoc with the palay.

Xippaxippáw: Also mentioned among the *aligmamán* amulets. This herb is placed somewhere in the hearth, before the *bańíbāń* has attained a considerable size.

Panápil: A low herb with round leaves, growing all over the district.

Thorns of the *surni-*, a plant mentioned before. It bears seeds that point downwards (hence its name: "turned the wrong way").

A *tutúxan*, a kind of round red bead, must be placed under the *síxăy*-hut and covered with a stone.

The following amulets prevent the people from consuming a large amount of rice, when taking their meals at harvesting time:

Anampát: A creeping herb growing along brooks. It resembles the Bermuda grass, but its leaves are larger and greener. The Isneg wrap it in a piece of cloth and tie it around the *bakóba-* (calabash for storing *baggát*, "husked rice") or around the neck of a jar that contains the rice.

Tagalobná- (Bayag pronunciation): A herb, some six inches tall, with small leaves, found almost anywhere. This also is placed on the receptacle for rice.

[62] The Italian millet belongs to the same genus.

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remains after pounding) and some *asáp* (husks, what remains after winnowing), and wrap them in a leaf; after they have come home, they hang the latter somewhere in the *baláwa* (place where they pound rice). The same is done when new rice (not *inixúbān*) is winnowed for the first time.

Then we have the *uglây*, which must be set apart before anything else, when *inixúbān* is being prepared for the first time. The *uglây* consists of at least three liters of *inixúbān* that have to be kept for the Pilay who resides in the house, near the hearth. After the harvest, however, human beings consume what the spirit has left.

Husked *inixúbān* that is not consumed immediately, is stored up in calabashes, the ordinary kernels in *bakóba-* (the usual receptacles for husked rice), the broken ones in *busiúgán* (a smaller kind of calabash). The latter must have *takkág*-amulets tied around the neck, and their contents are reserved for children to eat.

The Isneg eat the *inixúbān*[1] (*magdúm* or *manúm*) either with or without viands. Sometimes, especially when children are around, they put back in the mortar a certain amount of *inixúbān*, and pound it until it is reduced to powder; by mixing this flour with coconut meat, a kind of pudding (*limbá-*) is prepared that may be eaten either raw or cooked.

When you have been preparing *inixúbān* for the first time, this is the way to *magdúm* (to eat *inixúbān*): first, eat one mouthful of *inixúbān*, then pronounce the magic word *baríbarī*, and after that continue your meal in the ordinary way.

At this juncture one or both of the following prayers may be recited. The second one must be accompanied by an offering of some of the food (*maglappá-* or *magpísi-*).

Baríbarī di mapalpáli ya kanánmi (Baribari, our food is not easily consumed).

Baríbarī matugtugkíkami maggáni (Baribari, we harvest more and more).

Both texts were given me by *Yadán* from Nagbabalayan (O dialect, K branch).

The preparation of the *inixúbān* does not interfere with the usual routine of the harvest, and the reapers go on with their work until it is finished.

If you foresee that the amount of your palay will be very much smaller than that of other years, so that it will hardly be possible to

[1] [roasted immature rice. -- Analyst]

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call it an *ápit*,[83] have recourse to the following expedient: when you prepare *inapízan*, do not take leaves of the betel pepper (*zawád*), but use young leaves of the *tabbág* (a species of Ficus) instead; this will cause your palay to increase notably.

When all your paddy has been reaped and the *bañíbañ* (heap of palay) in your *sízay* (hut) is complete, so that you are *nadanág* (all your fields having been harvested), you are allowed to eat the *dogdógo* (Bayag pronunciation), which consists of a certain amount of palay that has been left standing near the *sízay*.

The *zañgán* (called *láda* in some districts) or palay that was left standing here and there all over the field, because it was not yet ripe when the reapers came along, may be cut (*tudtúdan, magtudtúd*) later on, as soon as it has matured sufficiently. A part of the *zañgán*, however, must be abandoned to animals and spirits; to cut it all, is tabooed.

As soon as the harvest is over, a new set of spirits come on the scene: these are principally the *Daraxámi*, who knock on the *sízay*-hut at night, when people are sleeping inside, so that the latter very often dream about them. Then there is *Maxablây* or *Xinablây*, who is fond of killing people at this time. An appropriate prayer to forestall the latter's machinations is the following. Its text was given me by *Daxidí* from Baliwanan (O dialect, Main branch).

Iápugko ayáw zinablây ta dínaami al-aluwây (I offer betel [for chewing] to you, Ginablay, so that you do not cut off any part of our body).

At this time of the year, the Isneg usually offer (*magpísi-*) food or *inapízan* to those spirits that are most likely to exert some influence over them, whether for good or for evil. When such an offering is made at home, in the village, one or more of the following prayers may be recited:

Iápugko adaáyó idammáñ ta dídaami umáñ sidsidúññan (I offer betel [for chewing] to you, our enemies, so that you do not come under our house).

Iápugko adaáyó abulbulón magkálap ta dínaami tagtagónoñán (I offer betel to you, companions of those that get products from another district, so that you do not reduce our sustenance).

Iápugko adaáyó ña aníto ta tagapóliyánnu nídi an-aná- ta masáyánkami no pagbíli ni uyína (I offer betel to you, spirits, so that

[83] The *ápit* is the amount of rice or of Indian corn that is reaped in one season, provided it be abundant; if scanty, it is never called an *ápit*.

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you forgive this child here, so that we be lessened when Ugina [64] wants us to make an offering).

Iápugko adaăyó ńa maggupán ka zituldán nagírāb ka alatógān (I offer betel to you, who use a *zituldán*-pot [65] for a plate, and scrape out food with an *alatógān*.[66]

All four of these texts were given me by *Umílá* from Abbil (O dialect).

When the *bańíbāń* (heap of palay) in the *sízăy*-hut is complete, a day is set apart for binding (*mamońó*) the *battá-* (bundles) of palay into *ésiń*, and for counting (*magkabókab*) the latter. Four *battá-* make one *ésiń* (*tańésiń*); one hundred *ésiń* make one *ńópo* (*mópo*).

Therefore some time between the last day of the regular harvest and the day of the *pońó* (binding) and the *kabókab* (counting), the Isneg gather young bamboos (*mańalipońó*) and cut them into bands for tying the *battá-* into *ésiń*.

On the day set apart for binding and counting, the Isneg, men and women, start for the field very early in the morning, at cockcrow. Once there, one of the men sticks a spear in the ground, not far from the door of the *sízăy*-hut, and then all enter and commence the work, accompanied by the spirit *Guyéyāp*, who helps them in counting.

First of all, four *battá-* are taken from the *bańíbāń* and bound (*mamońó*) into an *ésiń*; then the tips of the straw of this *ésiń* are cut away (*magpagpág, pagpaggán*) with a hatchet, so that the straw of the bundle on top forms a smooth and even surface: all of which is performed by men. After that, one of the men takes hold of the bundle (*ésiń*), closes his eyes (*melagmiyá*), and goes outside to a place at some distance away from the *sízăy*, where he puts down the *ésiń*, without ever opening his eyes. Once rid of the bundle, he is allowed to open his eyes and find his way back. This *ésiń* is counted (*magkabókab*): one; it constitutes the first bundle (*ésiń*) of the *dattó* or row of counted *ésiń*. Treading on or passing over the *dattó* is absolutely forbidden: the Pilay punish all trespassers with fever (*daggáń*).

As soon as the first bundle has been attended to, the work goes on normally, all eyes open: the men bind (*mamońó*) the *battá-* into *ésiń* and cut off the tips of the straw (*magpagpág*) inside the hut, then they

[64] A spirit.

[65] Cf. footnote 50.

[66] This is the same as the *latázān* of footnote 61.

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hand the new bundles (*ésiń*) one by one to the women who are standing outside and who add them to the rest of the *dattó* (row); at the same time, these women keep track of the number of *ésiń*, calling out the new total after each addition.

In the afternoon, before going home, the workers pile up the *ésiń*-bundles into a *dattó* in a corner of the *sízăy*. The *dattó* (heap of counted *ésiń*) now replaces the *bańíbăń* (heap of uncounted *battó*-). Then they stick *inapúzăn* on one of the barbs of the spear in front of the hut, pushing it upwards from the tip of the barb.

The next morning, early or late, they continue the work and, at the end of the day's work, bring the spear back home. From now on, binding and counting goes on without interruption until everything is finished. In some rare instances, this job is concluded in one day, in which case, of course, the spear is taken home in the evening of the same day.

While the work is in progress, a small amount of very fine soil (*dibdibú*-), for instance that of an ant's nest, is wrapped in a piece of cloth and placed somewhere in the center of the *dattó* (in the *sízăy*), in order to prevent insects from destroying the palay heaped up there.

At this time it is the duty of every farmer to give to each of his neighbors two *ésiń* of palay, lest everything go wrong. This gift, called *píńil*, is a mere ceremony and has little or no practical value, as it is a mutual one and everybody has to reciprocate to the same amount.

In some districts, after the palay has been placed in rows outside the *sízăy* and counted, the Isneg immediately transfer all the bundles to the granary. But that is rather exceptional; in most places they proceed in the following way:

Once the *dattó* (heap of *ésiń*-bundles) is complete, the owners of the palay *lumpút*, which means: they stay at home for from one to three days, without returning to the hut. Should anybody infringe this taboo, and remain in or near the *sízăy* or go there after he has left, he is said to be enticed by the spirit *Daraxád*, the assistant of the *Daraxámi* mentioned before, and the poor man is liable to be devoured on the spot by these unearthly cannibals.

On one of those days, the owner of the house must sacrifice (*mamanít*) either a pig only or both a pig and a dog, without *maxaníto* (a shaman's communication with the spirits). The animals are killed somewhere near the granary, and their heads beaten against the building before they are severed from their bodies; then the victims

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(*pamanít*) are brought into the house and cut up. This sacrifice guarantees a plentiful harvest for the next year. In some districts, however, it is not offered by everybody indiscriminately, but only by those who have found out, after the counting, that the number of their bundles falls short of the crop they have been used to up till now, and consequently that it will be far from sufficient to last them until the next harvest.

When the days of forced absence from the *sízăy* are over, the palay is transferred in triumph to the *álań* or granary. If the real *álań* cannot be made ready in time, or if it is too small to harbor the whole crop, a *sipí* must be prepared beforehand. The *sipí* is a little hut made of light materials (bamboo, grass, etc.), more or less box-shaped, raised on posts, and covered with a lean-to roof.

In some villages, at Tawit for instance, only the inmates of the owner's house, men and women, are allowed to make this transfer. In others, all neighbors, men and women, may be invited to join; but this happens only, of course, when the palay is very abundant.

When all carriers have reached the *sízăy*, the *dattó* of palay is demolished, the bundles (*ésiń*) being brought outside and put in rows, and everybody prepares his or her load. It should be noted in this connection that the prohibition with reference to trampling on or passing over the *dattó* has never been suspended.

At the same time the Isneg collect all the amulets (*mamaldúń*) that have been placed at the *sízăy*, inside or outside, whether in the *aligmamán*-basket or over the *bańíbāń* and the *dattó*, and wrap them in a piece of cloth. This package will find its place in the granary together with the palay.

Detached grains and spikelets (*pannár* or *rannâ*) [67] that remain in and under the *sízăy* and at the place outside the hut, where the palay has been counted and where the loads have been prepared, will be gathered later on, pounded, cooked and consumed by old men and women. If young people eat them, they grow old in no time. This restriction does not apply to the *rannâ* of the granary.

Women place their load of palay in large baskets (*rańáy*, *rańáya* or *baló-*: ordinary type, round rim, square bottom),[68] which they carry on their heads (*magtotón*). Men tie on equal number of bundles to

[67] The latter term is also applied to the detached grains and spikelets that are found in and under the granary.

[68] Also used for carrying tobacco, Indian corn, etc.

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243 482 each end a pole (*isíw*),[69] which they carry on their shoulders (*maŋagtó*).

Before starting on their journey, the carriers insert a few *dáriŋ*-herbs in the straw of their load of palay, in order to keep them from all 243 harm. This is not a vain precaution, as there is at least one of the 782 numerous evil spirits in existence, namely *Nasígu*, who is especially 789 fond of annoying people who carry rice from the *síxăy* to the *álaŋ* (granary). If he finds them unprotected, he gives them a thrashing by means of a stick which he is always carrying.

As soon as they arrive at the place of the granary (*álaŋ*), the women empty their baskets and the men untie their loads, after which all bundles are piled up under the granary (*magdaligpăn*).

Before the Isneg store their palay in the granary (*magpintá-*), they attend to the following:

Besides a few objects that ultimately find their place in the granary, as the *pinudóŋ*, the amulets taken from the *síxăy*, etc., and that have been mentioned before, they put inside:

Amintakkán (from *pintá-*, "storing palay in the granary"): A low herb with very small leaves. It is placed on the floor of the granary.

Daraará-: A vine mentioned before among the amulets of the *aligmamán*-basket in the *síxăy*-hut.

Inŏd: A kind of herb. It is tied around one of the posts, inside the granary.

Pannó (literally: fullness, filling), mentioned before among the amulets of uncut paddy. This amulet causes the granary to be filled with rice.

The *pamintakkán* (from *pintá-*, "storing palay in the granary"): The *pamintakkán* is a *battá-* (one fourth of an *ćsiŋ*) and the first of the rice just brought in that is introduced into the granary. It is provided with *takkág*-vines (schizaeaceous ferns, often mentioned before) and *tagaúrabón* (called *tagarabŏn* at Bayag), which is a kind of herb, some twelve inches tall, with very small leaves and white flowers, that grows in rocky places, along rivers and brooks, and prevents the rice from being consumed quickly. The *pamintakkán* is placed in one of the two corners of the granary that are farthest away from the door.

When the time has come for storing the palay in the granary, the owner, the man, climbs inside, and his wife, standing outside, hands

[69] A pole used for carrying loads between two persons is called *búlig*.

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him the bundles. Nobody else is allowed either to hand it in or to pile it up inside.

In a few places, however, either one of them, the woman or her husband, enters the granary, and anybody is permitted to handle the bundles outside; but the person who started piling the palay inside, must continue the work until it is concluded: nobody else is allowed to interfere.

When *inapázān* is offered to the spirits at this time, the following prayers may be recited:

Iápugko iáw iwaxán ta umáńnā- sidúńān (I offer betel [for chewing] to you, Iwagan, so that you come under my house).

Iápugko iáw zinadúlan ta umáinā- taxasinnán (I offer betel to you, Ginadulan, so that you come to look after me).

Iápugko iáw pilāy ta umańńā- pańitagtagkélāy ka ammáy dató adú wa ammáy (I offer betel to you, Pilay, so that you, limping, bring me rice from the large heaps of rice).[70]

Iápugko iáw duńgali ta umáńnā- pagpili kadató ammáy atoní (I offer betel to you, Dunggali, so that you come to let me choose from the large heaps of rice there).

Iápugko iáw paluggatáń ta abulonánnaami (I offer betel to you, Paluggatang, so that you be our companion).

Iápugko iáw ańlabbáń ta tardyannā- ka ballán (I offer betel to you, Anglabbang, so that you prop me up with palma brava timber).

Iápugko iáw bákat ta ipa-bágmo to sóńān[71] (I offer betel to you, Bekat, so that you give me[72] tuskers).

Iápugko iáw da-nág ta bakkámmo ta-bán dāyó álig (I offer betel to you, Da-nag, so that you do not cover the *álig*-bees).

My informant, *Bāydán* from Tawit (O dialect, Main branch), told me that these eight prayers were pronounced consecutively when storing rice in the granary, when cutting off the head of a dog in sacrifices, etc. The last three, however, and perhaps a couple of others, seem to have nothing to do with the rice crop.

The Isneg always tie some *takkág* (schizaeaceaus ferns) around the *lappó* (literally: thigh) or thick part of one of the four posts of the granary, below the floor, in order to increase the palay stored up there.

[70] Rice you stole from those that have much rice.

[71] *Asóń* means: tusk of wild boar.

[72] In answer to my prayer. *Ipa-bág* from *tabbág*, "answering".

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243 There are a few other amulets that may be placed on the palay in the granary, at any time:

Aggassip: A low herb with white flowers, found all over the district. It causes the rice to last long.

Amagpaggôû: A herb, some twelve inches tall, with small leaves, growing in forests.

Anaxupgâ: A herb, some twelve inches tall, with small leaves, red flowers and brown fruits. It is found in the forest and, placed in the granary, helps the owners to economize their rice.

Anûyug: A herb, some eight inches tall, growing in forested areas.

Indâg: A low herb, found almost anywhere.

Rakkâd: A herb, growing all over the district.

When all the rice has been garnered, a small *bâña*-jar containing rice pudding is placed in the filled *âlaû* (granary), as an offering to Pilay. It is called *túxan*, the same name as that of the food brought to the reapers by a man (*manúxan*) from the village.

Finally the Isneg close the door of the granary and provide it with *takkâg*-ferns and *adâs*-sedges (Scleria sp.), at the outside.

III. The Isneg Garden

241 The garden or *kadánan* is a plot of ground where some time in the past rice has been grown. No garden plants are raised on virgin soil; rice always precedes them. Sometimes the *kadánan* has already served that purpose for one or more years, sometimes it is merely a *kómān* or part of a *kómān* from which rice has just been harvested.

Except for the necessity of having palay precede all other plants, the possibility or probability of raising successfully some special kind of plant on a given plot of ground is the only determinant for the choice of a garden plot. The Isneg merely studies the nature of the soil and its adaptability to the growing of certain products, according to his own experience or that of his elders.

The Isneg garden is always surrounded by a fence, either the usual one (*tabût*) or, in case the man is too lazy to make a regular fence, the *balakkawit* (strips of bamboo stuck in the ground at both ends so as to form a series of arches).

To prepare a garden, the first thing to be done is to clear the ground (*mañadánan*). When the garden is built on level ground, this work is called *maxónut*, just as in the case of a *kómān*. If the garden is new, that is, if it is made from a rice field that has just been harvested, the bulk of the weeds consists of *daxádag* (ricé straw) or *sápi* (after-

to pay heavy indemnities to the relatives of the injured husband. When the husband is so inclined, he may take one or more wives, provided that he is wealthy enough to support them. However, the wife controls in marriage, her own inherited property.

When the husband dies, the woman retains only her clothing and returns to her relatives. All the property is divided equally among the children. If they are young, the man's relatives take and raise them, keeping the property in trust. Upon marriage each child receives his share.

RELIGION

The Apayao name for a god is "*anito*." Now, it is hard for anyone to explain how all the "acts of God" are the activity of one single personality; as some "acts" are benevolent and others are malevolent. The Apayaos believe that different "acts" are the doings of differents *anitos*, some benevolent and others malevolent. Natural phenomena are explained as being the work of some *anito*. Each occurrence or activity of a person is governed by some certain *anito*. Therefore they may number up into the thousands. Thus one is constantly aware of his relations with the *anitos*, and the Apayao is very religious. For instance if he is setting a trap for wild pig in the forest, he will ask one *anito* to forgive him for trying to trap the pig; another *anito* to let the pig be guided into the trap; and another *anito* that the trap will spring and catch the pig.

Many *anitos* live in natural objects; but the most prominent ones dwlel in *Guynetban* in the sky. Each

776 [824] The *Danag* live in trees and act like fairies. If a tree is cut down and it does not fall, a *Danag* inhabits that tree. *Danags* enjoy playing practical jokes. If something awkard happens on the way, a *Danag* did it. Or sometimes, when some priestess is calling her *anito*, a *Danag* will show up instead.

782 The usual method used to gain the favor or help of an anito is to give him a feast. This may vary in name, size, details, and extent, according to the occa-
796 sion and wealth of the party who gives the feast. The
574 general procedure; however, at a feast is about as follows:

[791] The relatives and family giving the feast gather in the house one evening while the priestess, *durarakit*, performs a ceremony in which she calls the suitable *anito* and invites it to enjoy the feast. She spreads a mat near the door, places on it a bundle of unthreshed rice, some *buyo*, with possibly other articles, and ties a small chicken near by. The priestess stands on the mat and, to the cadence of the drum and bronze gongs, side shuffles her feet and waves her extended arms, at the same time calling in an old chant for the *anito* to come to the feast. In a few minutes her eyes dilate and she begins to tremble in a trance. The *anito* has come. She continues talking to it, telling it to be happy and to please help as desired. After a while she comes out of her trance and starts placing *buyo* with leaves and lime, together with grass bundles, on the jars of *basi* and on the animals which are to be killed. (Dogs and pigs are eaten only at feasts.) The *durarakit* performs this that there may be peace at the feast.

In the morning the family prepares the food for the guests. The men butcher the dog, chickens, and pigs. They might go out and get a wild pig or two. The women cook the rice, vegetables and meat. Boys carry invitations to the houses of the guests, who begin to arrive about noon, all dressed up in their best clothes.

When a guest arrives, he is given a drink of *basi* and also food, if he is hungry. Individual servings of rice, together with some meat and vegetables, are wrapped up in sections of bamboo leaf and passed around. One package of food is placed for the family *anito* under the sacred big tree or bamboo clump where it lives, and where it is the custom to hang the heads taken by the family warriors. As the various animals are killed, a little of the blood and liver are placed in a coconut shell or a section of bamboo and hung up for the *anito* of the feast. That is his share. The people eat the rest for him. Also *runo* leaves are hung from a rafter above the stove, one for each pig killed.

Dancing, *talip*, in the house starts early in the afternoon. The intriguing music is supplied by the women, who beat a staccato rhythm on three instruments: the *ludog*, a drum fashioned of a hollowed log with a skin secured over one end; a large, shallow curved-bottomed kettle-shaped bronze gong; and the *ganza*, a smaller, flat-bottomed bronze gong. Each has its own tone (base, soprano, alto) and beat; while the notes are short: quarter, eighth, and sixteenth. Thus the rhythm is fast and intricate: hard to follow. One couple dances at a time. One of the family hands a special cloth to an honored guest. He starts walk-

Do not jump over a child. If you do, his growth will be retarded. 784

At first glance one might think that life in Apayao is greatly restricted by the necessity of placating all the *anitos* and of observing the many auguries, omens, and prohibitions. But, after being around some, I cannot help getting the impression somehow, that all this is partly just the men's sly way to getting out of a lot of hard work and disagreeable duties. At least, the placating of the *anitos* gives them the occasion for many very pleasant social times. 771 784 787 789 781

BURIAL

When death comes, the Apayaos, unlike the Christians, do not dread it as being the end of life on this earth; for the spirit *cadudorosa*, continues to exist somewhere and enjoy many of their physical pleasures without the discomforts. The people respect these spirits and go to great pains to see that they are made happy, both during the funeral ceremony and also during the following years. At all the feasts a portion of the best food and *basi* is placed on a plate, which is then set near the stove where the immediate supply of rice is kept. The people want to keep the spirits of their ancestors happy and contented for, if one should become discontented, he will select a person in the house to keep him company. The person then becomes sick and will die if a feast is not held to make that spirt happy and contented again. 761 775 769 [753]

When a person dies, all the relatives immediately gather in his house and hold a *callas* in his memory. 764

couple. Nothing but joy was displayed in that fare- 726
well party to the departing warriors.

With glittering spears, *gaods*, and shields paint- 726 782
ed red and black, they started for Nagcolman. But soon they must stop for a while at the sacred tree to have their prayers said there; because their guiding *anito* dwelt in that tree. After the prayers, they rose into the air and were soon out of sight. Shortly afterward they were seen in Sagian, a place overlooking Nagcolman. There they must make a generous offering of betel nut to Balaniban, the *anito* in Sagian. The betel nut had to be offered on a shining *aliwa*. Had they failed to do so, Balaniban must deceive them.

The direction to Nagcolman was then determined, 000
and they vanished into the air; thus arriving by the riverside of their objective. Imlang, the youngest brother and the most handsome, proceeded directly to a certain house in Nagcolman, while the rest stopped at the riverside. Imlang's going to that house was contrary to the brothers' plan; for he himself desired to find a very charming lady who was hidden in the chimney of the house. A great feast was being held there when the invaders arrived; but their arrival was still unknown. Imlang vanished from his seat in the house unnoticed by the people. He was with the fair lady, Naglalanaoan, in the chimney, obtaining her love. No difficulty was offered him in winning the love of [892] the acknowledged belle of the *barangay*. He came to know her by enchantment.

Thereupon, Imlang and his expected bride, as well as the invaders still by the river, prayed that all that was being used in the feast must be brought by en-

000 So the next morning he told his wife that he was going to the forest to look for some more honey. He then left his wife, saying that he would be back late in the afternoon. At noon, while he was in the forest, he heard the loud noise of many monkeys. He crept slowly toward them and hid himself behind a tree. He saw a big band of monkeys. Some of them were white. He watched carefully to see what the monkeys were doing.

He saw two big monkeys sitting near a large jar. One was distributing *basi* from the jar to his companions, and the other was sitting facing his companions. They had two little coconut bowls which they used in drinking the *basi*. They kept on drinking the *basi* until all the monkeys were drunk. The man rushed toward the jar and carried it away from the monkeys. He brought the jar home and placed it in yard of his house.

787 He was so tired that he did not eat his supper
782 before sleeping. While he was sleeping he had another dream. He dreamt that he must not keep the jar without butchering a white-spotted pig, a dog spotted with white, and a chicken likewise marked. If this was not done, surely he would die.

This was done thru the help of his relatives. The priestess made a prayer, and a feast was held in honor of the jar. All the relatives and neighbors came to see the jar. They named it "Ayong." Now it is handed down from generation to generation. This jar now is in the possession of the head man, Pugyao, in Cabacnan.

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Anything fragrant, as pineapples, etc.; also cakes, native Isneg sweets, on account of their fragrance, lest her weakness increase.

She is also forbidden to eat any kind of fish for three days after the birth of her child If both she and her child have enjoyed good health so far, she is allowed to partake of it, after the third night provided it as cooked outside the house and brought in only after it had cooled down. Should she infringe any of these taboos, she is liable to become sick, which in this case is called *madawig*.

All Isneg parents are very anxious to give the head of their babe the right shape: so, if the little poll is much too markedly oblong, the grandmother or, in her absence, any other woman lightly presses one of her heels (*túmoń*) against its soft part, on top, while the little patient is sprawling on the floor; this is called *tumńán* (past tense: *sinúmań*; from *túmań*, "heel"; in Iloko, *túmeń* means "knee"). In other places, for instance at Bayag, they use another means in order to make the head of the newborn child nicely round: a small squash, duly hollowed out and thoroughly dried, is placed over it in such a way as to fit it exactly.

The period of confinement differs in duration from place to place, and it probably depends very much on the state of the mother; this is perhaps also the reason why the number of days during which some taboos have to be observed, is not always and everywhere the same. In general, however, it may be said that the period of strict confinement does not go beyond one week; after that time, the mother first does some light chores in and around the house, and later on proceeds to her ordinary duties.

In some places she goes to the river (*mamáwa*) two days after the birth of her child; but usually this necessary formality is performed on the fifth day, even though for the rest she continues to remain at home for a much longer period. At Bayag, for instance, it takes her one month before she is allowed definitely to leave the house and to start cleaning the yard, although she made her ceremonial visit to the river on the usual day, the fifth after her delivery When going to the river the mother protects herself from either rain or sunshine by means of a *saríkaw* (a kind of large round flat hat made from palm leaves) In most places she goes there alone; in Bayag, however, she is accompanied by her husband, who also watches her while at work.

But what happens at the time of that visit to the river? What is meant by *mamáwa*? Here is what was told me by the generality of my informants, including Bayag people: the woman goes to the river

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in order to take a bath, the first one after the birth of her child. Now, as to discrepancies in the testimony of my informants:

Only Bayag (Bayag branch of Ô dialect) people, and all of them, called this visit of a mother to the river by the name of *mamáwa*. Others told me either (Abbil branch of Ô dialect) that *mamáwa* was said of a ceremony that takes place at the river after the death of a married woman, and which will be described in due time, or (Bolo, Kumaw: Main branch of Ô dialect; Lettuakan: K branch of Ô dialect; Dibagat, G [Abbil?—Ed.] branch of Ô dialect; Karagawan: Bô dialect) that they knew nothing about its meaning. None of the latter seemed to be cognizant of any special term for the ceremonial bath of a woman after her delivery.

Everybody agreed that the mother took along with her a few herbs (*kaddát*) and a piece of ginger (*basáú*), articles which have been referred to in a preceding paragraph. But while all others stated that everything was taken back home, one Bayag informant told me that the herbs were thrown into the river and left at the mercy of the current, so that the spirits might smell them and go downstream instead of following the mother. It should be noted in this connection that the smell of ginger is usually loathed by the spirits.

Another Bayag informant included ashes (*abó*) among the articles taken along at the time of the bath in question. He said that a few ashes and a part of the ginger were left at the bathing place and the rest brought home and placed at the foot of the ladder.

The same Bayag man who told me about the herbs being thrown into the river, also emphatically denied the taking of a bath by the young mother. "She goes to the river", he added, "in order to wash her clothes for the first time".

Is it possible to disentangle this whole network of seemingly contradicting statements and to make them all agree? I think so, provided we separate the municipal district of Bayag from the rest of Apayaw. Then we should have something like this:

At Bayag: husband and wife go to the river, take along herbs, ginger and ashes. Once there, the woman takes a bath; but some women may be reluctant to enter the cold water so soon after their delivery and so they may confine themselves to the washing of their clothes. Before leaving the river, they either throw the herbs, whose smell is enjoyed by the spirits, in the river, or leave ashes and ginger, whose smell is loathed by the spirits, near the bathing place, or perhaps do both. Once at home, they put the rest of the ashes and of

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the ginger at the foot of the ladder. If necessary, other herbs and ginger are always available to take the place of the abandoned ones.

At other places: the young mother goes to the river and takes a bath. Nothing is changed with reference to herbs and ginger, which she took along at the time of her ceremonial bath and which she continues to carry on her person afterwards.

With reference to the meaning of *mamáwa*: originally it may have been applied to any kind of ceremonial ablution; later on, it may have been restricted either to the bath of a woman after her delivery (Bayag), or to the ceremony performed after the death of a married woman (Abbil).

While the mother stays inside the house, the other inmates, men not excepted if necessary, take over her ordinary duties, such as fetching water, gathering vegetables, and so on. Bayag is the only place where the husband is forbidden to leave the house for a definite number of days, as has been explained before.

The husband does not sleep with his wife for from two to five months after the birth of a child; everything depends on the state of the mother and the strength of the baby.

Should it happen that Christian Iloko merchants from the lowlands come along to sell their wares, which usually consist of clothes, at the time there is a newborn babe in the house, the Isneg father will never fail to get a few strips of cloth as soon as his Iloko friends open their packs, and to burn these rags under the nose of the little one. This ceremony is called *rumidméd*, and not to comply with it is said to be *kannáw* (bad, taboo). Such burning of cloth for magical and similar purposes is an almost universal custom all over northern Luzon. The Kankanay burn a piece of cloth and throw it outside through the door, at the same time mumbling a prayer, whenever one of their children is addicted to continual crying. The Iloko (Christians) burn cotton or rags not only at the birth of a child, but whenever somebody is sick in the house: they say that the smoke strengthens the breathing of mother and child or of the sick person, as the case may be. When bringing the little one to church for baptism, one of the attending group usually has a burning sliver of cotton in the hand and constantly keeps it as near as possible to the infant that has to be christened, at least if the priest does not object. If they know him to forbid such practices, they try to hide their diminutive torch in time before his coming, somewhere outside the building: the very offensive smell, however, rarely fails to betray them.

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In a certain place, not so long ago, they had a teacher whose moral conduct was, to say the least, rather objectionable. When policemen raided the houses of the Isneg in order to hunt up all children of school age, several Isneg parents bluntly told them that they would gladly send their sons, but with reference to their daughters, as long as that teacher remained in charge, never; and they were perfectly right. That man has since been dismissed from the service.

A few defects, which will be recorded in due time, occasionally mar the picture of Isneg family life; but on the whole, it must be said that the Isneg commonly live up to their comparatively high standards with regard to this most important unit of society. Nevertheless the whole life of the Isneg, from the cradle to the grave, is dominated by the fear of the spirits; superstition, magic and spirit worship are inextricably interwoven with their whole life. If a Caucasian or, to take an example from people born, living and dying in the same surroundings, a Negrito had to live under such a continual fear of the supernatural and to comply with such a large number of practices in order to propitiate higher beings or to elude their malevolent intentions, I think his life would be simply miserable. The Isneg, however, do not seem to mind, and although always on the lookout for disagreeable interventions from above, they live a life free of care and are never anxious about the future. They rarely concern themselves with what the next day might bring them, and live happy and content if to-day their immediate wants are provided for: to-morrow will take care of itself.

This seeming contradiction pervades their whole life. On the one hand, they have to take innumerable precautions for the future with regard to superior beings. On the other hand, they do not seem to care a jot for the days to come even with reference to such essential needs as food and raiment. The solution of this apparent puzzle seems to me to be found in the fact that the Isneg do conscientiously every day what they think they have to do and leave the rest to fate. With reference to the supernatural, if they take all possible means to propitiate the spirits, and disregard no taboos, and so on, they feel assured that nothing untoward will happen to them on the part of the spirits. With reference to daily sustenance and the rest, they feel no such assurance, as they know by practical experience that they cannot control the forces of nature, rain, storms, the growth of plants, etc. By strictly observing all injunctions of the shamans and all traditional rites and practices, they believe it possible to control the

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787 intricate and obviously of rather rare occurrence: this is probably the
825 reason why such an unusual way of flying has rendered it suspicious to the natives. It happens like this: the bird flies first from right to left, and then from left to right, in front of the person who is on its way to the field; after that it flies first from front to rear, and then from rear to front, at the right-hand side. This fourfold movement of the *labág*-bird is called *magsúnit*.

If, after having begun (*sumikáp*, "to start work") any kind of work in the field, you happen to see a buzzard (*bukkáw*) for the first time, or a rat (*butit*) any time, stop then and there, return home and stay here for the rest of the day. As may be seen by the above statement, there is a considerable difference between the two: indeed, a *bukkáw* or buzzard sends you home only when it is seen for the first time, while a rat keeps you idle for a day whenever it makes an appearance.

776 There are a few other things of importance, which it is very useful
753 for the Isneg to know.

For instance, if you happen to meet the spirit *Gabbuwá* on your way to work and he jumps out in front of you, you may be sure that you will become ill in the near future. Then it is up to you to take your precautions as soon as you come back home.

The influence of the spirit *Barôyan* is also very nefarious: should he accompany you on your way, you will be unable to perform anything worth while and your body will be aching all over; in some cases he has even caused people to become completely mad.

784 Never walk over the first plant or seed which you confided to the soil, whether it be rice or tobacco or anything else, because, if you are careless in this respect, not a single plant will grow in that particular field or garden of yours.

When you reach home, after having planted (*magmúla*, *muldn*) something, never take hold of a *báña*[18] in such a way as to insert your hand or your fingers (*magkuwál*). When it is absolutely necessary to take up a *báña*, be careful to touch it only at the outside, otherwise whatever you have planted will be consumed sooner or later by wild animals.

824 An Isneg who wants to become skilled in planting (*aragmúla*) must
787 try as much as possible to observe what follows:

[18] An earthen jar used for cooking rice, etc.

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larger trees excepted, nevertheless there are a few objects about which he should be extremely careful. 243 824

First of all we have the *amitál*, a kind of woody vine with elongated leaves, that may be found in almost any brake or bushy plot of ground. In case the Isneg comes upon it while busy clearing his field, he should stop immediately, go home, and stay there all through the next day, making the latter a *núlin* or holiday. This *amitál* is by far the worst of all, as it retards the progress of the work considerably; others are not so bad.

The *lapát úlag*, for instance, a kind of tree usually growing to a considerable size if left to thrive without interruption, must not be cut down in the *kómān* under any pretext whatsoever, because if the Isneg fails to heed this prohibition, the rats will inevitably destroy the rice that might happen to grow on this field. The *lapát úlag* is easily noticeable by its absence of branches, all leaves growing directly on the trunk, and by its large leaves which measure approximately fifteen by five inches.

Then there is the *lúbo-*, a herbaceous vine that grows in forested areas: not only must it remain untouched, but the place where it grows should be excluded at any price from the *kómān* or rice field, otherwise a member of the owner's family will die before the end of the season. Consequently the *lúbo-* often obliges the farmer to alter completely the shape of his *kómān*, so as to keep the ground on which it grows at the outside of his future rice field. In some districts the same nefarious influence is attributed to a herbaceous vine which the natives call *bitál*, but which is probably the same as the *lúbo-*: the name *bitál* may have been given to it on account of the properties of the *bitál*-knot of vines, which will be described presently.

Another taboo has to do with the *pirúy*-instrument which the farmer is absolutely forbidden to carry or play in the field, for the whole time that elapses between the *sarsár* and the end of the harvest. Even a stranger who happens to have a *pirúy* on his person, when entering the field, must be warned not to play it; usually, however, he will know about the prohibition without needing a warning. The reason of this taboo is that the sound of the *pirúy* attracts the birds and causes them invariably to come and ravage the field before the end of the harvest. This *pirúy* (fig. 3) consists of a small piece of bamboo in which two parallel slits have been cut lengthwise, without entirely severing the intervening portion from its adjacent parts; this central part is then lifted up by means of a small stick, that has been slid 243 534 824

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[534] under it and that produces a slight sound when pinched on either end. 243 It is also absolutely forbidden to pare one's nails in a new-made 784 *kóman*.

A very favorable omen is the meeting of a nest of *amsí-* in the future 243 rice field. The *amsí-* is a stinging medium-sized red-and-black ant, 825 very thin between thorax and abdomen. Such a find forebodes the 787 lusty growth of rice and of all plants that may subsequently be raised in this field.

Another happening that is eagerly looked for is the finding of a jungle fowl's nest. At such an occurrence all work is momentarily stopped and the only concern of the Isneg is to count the number of eggs it contains, each egg presaging the harvest of one hundred bundles of rice.

[534]

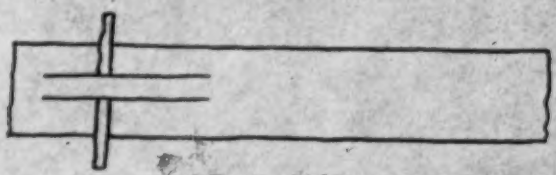

FIG. 3. *Pirây*.

243 When the day's work is over, the Isneg goes home to enjoy a well- 762 deserved rest. Here, however, he should be careful, when partaking of a meal, not to eat the crust of the rice (*assíp*), that is, the rice that is next to the pot and has become brown and hardened, because, if he did so, the palay on the field would *umsíp*, which means that it would refuse to grow after having sprung up lustily, and would then wither and become yellow and die. This taboo, however, has to be observed only at the beginning of the *mañumá* or clearing of the field.

243 On subsequent journeys to the field for the purpose of continuing 824 the clearing of the ground, it may happen that one sees along the road a *bitúl* (also called *bitúl* and *binitulán*), that is: a cluster of vines or rather a considerable amount of strong vines that have become so intertwined as to form a huge knot. This knot could not have been there before, as it could not have escaped observation, so it is only reasonable to conclude that it has formed after the *mañumá* has been started. In this case the Isneg should retrace his steps and make that day a holiday (*ñílin*). If met in the rice field itself, however, such a knot may remain unheeded, as it has not the slightest influence on the man and his *kóman*.

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243 *gaúán daàyó maggiyán ki sirát* (I plant you so that you shoot up,
782 you bear fruit, you be lasting long; you who reside on the earth, so that you have no reason to destroy[30] my plants; go away, you who reside near our plants; do not give us a fever, you who reside in the bushes).

243 In the evening of the day of the *agalópat*,[1] the woman, owner of the
784 field, *magsima*, which means that she is not allowed to give away anything from the house, not even a leaf of tobacco, and that she may not permit anybody to enter the house. The next morning, however, these prohibitions cease, but at the same time this day has to be kept as a holiday (*úilin*). The real work of planting begins only on the third day, after which planting is done unremittingly until the end.

If the planter is accompanied by children, these should be warned not to shout in or about the field on account of the spirit *Paxanánáy*, who has taken his abode at the outskirts of the *kómān* ever since the burning of the field, and who stays there until the *tognó* is finished.

243 While planting is going on or, at the latest, immediately after it is
462 finished, the Isneg cut out again the young shoots of bamboo grass
776 that have sprung up in the meanwhile: this plant has a very tough resistance and is subdued by the farmer only after many exertions. To cut out isolated shoots of *bassáw* or bamboo grass, is *magsilsíl*; if they grow in clusters, to cut them out is *magtappíl*, and this is much more thorough than *magsilsíl*, as the roots are taken out as well as the rest. Both men and women perform this job, the first using their *aliwó* or hatchet, the latter their *paló-* or hoe.

At the time of planting one must especially beware of an evil spirit called *Bibirítān*, who roams around to kill people during the *agtotognó*. About the same time also reigns *Bakákaw* (which is also the name of a bird mentioned before), a spirit who is always carrying a heavy load of *agkuláw* or rice straw (from which rice has been shelled).

Later on, when the paddy has been sprouting all over the field, the woman goes to see if there are any voids in the rows, and if she sees that shoots are lacking here and there, she goes home and prepares for a communication with the spirits (*maxanito*). If she is a shaman, she does it by herself; if not, she calls a *dorarákit* (shaman) for the purpose. After this she goes to the field and fills up the gaps: this is called *magtagnáp*.

243 In the meanwhile the men also are busy, and between the *si-dúg*

[30] Literally: to cut off, to rub off.

1[i.e., first planting -- Analyst]

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on the ground in rows more or less at right angles to the line of the reapers.

Besides her *ikó*-knife, the reaper carries a small basket (*arín*) attached somewhere at her waist by means of a strip of rattan, and used for storing *xúput*, that is, detached branches (of ears), ears that are cut too closely to the neck making it impossible to tie them with the rest, and immature ears that could not be kept for any length of time. The *arín* is a basket, square at the rim and round at the bottom, from twelve to fifteen inches deep, with a diameter, at the rim, of from eight to ten inches.

The reapers generally protect the calves of their legs by winding rags around them: these rags actually go under the pompous name of *sipátut* (from the Spanish *zapatos*), "shoes".

Now let us consider the preparations that have to be made before harvesting is begun.

First of all, materials have to be gathered (*manalibtá-*) for making bands (*battá-*: the same name is applied to the bundle itself), of which each reaper always has a certain quantity about her person. This gathering of materials and the making of the bands, which consist of thin strips of bamboo or bark, about half a yard long, are men's duties, although women occasionally lend a helping hand in putting the last touch to the thinning of the strips.

The kinds of bamboo preferred by the Isneg for this particular purpose, are:

The *kawđyan* (Bambusa blumeana, Schultes. f.), the ordinary spiny bamboo.

The *bólo* (Schizostachyum mucronatum, Mack.), the ordinary unarmed bamboo.

The *pasińan*, differing from the *kawđyan* in its walls that are lined with a membrane.

The *bđyug*, a kind of unarmed bamboo with very thick walls and a comparatively narrow cavity.

The *ballowít*, a kind of very slender unarmed bamboo.

Besides the bamboo, the Isneg also use the *sirút* or bark of the *sinalixān*, a forest tree; and some people even consider this as the best material.

Should anybody sneeze (*magbandn*) when starting to gather these materials, they must not go on, but wait until the next day, lest one of them die and be unable to partake of the new rice.

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Every day the women reap one *ikkám* (one day's harvest) and, if the sun shines, throw down (*ukáyan*) the latest addition to the *bañíbāñ* (bundles of rice piled up in the *sixāy*-hut), and spread the *battá-* (bundles) in the sun (*mamilág*; said of palay, clothes, etc.) to dry (*maxáño*; also said of Indian corn, beans, etc.; not: of clothes, etc.). Even palay that has been dried for several days, if it is found to be *nalumáy* or damp (not thoroughly dry), is brought out again and sunned, unless they prefer to dry it over the fire. But the latter process is never resorted to with paddy that has not passed through the ordinary stages of sunning, or that happens to retain more than a slight degree of moisture, and so to be wetter than what is called *nalumáy*. Whenever rain threatens, the rice is piled up again (*magdalatún*) into a *bañíbāñ* (heap of palay), inside the *sixāy*-hut. The women must be careful not to sun palay that is only half matured, lest it become entirely useless (*matúmāy*): it must be reserved for roasting, which will be explained in due time. To sun palay for the first time is *mañwarwár*; after that it is called *mamilág*, even though the rice be freshly cut.

The palay is sunned, either twice a day, late in the morning and some time in the afternoon, or only in the afternoon; but all bundles must be exposed to the sun and spread open in rows, at least three times. It is absolutely taboo to count the *battá-* (bundles) while sunning them or while piling them up into a *bañíbāñ*; counting will be done later, when it will be attended to with special ceremonies.

Every day, about noon, a man (*manúxan*), usually the owner of the field, brings food to the reapers (*tumúxan*). This food has been cooked at home and wrapped up in leaves, either by himself or by somebody else. Any kind of leaves may serve the purpose, except the first time, when it is necessary to use leaves of the *lippokán*, a kind of banana, whose very small fruits have a thin greenish skin. The food always consists of cooked rice (*nabáw*) and *láda-* (residue of coconut meat from which the oil has been extracted); the addition of other viands is optional.

The *manúxan* is not allowed to cross a stream, to swim or to go to somebody else's house. If his *kómān* is at the other side of a stream from his house, he has to pass the night in the *sixāy*, and to cook the food as best he can, the hearth of the hut not being fitted out for cooking. The same man must be *manúxan* from the first to the last day of the harvest.

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243 Generally only one full meal is taken in the *sixăy*, everybody
264 partakes of it, and the following two ceremonies have to be performed
782 every time:

They take three small leaves (any kind) and put a pinch of *pinatúpāt*, placed in the *sixăy* for this purpose, mixed with coconut oil on each of them. The *pinatúpāt* is a block of rice pudding wrapped up in strips of palm leaves. Then the *manúxan* places one of these leaves in the hearth (*dapûg*), one on the palay stored inside (*bañíbāñ*), and one outside, near the ladder. At this juncture the following prayer may be recited. My informant, *Yadán* from Nagbabalayan (O dialect, K branch), called it *maglappá-*, a synonym for *pisi-* (offering food, etc. to the spirits).

Ne kuwámo ilāy paglaxibannakami maggáni (Here, this is yours, Ilay, watch us harvesting).

For the second ceremony they take several (at least four) leaves of the *balbál*, a small tree with brown bark and leaves resembling those of the cabbage. On each of these leaves they put a little *nabáw* (cooked rice) and a small amount of *láda-* (just mentioned). Then they place one such leaf in the *patucáw*-basket (containing immature rice, etc.), one on the *bañíbāñ* (heap of palay), one in the hearth, and one in the *damáxan*-basket, at the *pinudóñ*, behind the hut. The one in the hearth, near the fire, is placed there in honor of Pilay, so that he be favorably inclined toward his clients and make them *nadañgán*, "blessed with a rich harvest".

243 Before going on with the description of the activities of the reapers,
784 I shall explain the taboos that have to be observed by them. The reason is that these prohibitions are especially stringent at the beginning of the harvest, the first three or five days, namely all the time the *sarañásañ*-barrier (mentioned before) obstructs the path that leads to the field.

The *manírut*, or reapers who bind palay into *battá-* (bundles), are not allowed to swim, to enter the *balâwa* (place near the house where rice is pounded), to take hold of a hatchet, to eat from a plate or dish (they must use leaves), to eat chicken. These taboos remain in force as long as their work lasts.

Any kind of loud noise is absolutely forbidden in and around the *kómān*. The reason for this and similar taboos is to prevent the spirit (*kaduduwă*) of the rice from becoming frightened and escaping.

Shouting and singing in or around the *kómān* is tabooed, under pain of imminent illness (*masipñúd*).

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It is forbidden to whistle (*magpapannút*), whether in the *kóman* or in the *sízăy*, lest Pilay, the protector of the rice, run away.

Nobody is allowed to blow any kind of taro flower (*bariri*), lest a famine invade the district. The *bariri*, when blown upon, produces a very shrill sound.

The *patańgó-* must not be played in or around the rice field, lest the wind turn into a typhoon. The *patańgó-* is a section of bamboo, closed at one end, and cut out at the other end into a tapering tongue; one of its sides is provided with a small hole. It is played by striking its tongue either against one's left hand or against the upper end of a hatchet held in one's left hand, while pressing the thumb of one's right hand intermittently over the hole at its side. The tunefulness of the sound it produces depends on the length of its tongue.

Forging (*magbattál*) is prohibited in the village until all the inhabitants have completed the reaping of their fields.

People are not allowed to winnow (*magsáp*; *asáp*: chaff of rice) rice, although they are permitted to pound it. Winnowing rice at the time is supposed to cause typhoons. In this instance we have a definite proof of the fact that not all taboos remain in force as long as the harvest lasts; indeed, after reaping has been progressing for some time, the Isneg roast immature rice, which they have to pound and winnow before they are able to eat it.

No outsider is permitted to enter a field where reapers are at work. This applies very particularly to all who are not Isneg.

Nobody is allowed to enter the house of the owner of such a field, the members of the household alone excepted.

No outsider is permitted to enter the *balára* (place near the house where rice is pounded), and of the owners only those that are not actually binding palay into bundles. On the other hand, it is absolutely required to have a *balára* in readiness, before the harvest begins; should this be overlooked, the spirits will be angry and they may even resort to killing.

In some sections of Apayaw, it is forbidden to *marappó-* (to eat in another man's house) in the house of anybody who owns another *bańíbăń* (palay piled up in the *sízăy*). If both persons own the same *bańíbăn*, they are allowed to eat in each other's house.

No fire may be taken from the hearth, to be given to somebody outside of the house.

Nobody is allowed to *magtósa*, to draw water by holding a receptacle under a waterfall (*barańóboń*) and allowing the water to drop into it.

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243 784 A person who *magtósa* is liable to be punished by finding the ears of his palay devoid of grain.

Reapers and owners of a field that is being harvested are not permitted to touch needles (*dáxum*).

262 When the Isneg begin to eat new rice, especially the first time, the following articles of food are prohibited: frogs (*tukâ-*), eels (*kíwat*), *addúg* (a species of very small dark-colored shrimp), *to-mám* (a kind of vegetable growing wild), and in some districts,—for instance at Dangla, not at Bolo,—the young shoots (*úbud*) of the *anîboń* (Caryota cumingii, Lodd., a fishtail palm) and any kind of sour fruit.

243 784 The use of arrows (*paltó-*) is absolutely forbidden in the *sízăy*. Even the pronunciation of its name, *paltó-*, in the hut, is taboo.

A person who is cut (*maplág*) by sharp-edged leaves (for instance, those of the *bassáw* or bamboo grass, of the *adâs*-sedge, etc.) must not pronounce the word *pallág* (wound caused by these leaves); he is merely allowed to show the wound to his companions, without calling it by name.

The pronunciation of the word *narupâ-*, "broken", is taboo. Anybody who infringes this prohibition may rest assured that one or more of his *báńa*-jars will become *madamméli* (broken at the time of the harvest).

243 195 Besides the above words, whose pronunciation is absolutely forbidden, there are a good many others that must be replaced by a different term.[1] In this way a kind of cant or jargon is formed, which an uninitiated person is unable to understand, even though he have a perfect knowledge of Isneg. A few examples will suffice:

	Common language	Reapers' cant
To eat:	*maglámus* or *mańán*	*magdanág* or *mananág* [57]
To be hungry:	*mabisín* (if you pronounce this word, you will go hungry for a whole year)	*nala-gíń*
To be stuck in the eye:	*masoltâ-* (by reeds, etc.)	*mabuláw*
Dead (when hearing about somebody's death):	*natáy*	*marísam* [58]
Rain:	*udán*	*daródo*

[57] *Nadanág*, in ordinary language, means: to be through with the harvest.

[58] Even though the dead person had no field that was being reaped at the time.

1 [at harvest time -- Analyst]

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247 urged on not only by their offspring, but also by their own appetite, frequently cut down (*magtaggád*) one or more canes, which, divided (*tagtaggán*) into sections (*aŕtát*), are peeled by eager teeth and sucked by greedy mouths. To cut *undt* for the purpose of sucking out its juice is called *mambá*: this is never said of cutting something else or of cutting sugar cane for other purposes.

262 764 Sugar cane at which a wild cat (*múŕaw*) has been gnawing, and hence called *minúŕaw*, must not be sucked by married persons, especially when they have children. This taboo, however, does not extend to the other canes of the same plantation, nor to those that have been attacked by wild boars. A bunch (*búlig*) of bananas that has become *minúŕaw* is tabooed in the same way, but, in this case, the whole bunch is tabooed, even though most of its fruits have escaped injury.

249 When the whole plantation has reached maturity (*taxundt*), the men go to the field and gather the crop (*manaxundt*), cutting the stalks one by one at the base, by means of a hatchet (*aliwá*).

482 All canes that are to be brought to the mill, are trimmed in such a way as to be all of the same length, and then bound into huge bundles. A pole (*alidugdúg*) is inserted into each bundle, to which it is tied in at least two places: this pole prevents the *undt* from moving to and fro and from protruding in all directions, when they are carried on the shoulders.

The aftermath of sugar cane (*pulpúl*) is left untouched until it has to make room for something else that will be planted in the same place.

5. BANANAS

245 Among the many varieties of bananas (*báxat*) that are cultivated by the Isneg, the following should be mentioned:

The *baldyań* or *sabá* (Musa sapientum, L., var. compressa, Blanco): Skin thick, yellow; flattish; eaten raw or cooked; stalk tall.

The *baráńan* (var. lacatan, Blanco): Skin thick, yellow; meat yellow, fragrant; one of the most esteemed bananas.

The *binańá* (var. cinerea, Blanco): Skin thin, yellow; very much esteemed; setting the teeth on edge when not entirely ripe.

The *dokkasí*: Fruits very close together, as if bound into a tight package.

The *xubáw*: Skin thin, yellow; small; not much esteemed.

The *xúyud or laxúyud* (var. suaveolens, Blanco): Skin thick, greenish; meat fragrant.

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To nōnná ńa alxáw ăy nagdallís nalnáp ńamin to alawaxán ńam āwán piám maiyúg kid apā́yaw,/ ńam ăy rā́nna la uwā́d da iyúg ga nillṓd./ Nasińán dató tólăy ḗluxānda ńa totó ńam bakkánda namálā-./ Nasińán din to kusá sinaluxā́nna séna iddán kadató tólăy séda imúla./ Tówin ya naggăyatā́n ńámin ńa iyúg./ Ńam xapó ta ipaanā́ńi dăyá kusá to nańalā́-da kitó nagdallísna kitó nōnná ńa alxáw séno atā́n ya mańallṓd ônó mańíxād mińirańiráw dăyá kusá maxáwāgda ka iyúg.

In former days the whole world was covered with a flood, but no coconuts were yet produced in Apayaw,/ but it happened that there was a coconut that floated down./ The men saw it, they really desired it, but they did not get it./ A cat saw it then, it got it swimming, then gives it to the men, then they plant it./ That is the origin of all the coconuts./ But, because the cats managed to take it out of the flood in former days, when somebody causes [coconuts] to float down or scrapes out coconut meat, the cats mew, they call the coconuts.

When somebody intends to plant coconuts, the first thing he has to do is to climb one or more of the trees and to detach (*mamúxāt, buxā́tan*) a certain amount of ripe nuts (*iyúg*), which are dropped on the ground and afterwards picked up; cracked ones of course are useless for this purpose. A man who has been roasting meat should abstain from gathering nuts (*manuxúnug*) for some time, lest the trees that grow from these nuts produce nothing else but fruits that wither before they are grown to maturity.

The nuts (*patúbo*) are tied without more ado to a pole that has been stuck somewhere in or near the house yard, in order to cause them to sprout (*mańarā́y* or *magpaarā́y*). There are very few houses in Apayaw in whose immediate neighborhood there is not to be found such a pole with its heap of dry coconuts. Here they are left until the shoots have attained a certain development and they are ready to be planted.

The meat of sprouting nuts (*arā́y*) that are in their first stage namely before the shell has been pierced, consists of a white spongy mass (*tobál*) that fills the whole nut and is considered as a great dainty.

To plant coconuts (*magtubáń*) the Isneg men dig holes in the ground, at a distance of at least fifteen feet (*dapán*) from one another. Then the man who does the actual planting proceeds in the following way:

First he loosens his G-string, because

nexát ya abā́g séno nasulít a bunutā́n

They have a feast: rice
basi, and the greater part of a pig or dog are served. 584
Then business begins. The parents and relatives of 583
the youth, arrange the amount of the dowry, *todog*. [574
If it is of less value, the youth must stay in the house 262]
of the girl. When the contract is agreed upon, it is
strictly adhered to; and the youth and girl are said
to be married.

The real ceremony, *aqueb*, then follows. The pa- 585
rents of the girl bring pigs and baskets of rice-cakes
to the house of the youth. The girl comes in company
with several old women. They all stop about one hun-
dred yards from the house of the youth. There they
are met by the parents or mother of the youth, bear-
ing valuable gifts for the parents of the girl. The
youth's mother then requests the girl from her pa-
rents. Upon approval, the whole company moves to
the house, where the mother presents her gifts to the
parents of the girl. The rice cakes are sold to the re- [435]
latives of the youth, the nominal price being P1.00
per basket. Then the merry-making starts and con-
tinues through the night. The youth and girl must [784]
not eat the sweets, as one of them would die. In the
morning final payments of the dowry are made and
distributed. Then the young couple are considered to
be properly married, but still controlled by their pa-
rents.

When the young woman feels that she is about to 844
give birth, either the husband or the mother-in-law
will twist a piece of cloth, light one end, and place it,
the *pungan*, at the door. With it is the coconut shred- [442]
der, *igad*. These guard the woman while delivering so
that no *anito* can come into the house to annoy the

787 on the way. So he must return, sit down, and wait awhile before setting out again.

If a man on his way to make *kaiñgin* meets a rat or hears a deer barking, the rat or the deer will eat all the rice plants in that place. So he must start another *kaiñgin*. Also, if he should happen to break his *aliwa*, some one in his family will die if he does not make his *kaiñgin* in another place.

784 Moreover there are many things which one is prohibited from doing. Some of these taboos are:

Do not leave the windows of the house open at night. If you do, a ghost, *alolag*, will come in and kill the people.

Do not cut your finger nails nor pull out any of your hair while working. If you do, you will get sick.

Do not leave while one is still eating in the house. If you do, you will get sick.

784 Do not eat the heart of a pig when a little child.
262 If you do, you will have misfortune.

Do not eat sour things if some one has died in the house, unless he is a relative.

Do not eat venison during the harvest season. If you so, your stomach will become large like the deer's, and you will consume too much rice.

784 Do not speak angrily at a rat. If you do, the rats will eat all there is in the house.

784 Do not laugh while planting *ubi* or *camote*. If
241 you do, these root vegetables will laugh so that all their skins will be found to be burst open when you harvest them.

Do not look up while planting bananas. If you do, the plants will grow so tall that it will be hard to pick the fruit.

Do not jump over a child. If you do, his growth will be retarded. 784

At first glance one might think that life in Apayao is greatly restricted by the necessity of placating all the *anitos* and of observing the many auguries, omens, and prohibitions. But, after being around some, I cannot help getting the impression somehow, that all this is partly just the men's sly way to getting out of a lot of hard work and disagreeable duties. At least, the placating of the *anitos* gives them the occasion for many very pleasant social times. 771 784 787 782 781

BURIAL

When death comes, the Apayaos, unlike the Christians, do not dread it as being the end of life on this earth; for the spirit *cadudorosa*, continues to exist somewhere and enjoy many of their physical pleasures without the discomforts. The people respect these spirits and go to great pains to see that they are made happy, both during the funeral ceremony and also during the following years. At all the feasts a portion of the best food and *basi* is placed on a plate, which is then set near the stove where the immediate supply of rice is kept. The people want to keep the spirits of their ancestors happy and contented for, if one should become discontented, he will select a person in the house to keep him company. The person then becomes sick and will die if a feast is not held to make that spirt happy and contented again. 761 775 769 [753]

When a person dies, all the relatives immediately gather in his house and hold a *cañao* in his memory. 764

241 784 527 Harvest is started in the wax of the moon. In each *barangay* there is a chosen woman, *gomanay* (beginner of harvest) who goes ceremoniously to each field in turn and cuts the first bundle of rice and stores it in the granary. She must observe many taboos and no one else may come near the field for two days prior to cutting. During the first five days of harvest no one visits the owners house nor asks for fire. No fuel is cut nor rice pounded. The *anito* must not be frightened. Otherwise planting and honest are gala seasons.

[805] Each full of the moon is observed as a holiday; also as the first thunder and first rainbow in the season. In the full of the moon the granary (in which all the rice cut has been stored) is first opened by another chosen woman, *Manginas,* who goes ceremoniously, before dawn and takes out three bundles only, which she pounds and cooks. She eats first; but she must not take a bath nor eat fish nor chew betel-nut [479] all that day. Those who worked in that rice field then receive their share of the crop.

821 784 During an eclipse of the moon no work is done and likewise during an earthquake, which is caused in this way: deep under the earth in great cave, there lives a huge eel and a crab. When the crab pinches the eel he wiggles, and so shakes the earth.

821 Once the sun and moon had a quarrel. The moon beat the sun with a broom; and so the sun struck the moon with a fire brand giving it a dimmer light and leaving a scar where it struck.

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Not only the absence of initiation ceremonies, but even that of any customs that might aim to teach or mold moral conduct, as dieting, fasting and so on, is a great drawback to the efficient training of Isneg youth. I repeat it, young people are taught to avoid hardship much more than to get inured to it, and this seemingly has much to do with keeping our Isneg in habitual indolence, and rendering them easily dejected at the smallest difficulty or the slightest pain.

Here now I shall enumerate the virtues and acts of virtue that are formally taught according to the Isneg moral code, and those that are less formally taught, and shall give a few supplementary details. It should be stated once for all that all, or almost all, training in this line is done directly; I mean that the Isneg rarely, if ever, use stories or fables in order to inculcate the principles that regulate moral conduct. Some of their tales might perhaps have such a very desirable effect, but the generality have not, and I really wonder if, even in the case of those that have a kind of moral attached to them, the Isneg really use them for the purpose of teaching right behavior. The tales seem to be much more a means of teaching the youngsters the traditions of the race, especially with reference to spirits and kindred subjects, and very often also they are simply a pastime for people who have few means of diversion and amusement.

The teaching of religious practices has been explained at length in a preceding paragraph, and here I have nothing to add on that subject. Headhunting as a duty has rarely been taught ex professo: all the traditions of the people and the paramount importance of this custom in the life of an Isneg tended formerly to impress it very strongly upon the mind of the child. Actually of course the taking of heads, which is fast disappearing, has no more the same appeal to the members of the younger generation; so this part of the Isneg moral code is bound to lapse sooner or later, provided the Government can keep the people in control for a sufficiently long period of time. This is what happened with the Ibaloy, among whom by this time headhunting is an unknown quantity, and with the Kankanay, among whom the same custom is almost completely rooted out.

Obedience and respect for their elders is very formally taught to the children, not only by father and mother, but also by other members of the older generation. Besides small boys and girls learn by practical experience the necessity of obeying and respecting their elders, as it is not a rare occurrence to see a whipping follow in the wake of a transgression of this most important duty of a child.

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764 782 [775]

formed by any of the shamans. Indeed, why should the spirits be enticed to obsess the shaman at a time when everybody is bent on keeping them at a distance? Besides, the souls of the dead should be left where they are as long as the *inudt* is in the house, probably lest the *kaduduwá* of the deceased be interfered with on its trip to the other world.

764 785 201 524

Women mourn and lament in a loud voice almost uninterruptedly, usually two or three at a time: when one group is tired, another one takes its place. Men rarely imitate them in this, especially after the first general outburst of grief, that takes place immediately after death is over, but they *magbibisnág* (slap one another's thighs: the game previously described, CAC–P, 3: 123-26). According to the Isneg, playing *bisnág* is a man's way of showing his grief: a certain chastisement of the body is undoubtedly involved in the whole performance, and just as the near relatives sometimes cut themselves at the death of one of their loved ones in order to show the intensity of their sorrow, so also the men, relatives, neighbors and friends, slap one another's thighs, often until blood spurts out, in order to prove to the whole assembly that they also take part and are far from remaining insensible in the presence of death. That a certain amount of voluntary infliction of pain is at the root of this question, is corroborated by the fact that some women occasionally take part in the *bisnág*, the more so that no member of the weaker sex ever plays the rôle of agent (*maúnd*), but merely receives the slaps (*magtán*) without rendering them. Expressions like the following may be heard frequently among the Isneg: "*Urây magdáza ya apéliko ta zakkánamagsáñit* (even though my thighs bleed, as I do not weep)". In both cases, namely in that of men and in that of women, the *bisnág* is resorted to more especially by those who do little or no weeping; people, whether men or women, who do a good deal of lamenting, rarely take part in *bisnág*.

776 764

It goes without saying that the spirits are wide awake at the death of an Isneg, and that the survivors are annoyed with their unwelcome presence at every turn. Among others the following deserve special mention:

Dupáppá-, whose tastes are very peculiar; indeed, he it is who absorbs the decayed matter (*saxó*) that flows from the nose and mouth of the deceased.

535 ing in the clear space and is joined by a woman, per-
796 chance of his own choice. Occasionally a highly hon-
574 ored guest has two partners. They raise and wave their arms and hands resembling the wings of a bird in flight. The man gestures with his outspread cloth and goes in a circle somewhat reminiscent of a youth courting a girl. Their feet begin to shuffle and then stamp in cadence to the music. In the middle of the dance one of the family brings *basi* for the dancers and musicians to drink. The music rapidly becomes faster and louder so that the dancers must stamp harder and faster and raise their knees higher. This is such hard exercise that one of the couple soon gives up and goes and sits down. His partner follows suit and the music stops. The man hands his cloth to a friend, who starts the next dance. This dance is difficult to learn, and only long experience makes one
[537] proficient in it. Sometimes, if some famous old warrior does not choose to dance, the people shout, and he recounts his noble deeds in the characteristic chant, *oggayam*.

Meanwhile the people are talking and joking. The (1)
is happy. Dancing and talking become more excit- (4)
and once in awhile drinks pass around: so everybody (3)
basi has been dug up from underneath the granary (2)
[538] ing. Sometimes two men contest in a long debate (5)
over some such matter as the quality of the feast. They talk in the characteristic chant, *palawag*. If one of the men cannot chant, he shouts. The party is be-
796 coming noisy. There is some enjoyable antiphonal
574 singing. A group of boys sing and a group of girls
533 answer: sometimes using well-known songs with a
786

1 [The numbers to the right of the text indicate the proper sequence of lines.--Analyst]

pleasing lilt or perchance composing words in honor of some guest or circumstance. The tune used is called the *salecdomey*. Somewhere a boy may be openly courting the girl of his choice in a characteristic chant *adkaling*, but often composing his own words. Food and sweets may be served two or three times in the night, and the party goes on with increasing excitement, as more and more *basi* is consumed. Drunken quarrels may break out, leading to blows. Killings are not infrequent. One must have had quite a few drinks in order to really enjoy this party.

Along towards morning the music stops and the tired people lie down to sleep—either in that or adjacent houses. If, perchance, a boy has been successful in his courtship, he may follow his girl to where she lies down. After some further discussion, she probably accepts him.

The feast may continue the next day and next, according to the wishes and wealth of the family, and how long the *basi* and food lasts. At the end of the feast, the priestess again calls the *anito*: she tells it that they hope that it is pleased with its feast and will now grant their requests. Then the guests start for home. The relatives are each given some meat to take with them, and soon all is quiet again.

Probably the most popular feast is the *say-am*, given for the *anito*, Pilay, after the harvest. The *dildap* is a small, short feast given for the *anito Kaybacan*, sometimes for the health or welfare of the family, or to clinch some agreement. There is no dancing. The *magboto* is given before, and the *boda* after a head hunting expedition as described elsewhere. The

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many details as possible, although I am far from claiming that my study about Isneg religion and morality has so far been exhaustive or that my knowledge of these subjects cannot be improved upon. A whole lifetime would scarcely be sufficient to disentagle all the intricate knots, the more so that, especially as regards religion, the Isneg are sometimes far from logical in their reasoning.

In religious instruction the *dorarákit* or shaman plays the dominant rôle, as it is she who conducts religious ceremonies, and it is she through whom the spirits and the souls of the dead are supposed to communicate with man. Now let us see in how far the shaman imparts formal instruction, and in how far young people have to learn by merely looking on.

The *dorarákit* directly teaches her pupils by explaining to them the meaning of the rites and ceremonies, at the time of some *sáy-ám* or other sacrifice accompanied by *maxaníto*, and almost exclusively on such occasions. Her pupils at the time are first of all the young *dorarákit*, who have been chosen and consecrated mostly when still in their infancy, and secondly all members of the younger generation who are willing to listen. Consequently this kind of teaching is done while the ceremonies in question are under way and it is illustrated by their performance. It is not the place here to enter into details about the ceremonies just referred to; it will suffice to say that the *sáy-ám* is a kind of public sacrifice in which dogs and pigs are offered to the spirits, and that *maxaníto* refers to the action of the shaman at the time she is supposed to be possessed either by a spirit or by the soul of a deceased person, who speaks through her mouth. In this the Isneg shaman differs from the Kankanay one; the latter is usually supposed merely to communicate with beings of the other world, to talk to them, while in the case of the Isneg the spirit is supposed to talk through the shaman. Besides, a Kankanay shaman plays a very secondary rôle: she is mostly of use only at the time of sickness, when she has altercations with the spirits who are supposed to cause the disease or when she goes around to look for the *ab-ablík* (Kankanay) or soul, which a sick person is supposed to have lost; while sacrifices, whether public or private, are presided over by men. Let this be enough for the time being.

I just stated that the Isneg shaman explains the meaning of religious rites and ceremonies to her puipls. The manner of conducting these ceremonies, however, is not formally taught: in this respect a young *dorarákit* is a mere looker-on. When the time comes for the

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869 to be able to do so; and the same story may be repeated several times
538 all over again on different occasions without the young people losing any interest in the matter.

The cry "*ndôdit*" (a story) is heard very often when the young
869 people have placed themselves in a position for slumber, and the ex-
517 clamation "*ndôditko*" (I have a story; literally: my story), emitted
538 by an uninvited story-teller, is usually sufficient to gain him the
[273] attention of all present. Consequently Isneg tales are mostly bedtime stories: nevertheless it also happens that they are recited, this time mostly by men, at the opening of a jar of *bási* (alcoholic beverage obtained from the juice of the sugar cane), or rather during the absorption of its contents. On such occasions, whenever an old man begins to tell a story, the youngsters have no sooner got wind of the affair but they leave everything in order to come near and to listen all ears to these wonderful happenings of times gone by or of a world
[602] alien to their own. It may sometimes happen also that parents or
855] grandparents call their children or grandchildren together at the time of going to sleep in order to relate to them some traditional myth or legend: in this case, of course, the teaching should be called entirely formal.

869 How to look for omens and auguries and how to distinguish between
787 good and bad ones are both the subject of almost exclusively direct instruction. Parents and older brothers and sisters are the accepted
[602 purveyors of this knowledge, which to the Isneg is absolutely indis-
855] pensable if he wants to live in peace and beyond the power of malevolent imps and spirits.

E. MORAL EDUCATION

577 When reading books of travel, especially old ones, written by men
121 who spent a few days at the home of some primitive people, one usually meets with the statement that the latter seem to have no concept of truth and honesty, and one almost always meets with several concrete instances, which apparently prove the truth of that assertion. Not to go too far out of my way, I shall cite as an example a book that has to do almost immediately with the Philippine Islands. We read in the account of Magellan's travels written by Pigafetta that on a certain day, during his famous voyage which led to the discovery of our archipelago, the expedition landed at a place among a group of islands, the inhabitants of which boarded the vessels, laid hands on whatever took their fancy and ran away to hide among the bushes;

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the girl in question; as soon as she swallows a part of the juice of this mixture, her love for the other boy will have disappeared in its entirety, and you will have taken his place in her affections.

To complete the account I shall add here the means used by a spurned lover in order to revenge himself on the girl who despises his love. The first thing to do is to obtain another kind of herb or mixture of herbs from the compliant shaman. After that the boy pays a last nocturnal visit to the house of the girl who has definitively refused his advances, and throws a part of this charm, which in this case is not a love charm of course, at the girl in question. If it sticks to her body or to her clothes, the Isneg firmly believe that she will conceive through the sole adherence of the herbs thrown at her; in such a case she will forever be scorned by other young men, and the young man's revenge will be complete. If the charm falls down and does not stick to the girl, she will escape unscathed. Similar [71] beliefs are to be found among other Mountain tribes; in certain Kankanay tales, for instance, there is question of a girl who crosses a brook or takes a bath at a place below the one where a boy has thrown his anklet (Kankanay: *bóyat*) into the water: the latter, having floated down, encircled one of the girl's legs, with the inevitable result, not only that she became pregnant at once, but that her being with child became apparent almost immediately.

All the above information concerning the means used by Isneg lovers to win a girl was given to me by young men who had exactly the required age to know everything about the subject from personal experience. From some of the Isneg boys I have also obtained texts giving typical dialogues between a boy and a girl whom he courts. Owing to their content and length and to the necessity of prefacing them with certain linguistic data of a more general nature, they are given as an appendix to the present paper (pp. 261-80).

The Isneg believe that, if the betel (nut, leaf and lime) which a girl prepares for her lover to chew, causes a burning sensation in the latter's mouth, it is a favorable omen for him. In such a case the boy may hope to find his sweetheart ready to accept his suit. So also, if the betel prepared by a lover for his sweetheart burns in the latter's mouth, the girl understands that the boy is really in love with her.

An Isneg lover generally looks for a good omen before going to court the girls, at least when the affair has become serious or when he takes the necessary steps to know definitively whether his feelings

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833 are reciprocated by his sweetheart. To do this he proceeds exactly
787 in the same way as does the Isneg who is intending to go on a jour-
584 ney: he observes the flight of the *labág* bird, whose female is called
salazi-bát, and if the bird fails to cross his path, the omen is good;
778 if it crosses his path, however, he will wait for another occasion in the not too distant future in order to observe again the flight of the *labág*, and, in case of a favorable answer, to go on with his intentions.

584 The definite steps just referred to consist in the following: the young man takes a bundle of betel leaves, some fifty or more betel nuts, and a ring; he rolls everything in a handkerchief, and carries his precious burden to the house of his sweetheart, some time in the evening. Once there he drops the whole package, called *luptág*, into one of the girl's *aligmamán* baskets, without saying the least word about the same. If the girl brings it back to him, it is a sign of refusal on her part; but if she keeps it, the boy knows for certain that his love has been reciprocated, and both consider themselves as engaged by tacit agreement.

From now on the young man will pay his girl regular visits, even though he may continue occasionally to see other girls. If such visits should stop for a considerable time, although without direct fault of the boy, any Isneg girl would have to conclude that the boy's love had shifted toward somebody else. Should the boy break the engagement, either on his own account or in obedience to the wishes of his elders, he is liable to be fined by the parents of the outraged girl.

To know for sure that the other party's interest has not slackened, Isneg lovers sometimes resort to the proposal of a date for some future meeting. If the girl does not appear at the trysting place, the boy is *maikówa* (disappointed, annoyed), as this is an unmistakable sign that the girl does not love him any more; if the boy fails to make an appearance, the girl knows that his love toward her has ceased. Although this is done by young people, whether engaged or not, it goes without saying that in the former case it takes place only if some doubt has arisen in the boy's mind or in that of the girl as to the faithfulness of his or her partner.

584 As soon as two people have become engaged, actual Isneg custom
836 allows them to have sexual relations, although no ceremonies have been performed and they are not yet living together. This happens very often of course when the boy goes to see his girl in the evening. A boy who passes his evenings or nights at the house of the girl to whom he has become engaged, is said to *maxal-allág* or *maxad-adág*.

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811 *Kútaw*'s boat, which is always fastened at the *dodóñăn* (place on
772 the bank of a river where a boat is fastened, landing place) on this
side of the pond when not in use, has only one *pădpíd* or side plank,
776 which means that one side of the boat is open and unprotected, and nevertheless no water ever enters her and she never goes down. Thus the *kaduduwá* is ferried over the water in a boat that consists of only about one half of an ordinary one, a boat cut in two from stem to stern. When asked how anybody could possibly cross the *lablabbáñ* in such a contrivance, the Isneg merely state that they do not know. And in this they are most certainly right. But who would dare say that the actions of the spirits have to correspond exactly with our own? Their ways are not our ways, and that settles the matter. Besides, the *lablabbáñ* is not an ordinary *labbáñ*, neither are *Kútaw* and the *kaduduwá* ordinary men, so why should the boat be an ordinary one?

772 The only other detail I have heard about the *lablabbáñ* is that it is full of cogon grass (*labbáñ*) and of worms.

776 *Kútaw* himself was once described to me as wearing a coat from which a certain portion of cloth had been torn out entirely, and his
292 headax or *aliwá* as being deprived of one of its essential parts, namely
411 the *sáwit* or blunt projection at the back (cf. CAC–P, 1: 233, fig. 68).

Once at the other side, the *kaduduwá* live a happy life in the *Aglalannawán* (called *Tagtaggăyán* at Bayag) or realm of the dead:
775 it is good (*napiyá*) to be there. Their life is comparable to a dream: they live in the same way as we do when we are dreaming. For the rest, they do not change in their ways: they plant and reap as before, have the same likes and dislikes, live on the same kind of food, with none of their old preferences gone, and so on. The house they live in, however, is not made of timber or bamboo; it is a real gold or silver one. There they stay and never come back, except at times
775 and temporarily,—for instance, when they come to get one of their
787 relatives, in which case the latter is *makaduduwá*, becomes sick and dies (such *kaduduwá* are called *gíbu-*), or when they enter the body of a shaman in order to communicate with the living, or even appear to the latter (perhaps only to the shaman), at the time of a *săy-ám* sacrifice, etc.

775 It seems to result from all this that even the Isneg have a kind of double fate for man after death: one of happiness for those who prove acceptable to *Kútaw*, and one of privation for those who have to remain behind or are left unguided at the entrance to the *Aglalan-*

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764 766 184 178

whenever possible the dead body of an adult is forcibly confined to the grave after one or two nights (night of burial always included). Occasionally in some out-of-the-way places, the Isneg may stick to their old custom or at least to the modified one, but this becomes rarer and rarer every day. Children are usually interred after one or two nights according to age and size (Abbil, Musimut, Bolo, etc.), so that in many cases a child who dies in the morning is buried in the evening of the same day.

764 462

And now we come to the digging of the grave. The grave consists of a hole in the ground, large enough to contain the coffined body, but usually not as deep as is actually required by law (1½ meters). This is always begun by a woman (*mañusim*) who may be a shamaness or not. This operation, however, is rather ceremonial than practical, as immediately afterwards men do the real work. If jars have to be buried together with the coffined body, a special round hole is dug near the ordinary grave, in such a way as to have the buried jars situated at the right of the dead man's body, near the place of his head if the body is lying down. When digging a hole in the ground, the Isneg use the *sáwit* or blunt point at the back of a headax, or any other instrument, to loosen the earth, and an old basket or a coconut shell (in the case of digging a grave, usually the former), to extract the loose earth and throw it out. For the rest, no definite orientation of grave or body is required, and anybody is allowed to dig the grave, as well as to carry the body and to cover it with earth: there are no persons specifically designated for these purposes. In no case are children allowed to stay near a tomb in which a body has been buried recently (*lábūg*).

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Among the Kankanay, young men vie with each other to carry the body of a rich person to its last resting place, as they believe that, if the matter which exudes from the decomposed body (*deñ* in Kankanay, pronounced like English "dung") trickles upon their own, they also will be blessed by this world's goods. No such belief exists among the Isneg.

764 171

Formerly the grave was always dug under the house, and if the gravediggers happened to open a *lúbo*, a grave already occupied, the lately deceased person was simply interred over the remains of the one in possession. This particular selection of the site for a grave gave rise, as was told me by the natives themselves, to the custom of the Isneg, which obtains to this day, of definitively stopping their work at a new house, and of going to choose some other place for the erec-

764 178 787

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764 tion of the same, whenever a *labág* bird passes under (*magsilpút*)
178 the building: indeed, they believe that, if they continued to build
787 the house on that particular spot, one or more of the inmates would certainly die.

764 Nowadays the authorities insist on burial in common graveyards,
177 set aside for the purpose and situated outside and away from the settlement. Although this ordinance is still occasionally evaded, it becomes harder and harder to do so, on account of the presence of sanitary inspectors in every municipal district; and so the Isneg have gradually accommodated themselves to circumstances, as will be explained more fully when treating of the decoration of the tomb.

764 At the time set for the funeral, in the evening, the coffin (or lower part of a jar) containing its precious burden, is carried to the grave (*itamán;* sometimes pronounced *itanám;* in Ilоko: *itaném*). If the body has to be coffined at the grave, it is carried on the *tádag* or bier. Actually, when the body is interred in the graveyard, the funeral takes place in the daytime, and any time of the day will do.

Before and after the body is laid or set to rest, a good many rites and ceremonies take place, and these I shall try to describe with as much order and accuracy as possible.

The position of the body in the tomb is the same as that of the *innát* in the house, at the time it was coffined: if the latter was stretched out at full length or otherwise laid on its back, the body in the grave will rest supine; if the *innát* was kept in a sitting or squatting posture, the corpse will be placed that way in the grave, its head remaining uppermost.

And now as to the *tanád* or objects that are interred together with the body, and which are believed to be used by the *kadudwá* of the deceased in the realm of the dead. Some of them are always present, others only occasionally.

The following objects are never lacking:

A *tariyáw* (a piece of earthenware, plate or cup), containing a certain amount of cooked rice;

Some viands usually wrapped up in one or more leaves;

A receptacle (any kind) containing some water;

A bundles of clothes;

An *aliwá* or headax, in the case of a man; an *ikó* knife, in the case of a woman;

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head. In February 1929, a man from Aputan had come home from a distant town to find his wife dead and buried. One day, when I was visiting the place, a few days afterwards, I saw him come back from his work some time before noon, and walk toward the cemetery, which was situated at a little distance from the settlement. While on his way, he wept and lamented in a loud voice. After he had reached the tomb of his wife, I could still distinctly hear him lamenting and crying intermittently for about half an hour. The neighbors told me that this had been repeated every day since he came back home and that the same scene would probably be enacted in the same way for several days to come.

And so we reach the close of this most important period, namely the *obóbāt* ceremony which ends mourning once for all. Indeed after the *obóbāt* all taboos cease, *lapát* (tabooed) coconuts have been freed (*inúkas*), all signs of mourning are gone, and if some of the relatives are not yet prepared to forget the deceased, they merely resort to *magló* in order to continue to show their undying love.

During the *obóbāt*, pigs are usually offered in sacrifice, while the *maxaníto* is performed by the shamaness, who at the time is supposed to be obsessed by the spirit or *kadudúwá* of the deceased. The deceased, through her mouth, generally voices all his grievances against the living, whether they be present or absent, and insists on all his dues being rendered him. Nevertheless, if no pigs are killed and a dog is the only animal to be offered in sacrifice, no *maxaníto* takes place.

About the middle of the ceremony, after the killing of the dog, either before or after eating, the mourners proceed to change their apparel, they *magba-bát*. If the deceased was a married person, it is the duty of one of the male relatives, either of the husband or of the wife (no matter which of the two departed this life), to give new clothes and a string of beads to the surviving widow or widower. As soon as the said male relative (*mama-bát*) has handed the new clothes to the survivor, the latter leaves the group and goes into some corner of the house in order to change his or her apparel, which action is always accompanied by a fresh outburst of grief and loud lamentations on his or her part. After the brand-new garments have been donned, he or she again joins the company, and is adorned by the *mama-bát* in person with the string of beads he has brought for the purpose.

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and, in any case, it is much too easily consumed to allow them any degree of comfort.

Several reasons may be assigned for the exceptional poverty of these people. The spirit *Lańdúsān* is very often the culprit. If it happens through his machinations that people are brought to the verge of starvation, the latter are said to be *malańdúsān*. Sometimes, too, a want of civic spirit that has been observed in a certain person, may induce other people to pray the spirits to have his plants consumed by animals, and consequently to cause him to become poor. In such a case, the enemies of this unworthy citizen are said to *maglábuy*. Other people are simply *nakurmáń*, they are unlucky: they cannot raise anything on their fields, and the result is wretchedness and want of food.

It may also happen that some people are unable to complete any kind of work in their rice fields: they are *nadannág*. Whatever they try to accomplish, whether planting or weeding, whether clearing a field or fencing it, they can never bring it to a finish. This, of course, almost inevitably leads to poverty and ultimately ends in the lack of the necessary livelihood. Nevertheless there is an easy remedy to this sad situation: the only thing to be done is to prepare *inapúxān* (betel for chewing), and to offer it to the spirit in charge by laying it down somewhere within his reach, at the same time reciting the following prayer, which was given me by *Púlog* from Dangla (O dialect, Main branch):[2]

Iápugko iáw aníto ta dinā- pagdandannaxán (I offer betel [for chewing] to you, spirit, so that you do not make me lazy).[3]

A rather remote, but very real cause of destitution, is a person's habit of being late (*nekábut*) whenever some work has to be done. In such a case the only means for him to escape being numbered sooner or later among the needy is to shake off his inbred torpor and to imitate his more diligent companions.

In this connection I should be allowed to mention the lines of the hand, as the art of palmistry is far from being unknown among the Isneg, and a person who is *rappád*, which means that one of the lines

[2] The way to prepare *inapúxān* will soon be explained at length. For explanation of Isneg dialects and branches, see M. Vanoverbergh, Isneg Life Cycle, II, Marriage, Death, and Burial, Publ. Cath. Anthrop. Conf., 1938, v. 3, no. 3, pp. 261-64.

[3] Lest I be prevented from finishing my work. This is said only of work in the rice fields: clearing land, planting rice, etc.

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of the hand crosses the palm from one side to the other continuously and without interruption, is absolutely unable to raise a large amount of rice.[4]

Nobody, however, should feel dismayed, as the Isneg possess a cure even for the direst poverty. It consists in having recourse to the use of a very powerful amulet, which has been designed most especially for the needy by the ever merciful spirits, namely the *taxa-rút*, a small herb that grows in the forest. The only question is to know it and to find it.

As will be made plain in the course of this paper, the Isneg firmly believe in a strict division of labor. Each sex has its own work to do, and generally no member of the opposite sex would dare encroach upon this age-long custom. Nevertheless there are a few male individuals who form an exception to this rule: these are the *tăyyén* and the *takowán*. The *tăyyén* (pronounced *tăyyán* in Bolo) do not know how to handle a hatchet, while, on the other hand, they use a woman's *ikó*-knife as easily as if it were a tool specifically their own; even in their gait, they take over everything that is characteristic of woman. The *takowán* dress like women and perform all kinds of work usually done by the latter: they plant, weed and pound rice as well as the most experienced member of the fair sex. But, I repeat it, these are exceptions.

No true Isneg man goes to work without his headaxe or *aliwá* usually stuck in his G-string from beneath, at one side, with the helve uppermost.[5] This is his constant companion and also the sole tool he needs when at work in the field. It will not be amiss to give here a detailed description of the *aliwá* of the Isneg.

The headaxe or *aliwá* consists of a kind of hatchet with a very broad blade and a comparatively thin long helve (*alupítăn*).

The helve is made of hard wood furnished by several trees that grow all through the Isneg country, for instance the *taggáy* (a kind of molave), the *bañlát*, the *kanúmăy* (a kind of ebony), etc. The end of the helve, opposite to the head in which the blade is fixed, is called *aguwáy*. The blade is attached to the helve by means of a tang or spike (*otáñ*) that fits into the head of the helve, which is surrounded by a comparatively long iron ring (*palábo* or *paraddál*).

[4] The *rappád* also easily resorts to murder: he is a dangerous person.

[5] Cf. Publ. Cath. Anthrop. Conf., v. 1, no. 5, Dress and Adornment in the Mountain Province of Luzon, Philippine Islands, p. 217. fig. 36.

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it is made of burnt shells[9] and usually kept in a small calabash (*busiŋán* or *tabáyad*).[10] The betel (*zawád*) may be the same as that used by man (any of several varieties) or it may consist in the very small leaves (*dazapá*) that are absolutely of no use to human beings.

In order to become a proficient farmer it is necessary to have at least a fair knowledge of what the Isneg call the *taximmatón* or *taxemmatón*, the "signs". Here are a few of them:

The *yaŋyáŋ*, which is supposed to be a small insect: it announces the coming of the dry season, usually some time in March. No Isneg can claim ever to have set eyes upon it, as it is completely invisible: it is known only from its voice, which is very sweet.

The *sibulbúg*, a kind of large bird: its cry announces the arrival of the rainy season, usually some time in November.

The first appearance of the *buúlún* or rainbow, which is one of the multitudinous spirits known by the Isneg: it proves that the rainy season has set in.

The *ariwánat* or Milky Way: if it becomes visible after a prolonged period of rain, it forecasts fair weather for several days to come.

The *bíbig*, which is a kind of bird of average size with grey plumage: it foreshadows a period of very heavy rainfall.

Other *taximmatón* that indicate the time at which some particular kind of work is to be performed, will be mentioned in due time.

As it is exceedingly important for the progress and the final success of any kind of business that all necessary rules be observed, that no taboos be infringed, and that nothing be done that might go counter to the will of the spirits, indicated in various ways, I shall now give a few hints to the farmer with reference to work in the field in general. At the same time, some of these hints may be of use to an Isneg who wants to embark on some enterprise that has nothing to do with farming or gardening.

First of all, the Isneg should be convinced that none of his exertions will be of any benefit to him, if they go on without the blessing and coöperation of the spirits. Therefore, whenever possible, he must recite the following prayer, or a similar one, in the morning, before going to work:

[9] *Dazíkan, azodón*, etc., different kinds of fresh-water gastropods, all of them having a long tapering spire. The *azodón* is larger than the *dazíkan*.

[10] The *tabáyad* is a small white calabash with a very narrow neck, although less narrow than that of the *tañtáñ*, which is the kind of calabash used by the Isneg when they prepare *inapúzun* in honor of the *Pílay*-spirits, at harvesting time.

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Umúnakamí iddaggán kiyá agwiwiliyán (Come to wait for us where we go to work).[11]

The text of this prayer was furnished by *Yadán* from Nagbabalayan (O dialect, K branch).

Very often the spirits give the Isneg warning not to work on a certain day, lest he incur their anger and his work be of no avail or the result of it be destroyed or rendered void. He should heed them and keep a holiday (*magúllin*) whenever it is intimated to him. Here follow some of these warnings:

When you hear the voice of one of the following birds: the *buwákaw*, the *bakákaw*, the *bissaxáw*,[12] or the *púro*,[13] for the first time, you must stay at home for one whole day without going out to work. Should you be on your way in the morning, do not proceed, but come back home, and remain there for the rest of the day. Should you hear it in the evening, stay at home the next day. If you happen to hear it again later on, it does not signify anything.

When you hear for the first time the lowing (*úza*) of a deer (*ugtá*), whether in the evening or at night or early in the morning, do not go to work in the field the next day, whether you be man or woman, because, if you do, the deer will inevitably consume all your plants (*múla*). In some districts, however, this is observed only by men at the time of clearing the ground for a prospective rice field, which is exclusively a man's job.

In case of hail (*ulalázo*), which the Isneg consider as the substance of the rain (*baggát udán*), the following day should be observed as a holiday. The same obtains during the dry season, when there is a shower of heavy rain (*arnáb*), so that rivers and brooks swell considerably, or when the streams become muddy and swollen (*balanbán*),[14] a sure sign that it rained hard somewhere upstream.

When you go to your work in the morning and you meet an omen bird or *labág*[15] that *magsúñit*, turn back (*maxulli*) immediately lest you meet danger on the way. The *magsúñit*-flying is more or less

[11] Literally: Where we go and from where we come back on the same day.

[12] So called from its cry. It is smaller than the *bakákaw* and is usually heard early in the evening.

[13] So called from its cry. It lives in the bushes and may be heard either in the morning or in the evening.

[14] Not to be confounded with *balañbán*, which is the name of the temporary fence built around the house of a deceased person.

[15] A small bird with red plumage, black at the throat.

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intricate and obviously of rather rare occurrence: this is probably the reason why such an unusual way of flying has rendered it suspicious to the natives. It happens like this: the bird flies first from right to left, and then from left to right, in front of the person who is on its way to the field; after that it flies first from front to rear, and then from rear to front, at the right-hand side. This fourfold movement of the *labág*-bird is called *magsúñit*.

If, after having begun (*sumikáp*, " to start work ") any kind of work in the field, you happen to see a buzzard (*bukkáw*) for the first time, or a rat (*butít*) any time, stop then and there, return home and stay here for the rest of the day. As may be seen by the above statement, there is a considerable difference between the two: indeed, a *bukkáw* or buzzard sends you home only when it is seen for the first time, while a rat keeps you idle for a day whenever it makes an appearance.

There are a few other things of importance, which it is very useful for the Isneg to know.

For instance, if you happen to meet the spirit *Gabbuwá* on your way to work and he jumps out in front of you, you may be sure that you will become ill in the near future. Then it is up to you to take your precautions as soon as you come back home.

The influence of the spirit *Baróyan* is also very nefarious: should he accompany you on your way, you will be unable to perform anything worth while and your body will be aching all over; in some cases he has even caused people to become completely mad.

Never walk over the first plant or seed which you confided to the soil, whether it be rice or tobacco or anything else, because, if you are careless in this respect, not a single plant will grow in that particular field or garden of yours.

When you reach home, after having planted (*magmúla*, *muldn*) something, never take hold of a *báña* [16] in such a way as to insert your hand or your fingers (*magkuwál*). When it is absolutely necessary to take up a *báña*, be careful to touch it only at the outside, otherwise whatever you have planted will be consumed sooner or later by wild animals.

An Isneg who wants to become skilled in planting (*aragmúla*) must try as much as possible to observe what follows:

[16] An earthen jar used for cooking rice, etc.

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One of the greatest enemies of the Isneg farmer is the locust (*dódon*), and consequently it will not seem strange that he is usually well acquainted with the names of several varieties of rice that can withstand these pests most effectually. We have, among others:

The *paturây*, without awns (*ibo*);

The *ortó-*, also awnless, and with rather small kernels: it is said by the Isneg to remain on the field even though all other varieties be consumed by locusts;

The *kuritây*, which has very tough leaves, no awns, and thin elongated kernels: it is comparatively rare and often used for purposes of divination. Knead a ball of cooked *kuritây*-rice and throw it a certain distance: if it falls down in a compact mass, you are sure to live long; should it break up or be smashed to pieces, the span of your life will be a short one.

In the same line may be mentioned the *binoázan*, which is supposed to be immune from the depredations of wild animals.

Then we have the *madiliya* (evidently from the Spanish *medalla*, "medal", which may be the reason why it is used for an amulet, as will be seen under the description of the preparation of seeds for planting), a kind of *dékat* or oily rice. The sweets made from this variety remain soft for a considerable time, even to the third and fourth "night", as the Isneg puts it, who counts by nights, not by days.

The tallest and largest variety of rice is called *tâyútây*: its husk is very light-colored.

The *xirxirá-* is the despair of the housewife, as it is exceedingly hard to pound: its husk is variegated and it has no awns.

It sometimes happens that the Isneg plants several varieties of rice or palay[18] in one and the same field; but, if he does so, he is always careful to keep each variety to its own patch of ground and not to plant them indiscriminately all over the field. In this case, each variety is known by the name of *xánan*. Thus, when the Isneg says that he has three *xánan* in his field, he means that his field is divided into three sections, each of them planted with a different variety of palay. It should be noted though that the name *xánan* is applied to the rice that grows there and not to the patch of soil in which it is planted.

[18] A name which is used extensively all over the Islands and means "rice in the husk or paddy".

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243 Very often two or more Isneg contrive to have plots of ground that are contiguous, so as the better to be able to withstand the inroads of wild animals. "Union makes might": the Belgian motto is true even in Apayaw. Another point not to be overlooked in this connection is that, by working on the same mountain slope, there springs up between the men a kind of rivalry, as each Isneg tries to emulate and to outdo his companion, which results, of course, to the advantage of all concerned. In such cases, however, they always leave a strip of ground uncleared to serve for a natural boundary (*naglatán* or *papandanán*) between two contiguous rice fields.

243 787 When the time has come to begin the all-important *mañumá* (clearing), no conscientious Isneg embarks upon a venture that means so much to himself and to his family, before he has taken all possible precautions. Therefore on the day on which he has decided to tackle this job, he first of all spends a considerable time in observing the flight of the omen-bird (*labág*) or, to say it in Isneg, he *mañlabág*. To do this, he leaves the village and sits down somewhere at a place outside of the group of houses, where he is morally sure of seeing *labág*-birds. Once he has espied one of them, he carefully observes all its movements: should it stay where it is, or at least always remain at the same side without crossing in front of him, the omen is good, and he may safely go ahead. The same is true if the bird flies across from the left side to the right, which is called *púlad* or *ulád*. Should it pass the other way, that is from right to left, this is a bad omen, which is called *pákam* or *akám* (in Main branch: *páam* or *aám*; in Bayag: *axám*), and the Isneg must wait until the next day before he tries his luck again. A prudent farmer, however, spends a good many hours in observation and does not rest content with the favorable answer of one single bird; he usually tries to have the omen of the first one confirmed by one or more others of the same kind. Should the omen have been bad from the beginning, it would be useless, of course, to wait any longer; the only thing for him to do is to go home and come back the next day.

243 On the day a favorable omen has been granted and not contradicted, the Isneg, armed with his *aliwá* or hatchet, proceeds to his future *kómān*, and does what they call *manatálon* or *talónan*. This consists in cutting down (*magpatpát*, *patpátān*) the bushes (not the trees) grasses, sedges, bamboo grass (*bassáw*, Miscanthus sinensis),[26] etc.

[26] Called *pattár*, if old and dry without having been cut.

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[534] 243 784 under it and that produces a slight sound when pinched on either end. It is also absolutely forbidden to pare one's nails in a new-made *kómān*.

243 825 789 A very favorable omen is the meeting of a nest of *amsí-* in the future rice field. The *amsí-* is a stinging medium-sized red-and-black ant, very thin between thorax and abdomen. Such a find forebodes the lusty growth of rice and of all plants that may subsequently be raised in this field.

Another happening that is eagerly looked for is the finding of a jungle fowl's nest. At such an occurrence all work is momentarily stopped and the only concern of the Isneg is to count the number of eggs it contains, each egg presaging the harvest of one hundred bundles of rice.

[534]

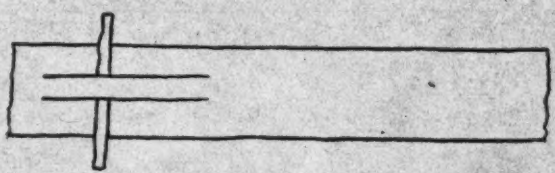

FIG. 3. *Piráy*.

213 762 When the day's work is over, the Isneg goes home to enjoy a well-deserved rest. Here, however, he should be careful, when partaking of a meal, not to eat the crust of the rice (*assíp*), that is, the rice that is next to the pot and has become brown and hardened, because, if he did so, the palay on the field would *umsíp*, which means that it would refuse to grow after having sprung up lustily, and would then wither and become yellow and die. This taboo, however, has to be observed only at the beginning of the *mañumá* or clearing of the field.

243 824 On subsequent journeys to the field for the purpose of continuing the clearing of the ground, it may happen that one sees along the road a *bitál* (also called *bitúl* and *binitulán*), that is: a cluster of vines or rather a considerable amount of strong vines that have become so intertwined as to form a huge knot. This knot could not have been there before, as it could not have escaped observation, so it is only reasonable to conclude that it has formed after the *mañumá* has been started. In this case the Isneg should retrace his steps and make that day a holiday (*nílin*). If met in the rice field itself, however, such a knot may remain unheeded, as it has not the slightest influence on the man and his *kómān*.

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Both these offerings must be hung on top of a long pole stuck in the ground somewhere near the *sízăy*. The *Kapónăn*-spirits reign over flowering bamboo grass, which they use for paddy, without ever consuming it: they are much to be dreaded, as they deeply resent the destruction of their property and revenge themselves by causing the culprits to become sick. Now, as almost anybody occasionally cuts down one of these canes in flower, the only way to avoid their wrath is to do as has been told whenever you move into a new *sízăy*-hut.

When you enter your *sízăy* for the first time, especially if you have children with you, hang a small piece of *binaladdibád*-pudding somewhere above the door, as an offering to the tutelary spirits of the hut. Besides, whenever you go to your *sízăy* accompanied by one or more children, take along a little pudding and strew it along the road, lest the little ones become *masi-mát* (sickness caused by spirits); but if you have no youngsters with you, it is not necessary to do this. In case there is no pudding at hand, leave your children at home.

The spirit who takes all huts under his protection, whether they be *sízăy* or *báwi*,[33] is called *Baláwi*: he resides in the mountains, and must be propitiated by the offering of *inapúxăn*, lest the owner of the hut become sick.

An appropriate prayer to go with the offering that is made on the occasion of a new *sízăy* or *báwi*, is the following: it is one of those called *pisi-* (offering), and the text was given me by *Uwíl* from Bolo (O dialect, Main branch).

Nénu aníto ta umad-adăyyókăyo kiyá pazag-agiyandnmi (Here is for you, spirits, so that you go away from our dwelling).

Whenever the husband brings home *níxăy*[34] for his family to eat, if the meal takes place in the *sízăy* (not in the house), a small part of each *níxăy* must be thrown away as an offering to the spirits, lest any member of the household present at the time be *mabalsíkăn* (sickness caused by spirits).

The presence of an *arípit*-bird near the *sízăy* is usually disastrous to the owners of the *kómăn*. Indeed, should its cry happen to be heard at that place, while work is being done in the field, whether planting or anything else, the crop will certainly be spoiled; if heard at planting time, nothing will spring up; if later, no rice will be harvested.

[33] Temporary huts built on the ground, not raised on posts, in any place except the rice field.

[34] Living beings caught for food, as fishes, birds, deer, etc., not insects.

796 smallest feast is the *pespes*, given at the beginning of harvest, or for a sick child. Only a chicken or maybe, a pig is killed. After eating, the people go to the field and work until quite dark. A coconut is divided and half left for the field. The other half is eaten on arriving home.

753 [753] A *coglot*, given to an *anito* for the recovery of a sick person, deserves further mention. If one of the family becomes sick, they think that the spirit of the sick one has wandered away and been caught by some *anito*. They call for one or more priestesses according to their wealth. This priestess holds a consultation to discover, either which *anito* is keeping the spirit, or which *anito* to ask to go and take the spirit away from the evil *anito*, and thus bring the sick back to health.

Upon deciding which *anito* to call, they tie a live [757] pig at the door, and the priestess calls the *anito*. Then she touches the patient, sometimes applying native herbs, oil, or lime on the parts affected. The dog or pig is then killed, and the priestess prays the *anito* to take the spirit of the animal instead of the spirit of the sick person.

[791] The next morning the patient gives the priestess the beads, plates, *aliwa*, and all the articles used by her in the ceremony.

● 787 Auguries are practised by observing the flight and call of birds.

The various calls of the *awanac* are important. Ten different calls are distinguished and are classified as *mulad*, foretelling good fortune; or *umgad*, foretelling misfortune.

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The sound of a *dicat* on the way foretells good luck, but if a *labeg* flits across a man's path, he must return home; for he would have met trouble on the way.

If a man goes to gather materials for a house and happens to see a wild rooster, the house will be burnt.

If a *balsit* enters a house through the window and goes out through the door, a member of the house will die soon.

There are also many omens to be observed. Some of these are:

If you dream that you are flying, you will become an orphan.

If you dream that your teeth fall out, one of your relatives will die soon.

If you eat twin bananas, you will give birth to twins.

If you have long thick ears, you will have a long life.

If the lines on the palms of your hands are good, you will become rich.

If a cat, while facing the door, wipes its face; some one is coming.

If a large lizard (iguana) should enter a house, some one in it will die.

If a short rainbow appears during the beginning of the constructon of a house, the people will have stomach trouble and one will die if the work is not discontinued.

If a person is setting out to go somewhere and someone sneezes, the traveler will meet some danger

787 on the way. So he must return, sit down, and wait awhile before setting out again.

If a man on his way to make *kaiñgin* meets a rat or hears a deer barking, the rat or the deer will eat all the rice plants in that place. So he must start another *kaiñgin*. Also, if he should happen to break his *aliwa*, some one in his family will die if he does not make his *kaiñgin* in another place.

784 Moreover there are many things which one is prohibited from doing. Some of these taboos are:

Do not leave the windows of the house open at night. If you do, a ghost, *alolag*, will come in and kill the people.

Do not cut your finger nails nor pull out any of your hair while working. If you do, you will get sick.

Do not leave while one is still eating in the house. If you do, you will get sick.

784 Do not eat the heart of a pig when a little child.
262 If you do, you will have misfortune.

Do not eat sour things if some one has died in the house, unless he is a relative.

Do not eat venison during the harvest season. If you so, your stomach will become large like the deer's, and you will consume too much rice.

784 Do not speak angrily at a rat. If you do, the rats will eat all there is in the house.

784 Do not laugh while planting *ubi* or *camote*. If
241 you do, these root vegetables will laugh so that all their skins will be found to be burst open when you harvest them.

Do not look up while planting bananas. If you do, the plants will grow so tall that it will be hard to pick the fruit.

Do not jump over a child. If you do, his growth will be retarded. 784

At first glance one might think that life in Apayao is greatly restricted by the necessity of placating all the *anitos* and of observing the many auguries, omens, and prohibitions. But, after being around some, I cannot help getting the impression somehow, that all this is partly just the men's sly way to getting out of a lot of hard work and disagreeable duties. At least, the placating of the *anitos* gives them the occasion for many very pleasant social times. 771 784 787 782 781

BURIAL

When death comes, the Apayaos, unlike the Christians, do not dread it as being the end of life on this earth; for the spirit *cadudorosa*, continues to exist somewhere and enjoy many of their physical pleasures without the discomforts. The people respect these spirits and go to great pains to see that they are made happy, both during the funeral ceremony and also during the following years. At all the feasts a portion of the best food and *basi* is placed on a plate, which is then set near the stove where the immediate supply of rice is kept. The people want to keep the spirits of their ancestors happy and contented for, if one should become discontented, he will select a person in the house to keep him company. The person then becomes sick and will die if a feast is not held to make that spirt happy and contented again. 761 775 769 [753]

When a person dies, all the relatives immediately gather in his house and hold a *callas* in his memory. 764

000 So the next morning he told his wife that he was going to the forest to look for some more honey. He then left his wife, saying that he would be back late in the afternoon. At noon, while he was in the forest, he heard the loud noise of many monkeys. He crept slowly toward them and hid himself behind a tree. He saw a big band of monkeys. Some of them were white. He watched carefully to see what the monkeys were doing.

He saw two big monkeys sitting near a large jar. One was distributing *basi* from the jar to his companions, and the other was sitting facing his companions. They had two little coconut bowls which they used in drinking the *basi*. They kept on drinking the *basi* until all the monkeys were drunk. The man rushed toward the jar and carried it away from the monkeys. He brought the jar home and placed it in yard of his house.

787 He was so tired that he did not eat his supper
782 before sleeping. While he was sleeping he had another dream. He dreamt that he must not keep the jar without butchering a white-spotted pig, a dog spotted with white, and a chicken likewise marked. If this was not done, surely he would die.

This was done thru the help of his relatives. The priestess made a prayer, and a feast was held in honor of the jar. All the relatives and neighbors came to see the jar. They named it "Ayong." Now it is handed down from generation to generation. This jar now is in the possession of the head man, Pugyao, in Cabacnan.

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latter to conduct a similar ceremony or to assist her elders at the same, the only aid she will get from some experienced shaman will be an occasional hint as to what she has to do. In general, however, she will already have learned these things on previous occasions, so that she simply imitates now what she has often seen before. The explanations given previously by the older shamans with reference to the meaning of these ceremonies will of course have helped her the better to impress everything upon her memory.

I have been told very positively that the prayers or formulas, which are recited on certain occasions, especially in cases of sickness, are never the subject of any direct teaching on the part of the shaman. It is true that the number of Isneg prayers is comparatively small, and that, in general, Isneg recitations, whether in prayer or song, are far from being stereotyped. Some of them, however, especially some formulas more or less in verse or rhyme, which are recited by the shamans while they extract the cause of sickness in the form of iron, herbs, etc., from the body of a sick person, are rather complicated, and as far as I know, of a certain stable and less variable nature.

Now how aspirant *dorarákit* are able to learn them without receiving formal instruction, I should say even often repeated instruction, is more or less of a puzzle to me, the more so that these formulas are rarely pronounced distinctly and that many of the terms have become obsolete and are actually meaningless to the natives. Nevertheless, I repeat it, it was told me most positively that they are not taught, that they are simply listened to and picked up. Perhaps what seems very indistinct to outsiders is much less so to the initiated, and probably the rhythm and rhyme help the younger shamans to learn these recitations by heart without too much difficulty. Besides, I know from personal experience that the same regular sequence of sentences or verses is rarely adhered to. Whenever I have tried to write down some of these formulas at the dictation of a shaman, my informant almost invariably inverted the order of the sentences at a second recitation; these women often made me quite nervous, as it was well nigh impossible to write down exactly what they had been reciting. Isneg shamans always talk very quickly when reciting from memory, so I had very often to ask them to repeat a certain part, after I had written down as correctly as possible one or more catch phrases of each verse or sentence; but their second recitation almost never coincided with the first one. Such a state of affairs, of course, makes the task of the recorder doubly difficult, although it may happen to

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771 insurgents, the Hapaw people (Ifugaw) hid their priest in the forest
177 for a considerable time; and I am sure that our Negritos and Isneg
797 would do the same to us if necessary. They are supposed to be inferior to the Christians in many respects, they themselves believe so, and the Christians do not fail to impress it upon their mind through word and deed: an Iloko or Kagayan has not respect for an Isneg, and again Iloko, Kagayan and Isneg oppress the Negrito whenever they can.

Now comes along a man who sympathizes with these pariahs, a man who understands them, a man who, although teaching a different religion, never ridicules them, a man who always puts them on the same level with other human beings, a man who is willing to live with them, to share their food and their mat, a man who learns their language and their customs, a man who takes their side even against the Christians when the latter are wrong: what can they feel but respect and even love for such an extraordinary being? Then add to this, in the case of the Isneg, their frequent intercourse with Christians and the patent superiority of the latter's civilization, which excites the ambition of the former, and it will not be wondered at that the priest and his religion are respected, that Isneg mothers bring their children for baptism just as the Christians do, that the Isneg youth wants to be instructed in Christian doctrine, and that Christianity is considered as the ultimate goal of a great number of Isneg young men and women.

183 Here among the Isneg I have never yet met with that strong
● 788 opposition to baptism, which formerly was so very common among
171 pagan Kankanay fathers and mothers in several of their villages,
177 and if the inborn indolence of the Isneg could be done away with, all
797 youngsters would be Christians within a very short time. In the
771 case of old men and women, although they rarely object to Christian-
178 ity as such, still they usually hold rather tenaciously to their tradi-
184 tional practices, which, however, does not prevent them at the same time from giving complete freedom to their offspring.

585 Last year at Namaltugan, two Christian Isneg intended to get
583 married; when the groom firmly refused to have anything to do with
177 native pagan customs, the relatives on both sides agreed to everything,
178 except on the question of the payment that had to be given to the parents of the bride: on this they strongly insisted; it had nothing to do with religion, and so it had to be observed.
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In a certain place, not so long ago, they had a teacher whose moral conduct was, to say the least, rather objectionable. When policemen raided the houses of the Isneg in order to hunt up all children of school age, several Isneg parents bluntly told them that they would gladly send their sons, but with reference to their daughters, as long as that teacher remained in charge, never; and they were perfectly right. That man has since been dismissed from the service.

A few defects, which will be recorded in due time, occasionally mar the picture of Isneg family life; but on the whole, it must be said that the Isneg commonly live up to their comparatively high standards with regard to this most important unit of society. Nevertheless the whole life of the Isneg, from the cradle to the grave, is dominated by the fear of the spirits; superstition, magic and spirit worship are inextricably interwoven with their whole life. If a Caucasian or, to take an example from people born, living and dying in the same surroundings, a Negrito had to live under such a continual fear of the supernatural and to comply with such a large number of practices in order to propitiate higher beings or to elude their malevolent intentions, I think his life would be simply miserable. The Isneg, however, do not seem to mind, and although always on the lookout for disagreeable interventions from above, they live a life free of care and are never anxious about the future. They rarely concern themselves with what the next day might bring them, and live happy and content if to-day their immediate wants are provided for: to-morrow will take care of itself.

This seeming contradiction pervades their whole life. On the one hand, they have to take innumerable precautions for the future with regard to superior beings. On the other hand, they do not seem to care a jot for the days to come even with reference to such essential needs as food and raiment. The solution of this apparent puzzle seems to me to be found in the fact that the Isneg do conscientiously every day what they think they have to do and leave the rest to fate. With reference to the supernatural, if they take all possible means to propitiate the spirits, and disregard no taboos, and so on, they feel assured that nothing untoward will happen to them on the part of the spirits. With reference to daily sustenance and the rest, they feel no such assurance, as they know by practical experience that they cannot control the forces of nature, rain, storms, the growth of plants, etc. By strictly observing all injunctions of the shamans and all traditional rites and practices, they believe it possible to control the

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181 supernatural for the time to come. Nature, however, is not theirs
771 to direct; they know this all too well, and so why bother about the
789 future. Besides, there will always be something to eat, there is no
152 winter in the tropics, vegetation is luxuriant, and the Isneg are not
777 particular. Nature is ruled by the supernatural, not by human beings. All the latter can do is to influence the supernatural. Man has no direct control over rain and sunshine, sickness and death; but the spirits have; and these have to be moved to pity or to be frightened into submission, as the case may be.

753 An Isneg will say: "What is the use of medicine? If it has been
181 decreed that a person will die, he will do so, medicines or no medi-
777 cines". But nevertheless he will comply with all possible prescrip-
152 tions of the shaman, and if the person dies notwithstanding all
771 precautions have been taken to protect him from the spirits, then: "It was his fate", and that ends the matter.

777 If the locusts are devastating the fields, an Isneg will resign himself
181 to his fate. He has worked diligently, he has observed all possible
152 omens and has broken no taboos; why should he worry, why should
731 he try to destroy these pests. The Government will force him to do
177 so of course, and he will obey as long as he remains under the eagle eye of his rulers, but he will say: "What is the use; if we destroy these, others will take their place, provided it be decreed that way: and if not, it is perfectly useless to tire ourselves for nothing".

777 Such and similar states of mind are not confined to the Isneg. I
181 remember very well how on a certain occasion, in 1914, I was assisting
152 an Iloko Christian on his deathbed. Wanting to impress upon him
771 the great necessity of a deep sorrow for his sins, I described to him
177 as vividly as possible the horrors of hell, and told him how anxious he should be to avoid an eternity of such pains and torments; but his
781 only answer was an act of absolute conformity to the Divine Will: "If God wants me to go to hell, I am perfectly willing". And that man was far from wanting to be disrespectful to the Deity; his words simply illustrated how little he cared about what the future had in store for him. Pagan Isneg lay the blame for every untoward happening, either merely on fate, or on the intervention of some ill-intentioned imp, while a happy turn of events is usually considered to be the result either of fate pure and simple, or of some special clever means by which the machinations of the spirits have been counteracted. Nowadays the Government, the Ibanag, as they call all Christians, has generally to bear the blame of any public calamity

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All men who do not belong to the family are forbidden to enter the house, and even those who live there, whether small boys or adults, have to keep away from the mother,—a prohibition which is easily complied with, as Isneg houses are very roomy. The husband alone forms an exception to this rule in a few places, Bayag for instance, where he is allowed to assist the women; but in most other localities, he himself, although permitted to stay in the house, has to turn the other way and is forbidden to witness the birth of his offspring. Nobody, however, is allowed to remain at the door (*xagiyáńăn*): this is strictly taboo; all persons have either to enter the house, provided of course they belong to that set of people who are not forbidden to be present on such an occasion, or to stay outside below the ladder.

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The Isneg mother brings forth her child kneeling down on the floor of her house. In order to facilitate the birth of the child, the Isneg sometimes place one or more *pulpultóg* (a fungus in the shape of a small round white ball, growing on wet soil) on the body of the future mother. If she experiences unusual difficulty, the *bańsál* (a thorny woody vine) is used for the same purpose. Occasionally some *kalobbará* (small herbs) are placed over the place of her lungs, lest the latter move. Lung is called *baxá* in Isneg.

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A small section of light bamboo (Schizostachyum mueronatum), on which a razorlike edge has been cut by means of a headax, is a very appropriate instrument for the severance of the umbilical cord (*púsag*). The afterbirth, to which has been tied some kind of herb (*kąddát*) known to the shaman as an amulet (*tónib*), is placed either on a *duyát* (wooden plate), or in a *bali-lukú* (spathe of the betel nut) or a *táxo-* (coconut shell), and then buried either far away from the house (at Bolo, etc.), or under the house, immediately below the hearth (at Musimut, Bayag, etc.).

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A Bayag man told me that, in case the child was born still enveloped in a membrane, which he said was a very rare occurrence, his people rolled the latter up in a piece of cloth and stowed it away somewhere in one of their trunks; they considered it as a very powerful amulet in business: it would enable the owners to buy many things. He also stated that the newborn babe was bathed immediately in ordinary cold water; in other places, however, and this I consider to be much more general, the child gets its first bath only when it is able to turn itself upon its mat without assistance, or to creep over the floor on hands and knees (*maxadáń*).

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846 On the wound of the navel the Isneg place some soot and a piece
778 of dried bagasse, in order to sear it and to allow the rest of the
umbilical cord to come off easily. The latter (*kázaw*) is then placed
789 in a *táxo-* or coconut shell, some ashes are strewn over it, and the whole is buried either at the place of the afterbirth, or somewaere under the house in case the afterbirth has been buried away from it. It seems, however, that in Bayag it serves the same purpose as that of the membrane just referred to, and that it is rolled up in a piece of cloth and stowed away in some trunk belonging to the parents, to be kept as an amulet in business.

846 The immediate and natural needs of the newborn babe having been
778 attended to, the first concern of the Isneg is to protect the little creature
789 from all possible machinations of the spirits, who seem to have been lying in wait for this new human being to come into the world in order to work their wiles upon it. The Isneg, however, are not backward in finding sure and almost infallible remedies against the machinations of these *anito*, and they usually have the upper hand in this warfare between the world of spirits and that of real men. We have already described how the afterbirth is rendered innocuous or rather how the spirits are obliged to forego all hope of using it as a weapon of offense against the child or its parents; or does the herb that is tied to it force the supernatural world into granting either some of the present wishes of the parents or some of the future ones of the child? Just what is the use of that herb I do not know, and the Isneg will tell you the same; it is the custom, and that is sufficient
[811] in most similar cases. Sometimes explanations are given, and I shall not fail to record them in every instance, but these explanations are very often unsatisfactory, and the connection between a certain practice and the reason why it is said to be performed is very often exceedingly loose, and, at least from our point of view, quite inappropriate.

846 As soon as a child is born in the house, the Isneg take a coconut
789 shell, place some ashes and some water in it, and put it somewhere near the door, at the inside. After that, the first thing to be done, is to forbid access to the house both to the spirits and to people who might bring bad luck to the enriched household.

With reference to the spirits, this is not very hard: there are some objects that an *anito* will never approach even from afar, and provided one knows which object to choose, everything is safe from that side. At Bayag the Isneg place an *ixād* at the door of the house, at

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the outside, immediately after the birth of a child. The *ixād* is an instrument that is used to scrape out the meat of the coconut: it mostly consists of a piece of wood fixed upright in a block of the same material, which serves it as a base, and provided at the top with a small tonguelike blade, sometimes more or less in the shape of a half moon, whose edge has been cut out into a row of teeth like a saw. This instrument, according to the Isneg, looks to the *anito* like a frightful dog, at least at the time of the birth of a child, and no spirit will venture to approach the house, as long as that faithful guard remains in position. At Bolo they stretch a *lásiw* (a special kind of vine) crosswise over the entrance. Elsewhere, and this is the most common practice, a spear is stuck in the ground immediately below the ladder, and around the spear are wound two strips of cloth, one red and another one indigo; this contrivance also keeps the *anito* unmercifully at bay. Whether scraper, vine or spear, this guard remains at the door of the house as long as the child is not able to move freely over the floor of the house.

But the ways and means of the spirits are manifold. Although practically no access can be had to the house on account of the spear or the scraper, as the case may be, it might happen that an *anito* uses his evil influence from afar off or approaches the child or its mother by some other way. Therefore to protect the child, a small portion of black wax (*lilín*) is stuck to the hair of the baby, at the whirl somewhere on top of the head; of this, according to the Isneg, the *anito* are much afraid.

The mother, besides inserting some herbs (*kaddáṭ*), the secret of the shaman, in her headband (*laddóṅ*), never fails to stick a small piece of ginger (*basdṅ*) on the blunt projection (*sáwit*) at the back of the small knife (*ikó*), which she always carries stuck in her headband. The shape of the *ikó* is the same as that of the ordinary Isneg headax (*aliwá*), but the latter is much larger; the upper part of the blade of both the *aliwá* and the *ikó* is prolonged at the back into a comparatively long dull pin. That piece of ginger protects the mother from the evil influence of the spirit *Talomásim*. Indeed, as long as she has to sleep near the hearth, she is liable to become sick (*matalomásim*) whenever she leaves the house, even in the daytime; the ginger, however, whose smell *Talomásim* cannot stand, keeps the latter at bay, and the young mother reënters the house without becoming *matalomásim*.

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the ginger at the foot of the ladder. If necessary, other herbs and ginger are always available to take the place of the abandoned ones.

At other places: the young mother goes to the river and takes a bath. Nothing is changed with reference to herbs and ginger, which she took along at the time of her ceremonial bath and which she continues to carry on her person afterwards.

With reference to the meaning of *mamáwa*: originally it may have been applied to any kind of ceremonial ablution; later on, it may have been restricted either to the bath of a woman after her delivery (Bayag), or to the ceremony performed after the death of a married woman (Abbil).

While the mother stays inside the house, the other inmates, men not excepted if necessary, take over her ordinary duties, such as fetching water, gathering vegetables, and so on. Bayag is the only place where the husband is forbidden to leave the house for a definite number of days, as has been explained before.

The husband does not sleep with his wife for from two to five months after the birth of a child; everything depends on the state of the mother and the strength of the baby.

Should it happen that Christian Iloko merchants from the lowlands come along to sell their wares, which usually consist of clothes, at the time there is a newborn babe in the house, the Isneg father will never fail to get a few strips of cloth as soon as his Iloko friends open their packs, and to burn these rags under the nose of the little one. This ceremony is called *rumidméd*, and not to comply with it is said to be *kannáw* (bad, taboo). Such burning of cloth for magical and similar purposes is an almost universal custom all over northern Luzon. The Kankanay burn a piece of cloth and throw it outside through the door, at the same time mumbling a prayer, whenever one of their children is addicted to continual crying. The Iloko (Christians) burn cotton or rags not only at the birth of a child, but whenever somebody is sick in the house: they say that the smoke strengthens the breathing of mother and child or of the sick person, as the case may be. When bringing the little one to church for baptism, one of the attending group usually has a burning sliver of cotton in the hand and constantly keeps it as near as possible to the infant that has to be christened, at least if the priest does not object. If they know him to forbid such practices, they try to hide their diminutive torch in time before his coming, somewhere outside the building: the very offensive smell, however, rarely fails to betray them.

THE ISNEG LIFE CYCLE

854 When the mother takes her child along, she carries it on her back
853 in a piece of cloth (addún; see PUBL. CATH. ANTHROP. CONF., v. I, no. 5, Fig. 52, p. 231), in which the little one takes a sitting position, its feet dangling freely beneath, and its head protruding above. At one side, the addún passes over one of the shoulders of the carrier, mostly the right one, and at the other side, under the opposite arm, its tips being knotted in front; sometimes, although rarely, the addún passes under both arms. In order to give her child the breast, the only thing the mother has to do is to give the whole outfit a little shift, allowing the baby to pass under the left arm toward the front; but even without going to such extremes, a little freedom in the position of the little one will give the latter a chance occasionally to get a few mouthfuls from the left breast of its mother by pushing its head under her left arm. This way of carrying her infant does not hamper the mother in her ordinary work, such as cleaning the field, pounding rice, and so on; besides, her movements will very often serve the child for a swing and rock it to sleep.

854 When the baby becomes a little older it is frequently carried sitting on the hip in a straddling position one foot in front and one at the back (abbayán). An older brother or sister, or some other kind-hearted person occasionally takes the place of the mother and carries the child around in one of the ways just mentioned.

/824/ Besides the ordinary precautions that have to be taken to keep the
821 child from injury, anybody who is carrying a baby around in the
854 evening should not fail to pick a leaf of tabbán or cogon grass along
789 the road and tie it to the child's ankle. Then, as soon as they reenter the house, the child should be made touch one of the three stones (taxán) of the hearth, on top if possible; if this were not done the Isneg firmly believe that the little one would get sick sooner or later. Nothing of the kind has to be done, however, if the walk took place in the morning.

854 Incidentally it may be mentioned here that small babies dispense
301 with all clothing whatsoever. A string to which a few seeds or cowries
291 (kamusay) have been attached, and which serves it for a bracelet or, more rarely, for a necklace, is considered more than sufficient for the time being, and a small piece of cloth laid under the little one when at rest takes the place of swaddling clothes. The greatest concern of the parents is to keep the child in good health, and the amulets, whether seeds or cowries, will look after that.

854 All rags that are used with newborn babies and which are called dappin (in some places dappán), for instance the cloth that is some-

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meaning, but is very popular I know of five men called by that name: two at Bayag, one at Dagara, one at Karagawan and one at Baliwanan. 551

2. Names of renowned warriors, *mĕńal* (brave), men who have taken many heads. So a Karagawan boy was called *Mańasó* after a Bolo warrior, although both villages are rather far apart from one another; a Musimut boy was called *Pátań* after one of his ancestors, also a renowned head hunter. Both names have no known meaning. 551 789

3. Names of people who have attained a ripe old age. The Isneg, to use their own expression, "are loath to relegate those names to oblivion" (*inagkekéńa*, from *kéńa*, "alas"). Names of children who have died a premature death are never chosen, at least when the fact of their short lives is known to the interested party; indeed it may happen that in a certain locality a person called by a certain name has become very old, while another one born in some other place and called by the same name has died an early death, and that the people who have to choose the name for a newborn babe do not know of both cases: then of course only the fact known to them is taken into consideration.

At this juncture it should be noted that the same names recur at every step all over the Isneg district: they are probably very popular for one of the reasons given above, and the personality and inherent qualities are supposed to be transferred to the child together with the name. Nevertheless it should not be inferred from this that the Isneg believe in metempsychosis: no such belief exists in the whole Apayaw district. [828]

Just to give a few examples. M stands for "male"; F for "female". 551

Sabadáw (M): at Bayag, Madatag, Pili, Musimut, Nagsimbanan, Kumaw, Agnoan (Kabugaw), Magububung.

Púdo- (M): at Abbil, Musimut, Nagbabalayan, Baliwanan, Genned, two at Alumani.

Démdy (F): at Musimut, Dagara, Nagbabalayan, Baduat, Karagawan, Bolo.

Agsdyań (M): at Mayaw, Musimut, Nagbabalayan, Nagsimbanan, Baduat.

Alób (M): at Madatag, Dagara, Pasiyab, Nagsimbanan.

Búsiń (M): at Nagsimbanan, Magapta, Bolo, Katablangan.

Kabagiyát (M): at Baliwanan, Kumaw, Karagawan, Bolo.

Lăyldy (M): at Madatag, Musimut, Kabaknan, Bolo.

Asáp (M or F): at Nagilian (Namaltugan), Madatag, Baliwanan, Alumani.

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832 with her body. Or he may resort to a stratagem very often used in
789 magic, namely, he may place a drop of the oil in question on one of
171 the girl's footprints. Belief in the efficacy of such actions is not confined to the Isneg. Many Iloko, all of whom were converted to Christianity in Spanish times, believe that the caudal spine (*burábur*, in Iloko) of the sting ray thrust into the footprint of a person or in the place made wet by the latter's urine, invariably causes the death of the person in question.

832 Sometimes, instead of this ordinary love charm prepared by a shaman, the boy uses one of his own choice: he tears off a diminutive section of a thread from one of the fringes at the hind part of his G-string, and mixes it with the betel (betel nut, leaf of the betel pepper. and lime) which he prepares for his girl to chew.

832 I have also been able to obtain the names of a few herbs, used for
824 love charms, which were known to the boys who gave me this infor-
278 mation. It goes without saying that the shaman is completely left out in such cases. These herbs, none of which I have been able to identify as yet, are:

sagúbăy: a small herb, the leaves of which are used to win a girl's love;

tagalomá- and *taññó-:* small herbs, to be mixed with oil, as explained above;

añímud: a small herb, to be mixed with the betel given to the girl;

añam-ámo: a small herb, placed either on the girl's mat or under her nose so that she can smell it;

danórăn, tagiámo and *pa-paámo:* small herbs, the first two growing on trees. The boy does nothing else but put one or more of them in his pouch when he goes to court the girls: they merely serve him as an amulet in order to win his girl's love. *Amo* in the last two of these three names, and in the preceding one, means "taming";

dalúpa-: a small herb, to be put secretly in the pouch of a girl who is "wild" to you.

The use I give for each of the above herbs is simply the one that was given to me by my informants, and I repeat it exactly as I heard it, without any addition or explanation on my part.

A Tawit boy gave me the following recipe, which works both ways: If you want to win the love of a girl who is engaged to some other boy, gather a few *tuma-ddy* herbs (a creeping herb growing in the forest), and mix some part of them with the betel nut you hand to

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584 583 nection *maxamómān* (or *umuné-*) means nothing else but "to go to the house of a prospective bride and ask the parents for the hand of their daughter", which is done by the relatives of the groom.

At my first visit to Namaltugan, one evening I was sitting on the porch of the municipal building, when a whole group of Isneg, men and women, old and young, all in festive attire and seemingly in very high spirits and full of glee, were seen passing along and directing their steps toward Aputan. When I inquired about the reason for this display, my companions told me that these Isneg were going to the house of a prospective bride in order to make arrangements for a possible marriage in the near future; they were intent on the *amómān*.

This gathering, which always takes place in the evening, and in which a large group of relatives of the future husband take part, is really a very important business meeting. Here, after the completion of the *sumpád* ceremony, they discuss the *tádug* or price that has to be paid to the parents of the girl, the number of years during which the young husband will have to stay in the house of his parents-in-law before returning to that of his own parents, and so on. The bride and groom, however, take absolutely no part in the deliberations. In this connection the *sáyó* herb should be mentioned for the powerful influence it may be able to exert here: indeed if one or more members of the *amómān* party take some *sáyó* (a small creeping herb) with them, the girl will most certainly consent to go over to the boy's house immediately after the final ceremony, and the latter will not be obliged to stay even for a short time in the house of his parents-in-law.

824 189

584 583 The first part of the *amómān* is known by a special name: *sumpád*, and consists in the formal presentation of the boy's suit by three delegates called *patúgān*. Before dark the *patúgān* start on their way to the house of the girl: one of them is always a young woman, as yet unmarried, and she always carries one, and only one, basket full of native sweets of the variety called *binaladdibád* (*ininapát* in some districts). The *binaladdibád* or *ininapát* consists of *dékat* rice, a kind of very oily rice, sometimes known as "red" rice among Americans residing in the Philippines; the *dékat* is indeed very often red, although there are also several varieties of white *dékat*. The *dékat*, pounded into powder or not, is cooked with coconut milk (expressed from the meat of the coconut) and salt or sugar, and wound in woven

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584 strips of palm leaves, so as to form small, more or less brick-shaped
583 blocks.

Another member of the *patúgān* party is an elderly man, who occasionally carries one or more presents for the parents of the girl; these consist of one or more spears (*siñdl*), headaxes (*aliwá*), etc. Sometimes clothes also are given on this occasion: jackets, headbands, blankets, etc.; these are then carried by the woman with the *simbá-*, who will be mentioned presently. These presents, however, are entirely supererogatory and are given only by well-to-do people.

584 The most important of the three is an elderly woman, whether
[789] married or widowed. In no case, however, may she be a *bálo* or widow in mourning, and the reason is not far to seek: such a woman could never bring happiness to the future husband and wife; on the contrary, she would merely serve as an ill-boding messenger and announce ahead of time the early demise of the man in whose behalf she asks for the hand of the girl: her recent bereavement would be a sure presage of the same contingency happening to the girl for
[602] whose hand she sues. This elderly woman is usually the mother of the boy; but in her default, another female near relative may do, for instance, an aunt, a first cousin, etc. If the prospective groom is a married man, his wife or, if he has more than one wife, one of
584 them, plays the role of the third member of the party. The latter
583 carries the *simbá-* (from *tabbá-*, "stringing beads"), which consists of one or more strings of beads. If the boy is of wealthy parentage, the *simbá-* is or are made of valuable beads. But this is not at all requisite: any beads will do, and even the most diminutive string of the smallest and most common variety of beads is sufficient for the purpose. With the exception of this last-mentioned woman, the *patúgān* are usually chosen among those relatives of the boy who are renowned for glibness of tongue, and with reason, as will be seen presently.

On the acceptance or non-acceptance of the *simbá-* by the parents of the girl depends the future of the two young people. Nevertheless a refusal is exceedingly rare, as the repeated nocturnal visits of the young man at the house of his future parents-in-law and his frequent staying overnight and sleeping with his girl, could hardly have escaped notice, and consequently the owners of the house could have notified him of their displeasure, long before such elaborate preparations, as entailed by the *amómān*, were completed on the part of the

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fere in the least: consequently she does not *maxanito* or impersonate the spirits of the dead, and remains completely in the background, if indeed she happens to be present. And the same is true with reference to the *ákit* or marriage ceremony: here also there is a feast and a killing of animals, but no *maxanito*. The Isneg probably believe that spirits and ghosts have nothing to do with something that is exclusively the business of living human beings, as an *amómān* or betrothal and an *ákit* or marriage undoubtedly are.

Nevertheless it may happen that the *amómān* takes place at the time a *sāy-ám* sacrifice is in progress at the house of the girl, and then of course the *maxanito* will be performed as usual, as no ceremonies connected with the customary *sāy-ám* are ever omitted; but this *maxanito* will generally be performed before the arrival of the *patúgān*, and in any case it has nothing to do with the *amómān*. The only reason why an *amómān* slightly interferes with the ceremonies of the *sāy-ám* is the fact that on such coincidences the female spirit *Sisína* has to be especially remembered. Two coconut shells, one partly filled with *básī* (a beverage obtained from sugar cane) and another one partially filled with dog's blood, have to be put down in her honor somewhere along the path that leads to the spot where the women draw water for drinking purposes. This is done in order to induce *Sisína* to look after the young couple and to see to it that both are of one mind and avoid all disputes and altercations.

The *amómān*, at least if it has resulted to the satisfaction of everybody, does not interfere in the least with the usual nocturnal visits of the groom to the house of the bride. He continues to *maxal-allây* as before, that is, to sleep with her, and even to have coitus if they so desire. Actually in several districts they even translate the term *maxamómān* by that of *maxatáwa*, "to marry"; and in this case, of course, the subsequent ceremony of the *ákit*, after which the two young people are allowed to live together, must in their minds have lost most of its significance.

B. WEDDING RITES AND CUSTOMS

A certain period of time always elapses between the *amómān* and the real marriage or *ákit*, but it is impossible to determine exactly its length. In some cases a month is sufficient for all interested parties to prepare themselves properly for this most important ceremony; in others, even a whole year may pass by before the marriage finally takes place.

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and the knees. Consequently the *mańlakkát* wears neither *badiyó* (jacket) nor *baxákat* (girdle), and the *laddóń* or headband has been replaced by the *sarikaw*, so that her hair hangs loose down her back. All this is done, according to the Isneg, lest the bride experience difficulty in giving birth to her children; the loose attire of the *mańlakkát* is supposed to have a magical influence on the deliveries of the future mother, so that they be accomplished with the utmost ease.

In some places the *mańlakkát* carries the bride on her back, not on her hip, all the way from the latter's house to that of the groom. Nevertheless if the distance is too great, she only carries the girl down the ladder of the house, and then puts her down, not to take her up again until they arrive at the boy's house, where she carries her up the ladder. When mounting the ladder, the *mańlakkát* has to skip one of the rungs, all the while carrying her burden. In most places she contents herself with carrying the bride up the ladder of the groom's house, skipping one of the rungs as usual. According to the Isneg, the reason of this action is the same as that given for the looseness of the *mańlakkát's* apparel. In Kankanay folklore one occasionally hears a husband invite his wife, who experiences difficulty in giving birth to her child, to climb his back. In other places, however, at least at present, the *mańlakkát* merely escorts the bride, without carrying her even for a single moment; but her attire always remains the same scanty outfit just referred to, and she never carries any of the baskets filled with sweets.

This custom of carrying the bride all the way through is very generally observed at Bayag (G branch of *Ó* dialect), while at Baliwanan and Dangla (Main branch of *Ó* dialect), and at Musimut (K branch of *Ó* dialect), she is merely carried up the ladder of the boy's house. The latter eventuality is remembered by the Isneg to have happened once at Alumani (near Kabugaw; Main branch). This does not obtain, at least in every case, at Kumaw and Bolo (Main branch), at Abbil and Dibagat (G branch), and at Talifugu (*Bô* dialect).

As soon as the procession arrives at the house of the groom, where in the meanwhile the latter's relatives and many other people invited as guests have been gathering, a few important ceremonies take place. If some members of the girl's party are living near the house of the boy, and in this case only, they *magtalunób*, which means that they stop before the ladder of the house and forbid the bride to enter until the boy's parents have given them a present, which usually consists of a *zúsi* jar or of a few beads. After that the bride is

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of the hand crosses the palm from one side to the other continuously and without interruption, is absolutely unable to raise a large amount of rice.[4]

Nobody, however, should feel dismayed, as the Isneg possess a cure even for the direst poverty. It consists in having recourse to the use of a very powerful amulet, which has been designed most especially for the needy by the ever merciful spirits, namely the *taxa-rút*, a small herb that grows in the forest. The only question is to know it and to find it.

As will be made plain in the course of this paper, the Isneg firmly believe in a strict division of labor. Each sex has its own work to do, and generally no member of the opposite sex would dare encroach upon this age-long custom. Nevertheless there are a few male individuals who form an exception to this rule: these are the *tăyyén* and the *takowáń*. The *tăyyén* (pronounced *tăyyán* in Bolo) do not know how to handle a hatchet, while, on the other hand, they use a woman's *ikó*-knife as easily as if it were a tool specifically their own; even in their gait, they take over everything that is characteristic of woman. The *takowáń* dress like women and perform all kinds of work usually done by the latter: they plant, weed and pound rice as well as the most experienced member of the fair sex. But, I repeat it, these are exceptions.

No true Isneg man goes to work without his headaxe or *aliwá*[5] usually stuck in his G-string from beneath, at one side, with the helve uppermost.[6] This is his constant companion and also the sole tool he needs when at work in the field. It will not be amiss to give here a detailed description of the *aliwá* of the Isneg.

The headaxe or *aliwá* consists of a kind of hatchet with a very broad blade and a comparatively thin long helve (*alupítăn*).

The helve is made of hard wood furnished by several trees that grow all through the Isneg country, for instance the *taggáy* (a kind of molave), the *bańlát*, the *kanúmăy* (a kind of ebony), etc. The end of the helve, opposite to the head in which the blade is fixed, is called *aguwáy*. The blade is attached to the helve by means of a tang or spike (*otáń*) that fits into the head of the helve, which is surrounded by a comparatively long iron ring (*palábo* or *paraddál*).

[4] The *rappád* also easily resorts to murder: he is a dangerous person.

[5] Cf. Publ. Cath. Anthrop. Conf., v. 1, no. 5, Dress and Adornment in the Mountain Province of Luzon, Philippine Islands, p. 217, fig. 36.

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787 intricate and obviously of rather rare occurrence: this is probably the
825 reason why such an unusual way of flying has rendered it suspicious to the natives. It happens like this: the bird flies first from right to left, and then from left to right, in front of the person who is on its way to the field; after that it flies first from front to rear, and then from rear to front, at the right-hand side. This fourfold movement of the *labág*-bird is called *magsúñit*.

If, after having begun (*sumikáp*, "to start work") any kind of work in the field, you happen to see a buzzard (*bukkáw*) for the first time, or a rat (*butít*) any time, stop then and there, return home and stay here for the rest of the day. As may be seen by the above statement, there is a considerable difference between the two: indeed, a *bukkáw* or buzzard sends you home only when it is seen for the first time, while a rat keeps you idle for a day whenever it makes an appearance.

796 There are a few other things of importance, which it is very useful
953 for the Isneg to know.

For instance, if you happen to meet the spirit *Gabbuwá* on your way to work and he jumps out in front of you, you may be sure that you will become ill in the near future. Then it is up to you to take your precautions as soon as you come back home.

The influence of the spirit *Baróyan* is also very nefarious: should he accompany you on your way, you will be unable to perform anything worth while and your body will be aching all over; in some cases he has even caused people to become completely mad.

784 Never walk over the first plant or seed which you confided to the soil, whether it be rice or tobacco or anything else, because, if you are careless in this respect, not a single plant will grow in that particular field or garden of yours.

When you reach home, after having planted (*magmúla*, *muláñ*) something, never take hold of a *báña* [18] in such a way as to insert your hand or your fingers (*magkuwál*). When it is absolutely necessary to take up a *báña*, be careful to touch it only at the outside, otherwise whatever you have planted will be consumed sooner or later by wild animals.

824 An Isneg who wants to become skilled in planting (*aragmúla*) must
787 try as much as possible to observe what follows:

[18] An earthen jar used for cooking rice, etc.

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When you have to start a certain work and want it finished quickly, go and look for a little herb, called *tagalárat* in Bayag: it is about five or six inches tall, has comparatively long leaves, and grows almost anywhere. After you have found it, take it along and put it down somewhere near the place where you begin working: in less than no time you will be through with everything.

In order to assure the healthy growth of any kind of plant, before you start sowing or planting, stick some part of a *litáw* in the ground somewhere at the place where you begin. The stem and the leaves of the *litáw*, which is a climbing plant, are both of the same color: they are uniformly green..

When your plants have taken root (*naggamút*), or, which amounts to the same, if they live (*mabīyág*), it is the farmer's duty to see that they become strong. The surest way to obtain such a result is to go and look for a herb, called *tagabílag* at Bayag, and to attach it to one of the plants in question. It causes the whole field or garden to be covered with the most luxuriant vegetation and to produce a growth that can weather almost any storm. The *tagabílag* may be found all over the district: it is rather tall, some ten inches, and bears white flowers and red fruits.

Another herb, called *gátud* at Bayag, of the same habitat as the preceding, but rather low, may be used with profit in connection with the gathering of crops. It should be tied to one of the plants that have to be reaped, and if nothing untoward intervenes, the farmer may rest assured that his soil will yield a most bountiful harvest.

To avoid the occurrence of landslides, which often play havoc not only with plantations, but with dwellings and granaries as well, the Isneg plant *nagbāyúgān* on or near the spot they want to protect: one single plant is sufficient, and it is not necessary to have it multiply. The *nagbāyúgān* is a stout herb, usually some two feet tall: it spreads a very agreeable odor, has comparatively long leaves, and, according to the natives, bears no flowers.

But the enemies of a man's fields and gardens are numerous and powerful: some of them are able to destroy in less than one hour what it has taken you weeks and months to build up. Therefore all Isneg farmers should know who they are and make a thorough study of all the means at their disposal for combating them and protecting the fruit of their labor. The dangers that threaten the life or growth of any particular kind of plant will be treated in their proper place.

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241 Here I shall merely mention those that are of a general nature and liable to attack any kind of plantation.

241 The wild boar (*laman*) is without doubt the enemy par excellence.
136 The Isneg farmer dreads it more thany any other, and not without reason: it respects absolutely nothing, and its depredations are sometimes very great. Next to it you have the deer (*ugtá*), which devastates rice fields, plantations of sugar cane, and the rest. Both these animals prowl about mostly at night, and this makes them the more dangerous, as darkness is their strong auxiliary, while it leaves the field or garden and its owner almost defenseless. The only thing for the Isneg farmer to do is to be diligent in watching his crops. Now and again he must go and visit (*so-bán*) them, and see if any damage has been wrought by roving animals. Should it happen that a wild boar has attempted to enter or has actually entered his field or garden, he must not fail to go on succeeding evenings to lie in wait (*manákar*) at the place where the animal has left signs of its presence, and kill it or at least badly frighten it at its first appearance.

In the daytime you have the jungle fowl (*ditálon, itálon* or *kasí*), which, although less destructive, may easily bring to nought the work of several days, especially in fields that have been sowed recently or whose plants are still very young.

241 Even domesticated animals sometimes imitate their wild forbears:
231 the hog (*ábuy*) and the barnyard fowl (*anú-*) have to be watched almost as carefully as those just mentioned.

241 Add to these the rats, which are often a pest that should be exter-
789 minated at any price.

More subtle enemies, however, are the *arrád*, a kind of green caterpillar that devour the leaves of young plants. The best and easiest way to get rid of them is to place a *lattóń* in the infected field. This *lattóń* is a little jar filled with an assortment of small herbs and covered with a red cloth: it causes the *arrád* to decamp at once and to look for safer quarters.

789 Besides these well-known enemies, the fields have a good many others that are not so easily detected. These are your own neighbors who feel jealous of your prosperity, and consequently practise all kinds of incantations in order to destroy (*sagsaggán*, "to impede the growth") [17] the young plants of your field or garden. These malevolent persons are said to *manadál* (to destroy with the use of herbs, etc.). Paddy affected thereby becomes yellow and dies.

[17] The same term also means "to make a girl pregnant".

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A shaman, for instance, who envies the result of your labor, may pronounce the following words:

"Napiyá no lamúsan náyá kalkaltón" (It would be good if the *kalkaltón* ate it), and these insects will start destroying everything, cutting down not only the tender stalk of the rice, but even the sturdy petioles of the taro.

Or any ill-intentioned person may take it into his head to throw *aníag*-herbs into your fields or gardens. The *aníag* is a very low herb that grows almost in any place, and looks very innocuous; but if it touches any of your plants, these will soon be devoured by a whole legion of rats, wild boars, and the rest. Indeed, this herb proves such a strong attraction to them that the Isneg put it on their *balét*-traps in order to cause wild boars to come along and be caught.

One might easily become disheartened when seeing how easy it is for an evil-minded person to cause the destruction of a field that is most promising; but this should not be so, because you must always remember that the good and kind-hearted spirits have provided you with a remedy for every evil. And so, if you see that there is something wrong with your farm, go and gather *balí-*, a kind of woody vine that grows in the forest and is covered all around with thorns that face the roots. As soon as any part of this vine is placed in your field, it immediately wards off all danger and transfers the latter to the farm of your neighbor. Then it is up to the latter to look out for himself. The same *balí-* has also the virtue to save you from being poisoned: it merely transfers the danger to somebody else.

All this goes to show that the career of an Isneg farmer is not as easy as it looks. Nevertheless he does not seem to mind, and he continues to live a care-free life. In Apayaw, the soil is usually fertile; plots that are exceptionally bad are easily detected by the presence of *anamág*-ferns, which thrive only on ground that is absolutely useless; and rainfall is abundant. Therefore the Isneg is able to raise almost any kind of plants at the expenditure of a minimum of exertion. Should incantations and evil imps haunt him, he has simple means to counteract their influence: his own magical practices and the help of the good spirits, his protectors. One thing, however, is of capital importance, namely his yearly rice crop; if it fails him, ruin stares him in the face.

And so we have come to the most important part of this treatise: rice.

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Ne uwámo pílăy dímo as-assăyán dăyá ammăy dăyá isagaddán[19] (Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you do not lessen the rice of the people).

Ne uwámo ílăy ta batbattuzánnă- (Here, this is yours, Ilay, so that you be satiating me).

The text of these formulas was given me by men from Dangla (O dialect, Main branch), the last one by *Lampá*, the others by *Púlog*.

Whatever I have said of the *Pílăy* so far applies to the majority of Apayaw villages. Nevertheless in a few agglomerations, the *Pílăy*, instead of being loved and invoked with religious awe, are loathed and execrated by the inhabitants, who do everything in their power to drive them away. This seeming anomaly may be easily accounted for in the following way. It has been said in a preceding paragraph that some *Pílăy* steal rice in order to increase the harvest of their devotees; consequently there must be somebody somewhere whom they are in the habit of robbing, and the victims can do nothing else, of course, but resent it tremendously. Therefore we find Isneg who use this or a similar ceremony in order to make the *Pílăy* decamp: they go to the bushes, near some tree, and, holding a receptacle for lime (*agapúzăn*) in one hand, they recite the following prayer. My informant, *Dagámi*, a Bayag woman (O dialect), gave it this title:

Makpídut Pílăy (To extract Pilay[20])

[19] *Púlog*, my informant, gave "people, men" as the meaning of *isagaddán*. According to most of my informants, *isagaddán* (never pronounced *isazaddán*) means: members of the Christian tribes, especially the Kagayan and the Iloko; while *ibaññán* means: natives, Isneg. In prayers, however, *isagaddán* mostly stands for "the people who offer a sacrifice, who pray, who seek protection from the spirits". Actually these terms are rarely or never used in ordinary conversation. Now, taking everything into consideration, I cannot help believing that originally the term *isagaddán* stood for something like "the faithful, those who pray, those who offer a sacrifice, the devout, the initiated, etc.", while *ibaññán* meant "the outsiders, those who are invited to a sacrifice, the uninitiated, etc.", and that later on the term *isagaddán* came to be applied to those tribes (Kagayan, Iloko) who were recognised by the Isneg as possessing a culture (perhaps) and a power (certainly) superior to their own, and the term *ibaññán* to themselves. With the advent of Christianity, these terms would then have become obsolete in ordinary speech, and the terms Ibanag (Christians) and Isneg would have taken their place. Even now the term Ibanag for "Christian" is becoming more and more obsolete: to the Isneg of the younger generation Ibanag means Kagayan, and the other Christian tribes are known by their own tribal name.

[20] *Pídut* usually means "extracting the sickness from someone's body". In Iloko *pídut* means "picking up".

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Umarăy-ā́yka[21] *iddí ā́yo wennó tańtā́ń ta pumā́nawkańin; no atā́n din mańikkám a iddí magálitka ma-dín; káńka*[22] *tumā́liyin kiyā́- ńa nagganăyā́nmo* (Crawl on this tree or in this small calabash[23] so that you go away now; if somebody takes hold of[24] this you should move;[25] do not come back any more to me from whom you came).

Besides the *Pílăy* and some other spirits, which will be accounted for in due time, there are three more protectors of the rice fields in general, namely: *Maxammám*, who helps to guard the *kómān*, *A-néb* and *Parrág*. The last usually resides in the rice field, but he follows the Isneg into his hut (in the field) whenever it rains, and, if his protection is duly acknowledged, he never fails to lend a helping hand to the reapers, so that their exertions may be crowned with success. *A-néb* is a spirit who lives at the edge of the rice field; his influence depends on the attention that is paid to him by the owner of the field in question.

Pokól from Bayag (O dialect) furnished me with the following prayer addressed to the spirits who reside in the *kómān*. While it is recited, rice should be thrown into the field:

Ne ma- maggiyā́n ki lusá- ta ma-mā́gān (Here then, the one who resides in the soil, so that it become good).

Not all spirits, however, are well intentioned; a good many of them are malevolent imps who, if left unmolested, bring nothing but harm to the rice fields in which they have taken their abode.

Again I am indebted to *Dagámi* from Bayag for the text of a kind of exorcism used to drive away evil spirits from the *kómān*. She prefaced it:

Maggiyā́n ka ómān (Those who reside in the rice field).

Daxăyó maggiyā́n iyá ómān ńa aníto maglińádkăyo (You, spirits who reside in the rice field, hide).

Up till now I have only given a few general hints to the Isneg farmer in order to help him in the raising of a good crop of rice. From now on I shall explain in detail how he has to proceed, beginning

[21] The initial U is scarcely audible.

[22] Shortened for *bakkáńka*.

[23] Used for storing lime.

[24] In ordinary speech *mańikkám* means "to get the *ikkóm*", the amount of rice harvested in one day; here its meaning is much less restricted.

[25] Towards him, leaving me.

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the latter being usually the most plentiful, over a small space called *tálon*. This *tálon* is generally not much larger than one square yard, and so the first day's work is finished within a comparatively short time.

Besides the observances that are usual for all kinds of work, and which have been mentioned previously, here are a few practices that are peculiar to the *mañumá* (clearing), which it is good for the Isneg to heed. And so, before beginning to cut anything, he should perform the ceremony called *sapsapó*. This consists in strewing a certain amount of ashes, brought along for this purpose, first to the left, then to the right, and finally behind his back, in order to avoid, if not the approach, at least the bites of mosquitoes for the entire duration of the *mañumá*. Besides, if he is a careful man, he will have provided himself with one or more of the following: *alimbódo, anagláw, talésăy*. The *alimbódo* is a kind of herb that keeps you from any kind of harm, from anything that might hurt you, provided it be placed at the spot where you begin your work. The *anagláw* is a low herb with comparatively long leaves, that grows all over the district, and is put down at the same place as the preceding, for the benefit of the worker and his *kómăn*. The *talésăy* also is a small herb, and serves the same purpose as the *anagláw*, but it is found only in forested areas. At the same time the following prayer may be recited. The text was given me by *Yadán* from Nagbabalayan (O dialect, K branch).

Dinakami palpalagmán kiyá sipăt năyá inanmăyán (Do not disobey us at the clearing of the rice field).

Now pronounce the word *óka* or *póka*, and begin attacking the bushes. This word should be pronounced every day before the first stroke of the hatchet, until the whole field is cleared. Its pronunciation will help you to go up the slope in a lively way and to finish the work quickly. Should somebody come along and pronounce the same word, while you are busy cutting the bushes, its pronunciation will have the same effect, making the work easy for you.

The next day, that is the day after the *tálon* has been cleared, the Isneg *zumowáń*, which means that he stays at home and does nothing: he makes it a holiday (*ńílin*). Woe to him if he infringes this taboo. What would befall him, nobody really knows, as it has never happened yet that this holiday was not kept: no Isneg willfully disobeys any of the customs of his people, and this special taboo is known by everybody.

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its preparation. In case he were not, he would be wise enough to invoke the help and counsel of other men, who are always willing to offer their services in this respect.

But I believe I am anticipating, and so let us begin with the beginning. The *taxímmatón* or sign for the *si-dúg* or burning of the fields is the *lumbá-*, a tree mentioned before, when it is covered with fruits. This generally happens in April or, at the earliest, about the end of March.

Should it happen that one of the trees that were left standing in the *kómān*, is inhabited by *Dandg*-spirits, the Isneg, before beginning to burn his field, goes and looks for a *bátań*, a kind of rather large bracket fungus in the shape of an ear, very hard and not edible, that grows on trees. This he hangs somewhere in the tree inhabited by the *Dandg* in question, with the inevitable result that the latter get frightened and either decamp or, at least, leave the owner in peace.

Before applying the torch, the Isneg pronounces the word *sílām* so that all canes and branches be nicely burnt and there remain as little residue as possible. If he fails to pronounce this magic term, he might have to spend several days in gathering and burning the remainder of the rubbish.

Let us now make the acquaintance of a spirit who is a big help to a farmer in possession of a field under clearance. His name is *Alipugpúg* and he occasionally shows his presence in the *kómān* in the shape of a little whirl of wind or eddy (which is also the meaning of his name), that causes leaves and small twigs to whirl around. If he is seen playing in the rice field at any time after the *si-dúg* or burning, this presages a lusty and robust growth of plants. Never forget though that the day following the appearance of this favorable omen must be kept as a holiday: you must stay at home and stop all work, whether you be man or woman.

In case *Alipugpúg* shows himself immediately after the burning of the field, with the fresh ashes turning in a circle, go immediately to meet him and get some of the whirling ashes, applying them to your forehead, as a prophylactic against the headache. Then, on the next day, observe the customary holiday.

And now the Isneg farmer may contemplate with pride the result of his exertions. The field is almost ready for the women to start their work: nothing remains but a few dry half-burnt sticks scattered all around, a few heaps of partly consumed canes of bamboo grass, and

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243 Once the rice field has been abandoned, after the rice has been stored in the granary, the *sízây* also is completely neglected. It is not wilfully destroyed, but it is simply allowed to fall into ruin by decay. The place where such a hut was standing in former times is called *nagsizâyan*.

243 189 Before going over to the next work of importance, the *ballât* or weeding, I shall set down a few rules for the preservation of the field, so that the paddy may thrive, foes may be kept at bay, etc. Some of these rules are of general import for the well-being of the *kómân*, whatever the stage of growth of the rice; others are especially intended for a field that has not yet been weeded. Rules that have to do more directly with a rice field that has passed the *ballât* (weeding) stage will be treated in their proper place.

All Isneg farmers should have an intimate knowledge of the different kinds of amulets that may be placed in a rice field in order to keep it in fine shape, because, without them, their own practical exertions will rarely be sufficient. These amulets are:

Leaves of the *anaṅá kapónân* (literally: raincoat of the *Kapónân* spirits), a kind of rattan, useless for tying purposes: its leaves are whitish at the lower side, and it grows in forests. One of these leaves, when placed in the *kómân*, strengthens the young palay and causes it to grow up into robust stalks.

The *taza-lig*, a low herb, growing almost anywhere.

The *aṅgipxípi*, a herb some two feet tall, growing in forested areas.

The *surní-*, another small herb, found all over the district. It also serves for an amulet in the granary.

The *unât anito* (literally: sugar cane of the spirits), a kind of grass resembling sugar cane, but with a very hard stem yielding no sugar. It may be met with in abandoned gardens, and should be planted (living) in the rice field, all around the *sízây*-hut.

Except the *unât anito*, none of these amulets is planted in the rice field; they are simply placed somewhere in the *kómân* and left there to die and to decay. The same rule applies to the amulets that will be enumerated in the following pages, apart from exceptions that will be especially noted.

Other amulets have a medicinal value:

If your palay is dying and threatened with destruction, use the *dalapnât*, a low herb with very small round leaves, growing almost anywhere.

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If the young palay becomes yellowish and dies all over the field, stick *tazañlappúg* (or *tazanappúg*) in the ground. This is the name of the leaves of the *ditán*, a kind of fragrant rattan.

If your rice plants are not looking strong and start withering all around, have recourse to the *sárut*, a herb some six inches tall, that grows in the forest.

Palay whose leaves are becoming dry may be cured by placing a piece of the bark of the *maradanipgá*-tree in the field. This tree, which has very large leaves, may be met with almost anywhere.

Whenever the growth of your rice is bad and is not what it should be, you have the choice between the *anappúl*, a sturdy herb growing in forested areas, and the *balluwát*, a herbaceous vine with a very thorny stem and small leaves, which is found in almost any place. The *balluwát* may be used in two ways: it is either planted (whether it remains alive or dies afterwards has no bearing on its curative value) or crushed and scattered in the *kóman*.

If up till now you have always been blessed with an abundant harvest and you foresee that in the present instance the outcome will be very different, get some *talóbas* from the forest and place it in your rice field, in order to bring back your customary good luck. The *talóbas* is a herb, some eight inches tall, with rather small leaves.

Now let us see what can be done to prevent or to counteract the depredations of animals.

When your palay has been attacked by worms or insects, get some *añlattóñ*, a herb some eight inches tall, bearing white flowers and thriving in taro fields, mix it with *bási*, an alcoholic beverage obtained from the juice of the sugar cane, and sprinkle this mixture over your field. Worms will die and insects will be driven away.

Should insects have started destroying your rice, use the *láxib* amulet; this is a low herb with small elongated leaves that can be found almost anywhere.

Wild boars are driven away by either of these two: the *palég*, a low herb with small leaves, very fragrant, growing on trees, or the *pádin*, a herb some six inches tall, found almost anywhere, and bearing sweet-scented flowers.

Should a deer have come repeatedly to browse in your paddy, call a shaman and ask her to come to the rescue. She will fetch some *rixad* herbs, place them in a very small *báña*-jar, and twist three strips of cloth, one red, one black, and one white, around the neck of the jar.

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243 Then accompany her when she goes to place it in your field: the next
787 time that deer comes again, it will die inside your *kómān*.

The *sakórāń* is a section of a bamboo stem that has been split at the top into many narrow strips, which in turn have been spread open so as to take the shape of a funnel. A *sakórāń* is very often stuck upright in the center of a rice field in order to frighten away wild boars and deer. It is even more effective if you furnish it with an herb, some twelve inches tall, also called *sakórāń*, and growing in forested areas.

131 The worst enemy of your field, however, is the locust (*dódon*; young
787 locust: *annón*), and this subject needs a more extensive treatment.
243 Swarms of locusts have infested the district, every four or five years, ever since the occupation of Apayaw in 1913, and whenever they pass at the time of the year when rice fields are clothed in green, which is usually the time when they do, it means famine for the country. These pests clip the paddy (*ratudán*) as nicely as a lawn mower, so that nothing remains but the *ratúd* (what remains after the grass has been cut close to the ground), and the field is *naratudán*. What has been left untouched is called the *íńāb* of the locust.

Everybody knows that prevention is better than cure, and so, in order to save your field from the alighting of the locusts, whose presence has been ascertained in the district, make immediate use of one or both of the following amulets: the *anódon*, a creeping herb found in almost any place, which, when placed in the *kómān*, prevents it from alluring the locusts; leafy branches of the *alsít*, a hesperidious shrub bearing small bitter fruits, not larger than a fingerlet, and growing in forests: when stuck in the soil of your field, they keep the locusts at a distance.

In case they are already very near, you may have recourse to either or both of the following expedients:

Place some *tagága* (Bayag pronunciation) in your field to prevent them from alighting. The *tagága* is an asclepiadaceous vine, clinging to trees, and much used for decorating purposes: its opposite leaves growing close together on both sides of the stem give it the appearance of a thick ribbon, deeply indented all along its edges.

Go and put *takkír álig* [35] in the place where the locusts are for the moment, so that they fly away out of your own neighborhood. The *takkír álig* is a low herb that grows in forests.

[35] Literally: with which the *álig* drives away its companions. The *álig*-bee is supposed to keep ants at a distance.

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Should they come along anyhow, either through negligence on your part, or because you have been taken unawares, as soon as they start alighting in your field, take a *balandán*-blanket,[30] thrust one of its corners in the end of a long pole, which you have split for the purpose, and erect this improvised flag somewhere in your *kómān*. The higher the pole the easier it will be to frighten the locusts away. If there is no pole at hand, tie the blanket to the top of one of the trees that have been left standing, provided it be a tall one. This stratagem is called *magdattág*.

Once the locusts have taken possession of your rice field, the only way to drive them off is to throw *aksumég* (Bayag pronunciation) among them: this is a low herb with small hairy leaves that grows all over the district.

Here in Apayaw the Isneg do not live close enough together to be able to imitate the inhabitants of other parts of the Mountain Province, where large groups of people, equipped with small nets, go to attack the enemy. But, after all, these expeditions are rarely very effective, and usually the only result, perhaps the most important in the eyes of the improvident natives, is the catching of a large amount of viands without any cost and with comparatively little trouble. The Isneg also considers a locust as a dainty and may for a few days look with dry eyes on the disaster that has been wrought in his beloved *kómān*, only to expiate later on by a prolonged fast the few happy hours of satiated gourmandizing

But let us revert to our rice fields, and see how the Isneg tackles the problem of defending them against the jealousy of his neighbors, who either use natural means to destroy the paddy, which they rarely dare to attempt, or resort to occult powers to play havoc in a *kómān*, which is of much more frequent occurrence.

If you mix the barks of the *pannó*, a forest tree, and of the *karrán*, a leafless plant, some twelve inches tall, growing in forests (the name means "scaring away"), and place this mixture in your field, the person who ventures to harm your crops, will die instantly and without any previous illness, as soon as he gets home.

If, instead of the barks, you use *annoná*, a low herb growing in forests, the villain will be killed in an accident.

Now it may happen that you think about it only after some harm has been done already. In such a case insert a *binusíran*, a kind of

[30] Indigo, ornamented with purple thread at the seams.

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243 754 *mandíi* bead,[27] in the soil of your *kómān*, and very soon the culprit's eyes will become swollen, so that he cannot hide his guilt any longer.

243 789 If you happen to know that your enemy is the owner of the field next to yours, the best way to take your revenge is to place *da-líg-* herbs in the patch of uncleared ground that separates both your fields: after that his crops will be tampered with instead of yours.

These are the plants which are the most frequently placed in a neighbor's *kómān* with the purpose of injuring the rice crop:

The *agdadál*, a climbing plant, that grows in thickets of bamboo grass, and bears white flowers resembling those of the *pulút* (a middle-sized forest tree) and brown fruits: it renders a rice field absolutely valueless. The name itself is indicative of the effect it produces: "destroying".

The *taxa-siyát*, a creeping herb, found on level ground: placed in a neighbor's field without his knowledge, it allures noxious animals to come and ravage the crop.

The *anappudappúg*, a low herb, found in abandoned gardens: it causes the rice to *magdappúg*, "stop growing and die".

The *dalañidáñ*, a low herb with yellowish leaves, growing almost anywhere: it causes the young paddy to grow yellow and wither.

The *assáp* or *kassáp*, another low herb with the same habitat as the preceding: it causes the death of the palay in the whole field.

Here is a rather innocent means to get the better of one's competitors: the *battoál*, a little herb that grows in forested areas and bears white flowers, when placed in a *kómān*, causes the latter to yield a better harvest than a contiguous field. This amulet is obviously of no value to isolated *kómān*.

3. WEEDING AND SUBSEQUENT CARE OF THE RICE FIELD

243 In the months of July and August we have the *agbablát*, which means "the time of the *ballát*, the time of weeding". At this time of the year the young palay is cleaned thoroughly, lest it be choked by useless weeds (*kaddát*). Plants that start sprouting only after the *ballát* has been finished will never be able to catch up with the growth of the paddy, and so will do it no harm.

With the *umá* (clearing), followed by the *si-dúg* (burning), and the *toonó* (planting), this is the most important work that precedes the

[27] The *mandíi*, which is a very precious kind of bead, at least in the eyes of the Isneg, has the shape of a small cylinder consisting of two almost equal parts, one of them more or less blackish, and the other of a much lighter color.

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825 The *pāyakán*, a kind of winged ant, that builds its nest preferably in clusters of young bamboo grass. This insect is edible, and even considered as a dainty by the majority of the Isneg.

The *ag-agammáy*, a kind of mantis, mentioned before. If you get hold of it at the time of the *ballát*, take its neck between your fingers, turn it with the legs upwards, and say: "*Pizá ya ammáy-o* (How much palay will I have?)." If it moves one leg, it means *mǫ́po* (one hundred *isiń*-bundles); if two legs, *duwá ńǫ́po* (two hundred bundles); if it moves all its legs, it means *annám ńǫ́po* (six hundred bundles). One hundred *ńǫ́po* is *matúńal* (ten thousand bundles).

796 At this time of the year one should beware of the spirit *Dalánap*, who kills people during the *agbablát* (weeding time).

243 789 As soon as the weeding is over, place some *ibasán* in your field, so that the paddy grow up into sturdy and robust stalks. The *ibasán* is a kind of grass that resembles the sugar cane, but yields no sugar, and grows in abundance all over the district.

After that make a minute inspection of the whole field, and cut down all weeds that may have been overlooked. This second cleaning is called *manábal*, a term also used to mean "putting the finishing touch to the *umá* (clearing the ground)", as has been mentioned before.

The *agbablát* (weeding time) is followed by the *dawdáwat*, when people occupy themselves with the weaving of baskets (*magláza*). Although this business may be accomplished at any time of the year, nevertheless the period that elapses between the *agbablát* and reaping time, is the most suitable, and consequently it has been set aside by custom for that kind of work, and it has been given a special name: *dawdáwat* or *aglaláza*.

All through the *dawdáwat* a diligent Isneg does not fail to *magso-bán* (a term never used for the same kind of work done before weeding time) or go and see if perchance some palay has been harmed through one cause or another. Indeed from now on everything depends on the vigilance of the farmer, as a legion of enemies are ready to pounce upon the field, especially at the time the ears begin to form. But let us not anticipate.

When the paddy is about half grown, it is advisable to place some *apniyán kapónan* in the field, in order to cause the rice to reach its full height quickly and also to keep away harmful insects. The *apniyán kapónan* is a kind of rattan whose bark is reddish and whose leaves are very white underneath.

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If some stalks of palay at this same stage of growth seem affected by the heat of the sun and threaten to wither and die, plant a *ratúb* in the middle of the field and everything will come out all right. The *ratúb* is a kind of headless *bólo*-bamboo (Schizostachyum mucronatum, Mack.), namely one that was found headless before it was cut, for instance one whose top had been blown off by the wind.

Should the paddy be very weak and a good many stalks have fallen down already, put some *xánăy* among the latter, so that they will rise again and be able to ear at leisure. The *xánăy* is a sturdy kind of grass that grows in forests and reaches a height of two yards; its leaves are covered with hair and comparatively very broad.

Palay that is overhanging a path along the field, without being protected by a fence, should be kept upright by means of a *săysáy*, which consists of bamboos tied at a convenient height to a few sticks stuck in the ground, at regular intervals, all along the path. The *săysáy* prevents the rice from being spoiled, for instance by being trampled upon by passers-by.

In order to cause the paddy to flower quickly, it is advisable to place *amusabúsa-* in the *kómăn*. This is a grass that grows in the forest and is some fifteen inches tall; its leaves are red underneath, and its inflorescence resembles those of the ditch millet and of the joint grass.

As soon as the ears start flowering, wrap a *pantád* in a piece of cloth, and tie it to the first flowering palay you come across. The *pantád* is a kind of branchless madrepore that must be fetched from the seashore.

When preparing rice pudding at this time of the year,[1] a part of the same should be offered (*pisi-*) to the spirits, while reciting the following prayer. The text was given me by *Umilá* from Abbil (O dialect).

Ne ma- awámo abulbulón ditálon ta día umad-adamní kiyá ómănko (Here then, this is yours, companion of the jungle fowl, so that you be not approaching my rice field).

The Isneg distinguish four stages of the rice when it is earing, namely:

Mazabu-sít: "To be pregnant" (also said of animals), when the ears are still covered, but their presence is already clearly apparent.

Mazabótog: when the ears are peeping out, but as yet without spreading.

Nabuyág: when the ears are spreading and ready to flower.

[1] [i.e. weeding time, August -- Analyst]

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243 *Nadâtag*: when the whole field is covered with ears and the palay
1789 is beginning to ripen.

From now on new enemies are making their appearance, and it is the duty of every Isneg farmer to know them and to learn how to frustrate their evil-intentioned endeavors.

The first to appear at this season are the stinkbugs, who empty young ears of rice by sucking out their milky grains. These bugs, when numerous, are able to ravage within a short time the most promising field of palay. When you remark that your paddy *maxalixa* (is attacked by stinkbugs), get a bamboo tube of *bási*-beer, *aúlattáń*-herbs, and a small chick, mix the *aúlattáń* with the *bási*, place the tube and its mixture somewhere in the center of your *kómăn*, and tie the chick next to it. After one night go and bring back the chick, which must remain alive, and leave the tube where it is. This is a sure remedy against stinkbugs and their depredations.

Then we have several kinds of rats:

The *dasság*, a large rat, resembling a vole or field mouse, but with a long tail; it lives in the bushes, and is very destructive.

The *du-măg*, another large vole or field mouse, said to be a spirit, which, when very big, the Isneg are afraid to kill.

The fruits of the *pa-li*, a kind of slender and very hard spiny bamboo; when dropping on the ground, these fruits change into mice, not larger than a finger, and completely destroy the neighboring fields.

To exterminate these pests, get *latúb*, a low herb that may be found almost in any place, and put a whole plant somewhere at the foot of one of the rice stalks. With this one *latúb* the whole field will be protected, and all rats and mice that dare gnaw any of your palay will be killed.

243 After the rats come the birds, two kinds of which are especially
857 destructive:

The *ballit*, a very small passerine bird with a short white bill and brown-red plumage; it is very gluttonous and usually appears in large flocks.

The *sigkarán* (so called from its cry), also a passerine bird, and almost as much be feared as the preceding.

To frighten them away, scarecrows should be put up all through the field. Any kind will do: old rags, long strings stretched over the paddy, empty tins making noise when moved by the wind, etc. But

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these are rarely sufficient, as the birds are usually very numerous and they soon get used to what they feared at first. So the only real remedy consists in watching the field and driving the birds away by shouting (*makasáraw*), by throwing missiles at them, by pulling strings that set scarecrows in motion, etc. This is of course a very tedious process and it would take much valuable time, were it not that it can be done by the children, without any trouble on the part of the parents, except that of going now and then to see if the youngsters are not napping. The latter, however, generally enjoy this kind of a job, and get lots of fun out of it, the more so that they usually find leisure to obtain an occasional dainty, either by hunting for it in the near-by forest, or by pilfering it from an adjoining garden. Besides, they are rarely alone, and a group of Isneg boys and girls is never at a loss to find amusement in some kind of game or play, in order to fill up the time between an occasional shout, the throwing of a pebble, or the pulling of a string connected with scarecrows. The latter contrivance is one of the most convenient, as it allows the watchers to lie down, when they grow tired: the only thing for them to do is to attach the end of the string to one of their toes and to move the leg from time to time.

It also happens that the ears of rice are attacked by the *duńgali*, a kind of smut fungus; but fortunately this occurs very rarely and always in rather isolated cases, which is probably due to the Isneg system of farming: fields that are scattered and are never planted with rice twice in succession.

Finally we have the most cunning of all foes, man.

A passer-by may become envious of your splendid crop and, full of spite at your prospective luck, nip (*maybu-sil*) one of the young kernels, without detaching it from its ear. Such a proceeding causes the *kómān* to be ravaged by birds.

Or a woman who has little rice herself, may be coveting yours, and stick some *aúrappút*-herbs in your field, pouring coconut oil all around them. In this way she causes your palay to disappear and to be lost to you.

When damage has been done in your rice field by evil spirits, you should go and plant a spear in it, offer *inapúxān* (betel for chewing) and pray:

Italná-ko ya orúńān ta dumálo ya atoná dăyá mańrawát (I drive the shaft [of a spear] into the ground so that the poison of the destroying spirits gather here).

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243 782 415 Then the *síxăy*-hut has to be looked over, and if anything is wanting, it must be brought in. In each *síxăy* there should be a *dapúg* or hearth, with fire (*apúy*), but no taxâñ (three stones for supporting cooking utensils), as no cooking is done there.

A mortar (*altóñ*) and one or more pestles (*alló*) must also be present, but the former may find its place at the outside.

Before the harvest begins, the following objects have to be brought to the *síxăy*:

The *subná-*: a bunch of betel nuts and one of betel leaves (no lime). The *subná-* is put down on the floor of the hut, near the fire, and every day, as long as the harvest lasts, some part of it is used for the *inapúxăn* (betel for chewing) of the spirits.

A *patuxáw*: a large basket (ordinary type: square bottom, round rim) for storing the *xúput* or immature rice and the rest, that has been collected in the *arín*-baskets of the reapers, mentioned above. It is placed near the fire, and people are absolutely forbidden to walk over it, on pain of causing the spirit (*kaduduwá*) [29] of their rice to leave and to go over to someone else's rice. At each meal eaten in this hut, at harvesting time, the Isneg place *inapúxăn* and a few ears of palay in the *patuxáw*. This basket is not removed from the *síxăy* till after the harvest, when the *inapúxăn* it contains is thrown away, and the palay is roasted over the fire, pounded and eaten.

Last but not least, the *aligmamán*. Strictly speaking, the *aligmamán* is a small basket of the ordinary type (square bottom, round rim), and is of daily use for storing betel, lime and so on. In the *síxăy*-hut, however, it is used for storing amulets, and the name *aligmamán* is given to any kind of small basket, whether the *aligmamán* proper or some other one, for instance the *sinalimbáñ*, which is a kind of small fancy basket of different shapes, made from sundry materials, and consequently rather ornate. At the beginning of the harvest, and later on, at any time, as long as palay is being cut in that particular field, amulets are placed in the *aligmamán*, so that very soon there is a whole assortment of them. They may be chosen from the following list:

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Xippaxippáw: A kind of herb placed in the *aligmamán* on the first day, before any reaping has been done.

Karráñ: A leafless plant, mentioned before. A whole basketful of these is placed in the hut on the morning of the first day of the

[29] The same term is used for the spirit of man.

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harvest; it is thrown away when the palay is transferred to the granary.

Pamaldóń: A low herb with small leaves, found almost anywhere, to be placed in the *aligmamán* at the beginning of the harvest.

Barăyábăy: A kind of herb, some eight inches tall, growing in forests. Wrapped in a piece of cloth and placed in the *aligmamán*, it dispels rain.

Mámaw: A kind of herb, some two feet tall, with red leaves. When placed in the *aligmamán* with the preceding (not wrapped), it causes rainfall. If you wish the rain to stop, throw it out.

Burińgŏt: A herb that causes the reaping to go on nicely.

Dugsú-: The dayflower (Commelina sp.). It increases the harvest.

Xaddáto: A low herb, found almost anywhere. It causes the increase of the palay that is being reaped.

Doxódog: A herb, some eight inches tall, growing in the forest. It causes the increase of the palay.

Paxăypáy: A mosslike plant (Selaginella sp.). It causes the increase of the palay that has been grown.

Aboká: A low herb, with yellow flowers, found in reedy areas.

Alipánăy: A low herb, growing in forests.

Anipńúd: A low herb, found in the forest.

Áńgoáń: A kind of grass, whose stalks never grow close together.

Áńdy: A low herb, with comparatively long leaves, to be found in forested areas.

Apigpigkó: A kind of creeping herb, with small orbicular cuplike leaves, growing all over the district.

Apitpít: A low herb, found in gardens.

Asu-ráw: A low herb, with needlelike leaves, found in reedy areas.

Leaves of the *bádo taxokó-* (literally: "coat of the *taxokó-*", a bird): A middle-sized forest tree; the leaves are red underneath.

Balsáńan: A herb, some five inches tall, found in the forest.

Barániw: A kind of herb.

Basáńal: A creeping herb, with small red leaves, found in gardens.

Bawigăn (Bayag pronunciation): A low herb, bearing only two leaves, red underneath; it grows all over the district.

Binakág: The sunflower (Helianthus sp.).

Daxádag: Rice straw, remaining on the field after the harvest.

Dalimpáxo: A herb, some twenty inches tall, with small red flowers, growing almost anywhere.

Daraará-: A herbaceous vine, found in almost any place.

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Doxinây: A tall herb, growing in forested areas.

Kaddát agnâyan (literally: herb of the spirit *Agnâyan*): A small flowerless climbing herb, whose leaves look as if they were withered and dry.

Kaddát dalaxétân (literally: herb of the *dalaxétân*-bird): A low herb, growing almost anywhere.

Lixawás: A low herb, growing on river banks.

Liplipáw: A kind of herb.

Lumlumây: A low herb, found in grassy areas.

Maraawíg: A creeping herb, with yellow flowers, growing anywhere.

Marabarâyábây: A creeping herb, with very thick small leaves, found all over the district.

Maradaúraw: A herb, about two feet tall, with large leaves, growing in almost any place.

Maradíla: A creeping herb, with small tonguelike (hence its name: *díla*, "tongue") leaves, and small white flowers, growing on river banks.

Opépat: A very small herb, with white flowers, growing in rocky places.

Opépây: A shrub, with small shiny leaves, found in forests.

Paxaútúd: A low herb, with white flowers, growing all over the district.

Paxatpát: A creeping herb, with small shining leaves, climbing over rocks and stones.

Palabní: A very low herb, growing in the forest.

Parbuwây: A kind of herb, some twelve inches tall, growing in forested areas.

Patâyag: A herb, some ten inches tall, growing almost anywhere.

Pawpáw: A kind of forest tree, resembling the mango tree, but with fruits smaller than the cultivated mango.

Pâyáw: A herb, some eight inches tall, growing almost anywhere.

Puútân: A low herb, found in the vicinity of brooks.

Sisxixáwan: A kind of herb.

Taxalôpit: A herbaceous vine, found on river banks.

Taxasidát (Abbil pronunciation): A creeping herb with red-and-green leaves.

Takkág or *sakkág*: A kind of schizaeaceous fern (Lygodium sp.), differing from the *nito* (another Lygodium), especially in its uselessness for binding purposes.

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Takkág líńān or *kaddát líńān* or *kaddát ińáto* (literally: takkag or herb of the spirit Lingan, of the spirit Ingato): A kind of scandent vine, resembling the *takkág*, but with smaller leaves, found in rice fields long since abandoned.

Talló: A low herb, growing all over the district.

Taśtáń líńān (literally: Lingan's calabash for storing lime): A kind of fungus consisting in a white ball supported by a stipe, and parasitic on the stem of other plants.

Turátud: A kind of herb, some six inches tall, with very narrow leaves about two inches long, growing in rocky places.

Before going to the field to start reaping palay, the women have to *magdadn*, that is, to prepare everything the men need at home: they pound enough rice to last them until the end of the harvest, they gather vegetables for viands, leaves to be used for plates, etc., so that the men will have nothing to do but to cook for themselves and for their families, no real cooking being done in the *sízăy*-hut.

Here follow the names of most of the spirits who come around at this time of the year:[1]

Abád: Helps the reapers.

Abalád: *Inapúzān* (betel for chewing) is offered to him.

Aglalannawán: Helps the reapers.

Alipuńdán: Causes the reapers' toes to get sore all over and swell.

Ańáp: Kills people at the time of the harvest.

Ańát: A female spirit helping the reapers. If the women dream about her at night, they will offer her *inapúzān* in the *sízăy*-hut the next day.

Aúrizád: Increases the palay. Women often dreám about him; when they do, he tells them that they will reap nothing, but they know that it is just the contrary.

Arúriń: When the Isneg take their meals, if they fail to give this female spirit a share, they will not harvest anything.

Babalasińnúd: Lives in the *sízăy*-hut.

Bannít: Is angered by the failure of the Isneg to sacrifice a pig at the beginning of the harvest, in which case little rice is raised.

Binu-sílān: Helps the reapers.

Bońós: Is invoked by the shaman and comes at the sacrifice that takes place before the harvest.

Dagdagamíyán (Bayag pronunciation): A female spirit who makes children sick who play where people are busy harvesting.

Dalimán: *Inapúzān* is offered to him, lest he come near.

[1] [i.e. harvest time in December.--Analyst]

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Xinuúdăn: Is driven away at the beginning of the harvest, lest he come to measure the receptacles for palay, and the latter dwindle.

Magkáwăy: *Inapúxăn* is offered to him.

Magwáñag: *Inapúxăn* is offered to him.

Nappiyá: Spirits living in the rice field.

Palpálăd: *Inapúxăn* is offered to him.

Punáy: Resembles a bird. *Inapúxăn* is offered to him at the beginning of the harvest.

Sían: A companion of Pilay, at the time of the harvest.

Síbo: A good spirit; always accompanies the women when they are reaping, rain or sunshine.

Sildádo (from the Spanish *soldado*, "soldier"): Spirits resembling horses. If children play boisterously near the house, these spirits will cause the death of one of them.

Sípá: *Inapúxăn* is offered to him in the rice field, on the first day of the harvest.

Sipúút: *Inapúxăn* is offered to him, on top of the house ladder, at the beginning of the harvest.

Taxokó: *Inapúxăn* is offered to him.

A nameless female spirit living at the *Nanánan* brook, behind the mountains, on the opposite bank of the Apayaw river from Bayag. She counts the palay while wearing a raincoat; as soon as she is approached by any of the people who live there, she disappears.

When everything is in readiness, the Isneg proceed in the following way.

First of all, a pig is sacrificed, while a *dorarákit* or shaman *mazaníto*, "communicates with the spirits". During this ceremony, a leaf of the betel (*zawád*) is torn up and one of its shreds, called *binurían*, is placed near the hearth. One of the animal's legs (*lótub*) is placed in a small *báña* (earthen pot used for cooking rice, etc.), and the latter is put down on the floor of the granary (*álaś*).

The following prayer, whose text was given me by *Uwíl* from Bolo (O dialect, Main branch), is one of those that are recited during this sacrifice. The spirit is supposed to pronounce the words through the mouth of the shaman.

Mapáñko pĕ ya dordorerémăn yo maggiyán kadăyó isayaddán,[43] *to*

[43] Cf. footnote 19 supra. I think that the following free translation of this prayer comes very near to the meaning intended by the Isneg: I come to take my abode amongst you, my faithful people, lest you be bewitched by the other spirits (or: by the Christians).

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243 782 789 *mañsiñta pĕ ña mabalsiān kiyó am-ammowán dăyó ilañitān*[43] *ña isagaddán* (I shall go now to approach residing among the Christians, as we are afraid now to be made sick through the knowledge of the heavenly Christians).

Once this indispensable business has been duly attended to, an old woman, not necessarily a shaman, makes ready to arrange the *pinudóñ*, which will be explained presently. Before leaving the house, she offers rice pudding to the Pilay-spirit who resides on the *páza*-shelf above the hearth, and recites the following prayer, called *pisi-* (offering food, etc. to the spirits):

Ne uwámo ilăy ta batbattuxámmo ya an-añá-o, uwăámmo ka mabtúgda péyañ (Here, this is yours, Ilay, so that you satiate my children, make that they be always satiated).

The text of this prayer was obtained from *Uwil*, a Bolo man (O dialect, Main branch).

The same woman also takes a little of the new rice that has been toasted over the fire, and puts it in a small *bakóba-* (a dry calabash used for storing rice). Then she places the latter near the hearth, where it has to remain indefinitely; that rice is never eaten. The calabash with its contents is called *indág*.

In the meanwhile, a man has gone to bar with a *sarañásañ* the path that leads to the *kóman*, in order to warn all passersby not to approach the reapers. This barrier remains from three to five days, after which it is removed together with the taboo. There are two ways of building a *sarañásañ*:

One consists in placing two or three bamboo sticks spaced one above another, across the path.

The other way consists in fixing a single bamboo stick, provided at one end with an ax (*parakól*) and at the other end with a hatchet (*aliwá*), across the path.

At about 5 o'clock in the evening, the old woman proceeds to the field (*mañútud*) taking along the following objects:

A *damáxan*, a small basket, round and almost spherical.

A leaf of the *táraw* palm (a fan palm, probably a species of Livistona), that serves for a cover to the *damáxan*-basket.

One or more sections of *bulálaw* or *bokáñ* (two varieties of sugar cane).

A bunch of *takkág*-ferns, mentioned before.

[43] *Láñit* means: sky, heaven; *ilánit*: resident(s) of the sky, heaven, a class of spirits; *ilañitān*: heavenly, beautiful, majestic, etc.

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Some *namandandn* or sea sand, of which a certain amount is always kept in the house.

One internode of a *túboń* cane filled with sea sand. The *túboń* resembles the *bassáw* or bamboo grass, but its leaves are larger.

A few amulets that will be mentioned presently.

After she has arrived in the rice field, she places the *túboń*-internode filled with sand in the *sízăy*, and the *damázan*-basket with its cover and its contents of *takkág*-ferns, together with the sugar cane, behind the *sízăy*-hut. Then she goes to the stalks of rice that grow next to the *sízăy* and sprinkles them with the *namandandn*-sand.

Others, instead of sea sand, use *rabráb*, "sand gathered at the source of a brook"; in which case they wrap it in a piece of cloth, cut one stalk of rice, and tie both cloth and stalk to one of the posts of the *sízăy*.

In other places again, they use a *tupáń*, which consists in the lower section of a *túboń*-reed, whose upper part has been removed by accident, and whose hollow has been filled up with sand without the help of man. This they tie, by means of *takkág*-ferns, to a stalk of palay, together with the other objects that will be mentioned presently.

After the sprinkling of the rice with sand, the woman *marapaapág*, that is, she ties one or more of the following amulets to the nearest stalk of palay, at its base, using *takkág*-ferns for bands:

Inapúzăn, never omitted.

A-mám: A kind of hard black lichen growing on wet rocks.

Ańinamáy: A kind of herb. It is used with both palay and maize, and causes them to last long.

Taximbáńon: A kind of amaranthaceous plant, one yard tall, with dark-brown leaves, red underneath. It is extensively cultivated for ornamental purposes.

In case the woman happens to own more than one rice field, a stalk of palay is provided with *inapúzăn*, *takkág* and the rest, at the corner of each field. After the harvest, the ears of these stalks and the three bundles (*bgttá-*) that will be mentioned presently, are bound together by means of *takkág*-ferns, and placed in the granary before all other palay. This belongs to Pilay, it is the spirit of the rice; and, whenever an old granary is abandoned for a new one, Pilay's property is transferred to the latter. Even though it may have accumulated into a comparatively large amount, it is never consumed but always transferred from one granary to another.

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243 782 787 Each of the stalks just mentioned, and also each bundle (*battá-*) made from their ears, are both called *pinudóú*. The same name is also applied to the *damázan*-basket and the rest, behind the *sizáy*-hut. This third variety of *pinudóú* is prepared in the following way:

When the old woman is through with the ceremonies at the first stalk or palay, she harvests three small bundles (*battá-*),** and brings them behind the *sizáy*-hut. Here she lays the sugar cane on the ground, and superimposes the *damázan*-basket filled with *takkág*-ferns, among which she has thrust the customary *inapázan*. Then she arranges the three bundles of palay around the basket in such a way as to keep the latter in the middle.

I shall give here the names of a few more amulets, some or all of which may be used in this connection:

To be placed in the *damázan*-basket:

A *paggá*, a small brown pebble from the river; never to be omitted. After the harvest, when the palay is transferred to the granary, this *paggá* is put in a small *bánga*-jar, and placed in the granary. The same pebble is used every year for the same purpose, so that it is not necessary to get a fresh one from the river.

Tazalítau: A plant mentioned before.

To be tied to the first of the three *battá-* (bundles of the *pinudóú*):

An *abatbattág*-insect wrapped in a piece of cloth. This is a very small brown wingless insect that moves along jumping.

Amsiń: A low herb growing all over the district.

To be tied to, stuck in, or placed on the *pinudóú* (stalk, bundle or palay behind the hut):

Ańńodón: A herb some twelve inches tall, with white-and-blue flowers. When placed on the *pinudóú*, it brings heavy rainfall.

Ammodońón: A creeping herb with small white flowers, growing in the forest.

Ańigúc: A herb some four inches tall, found in forested areas.

Balásań: A kind of herb not growing at Kabugaw.

Dómžy: A low herb with small leaves, found all over the district.

Inindaggán: A plant, some four inches tall, with five or six red leaves, and flowers hanging down; it grows in dense forests.

Inugláy: A low herb with very small leaves and spiny fruits, growing almost anywhere.

** Four *battá-* equal one ordinary bundle or *ásá*. One hundred *ásá* or four hundred *battá-* equal one *dópu*.

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Marabatónit: A herb, some five inches tall, with white flowers; it resembles the globe amaranth, but has smaller leaves.

Takkág líñān: A plant mentioned before.

Tóyug: A very tall herb with white flowers and red fruits, found almost anywhere.

Turátud: A plant mentioned before.

One or more of the following amulets may be placed in the *sízāy*, on the floor:

Labní: A herb, some five inches tall, growing in forests. It increases the palay.

Ambág: A herbaceous vine with white flowers, found all over the district.

Labiyáñ: A low herb growing in forested areas.

Besides these, another amulet may be placed at random somewhere in the rice field, namely: the *maradúra-*, which is a herb some six inches tall and grows in forests.

While the old woman offers the *inapúxān* to the spirits, at the time of the preparation of the *pinudóñ*, she recites one or more or the following prayers. The texts were given me by *Lampá* from Dangla (O dialect, Main branch).

Ne uwám andáyo maggiyán ka tañaluxagtáp ka ñódo (Here, this is yours, Andayo, who reside in the [visible] sky above).

Iápugko ikáw ñilñilá dapán ta umad-adāyyóka (I offer betel [for chewing] to you, Yellow-soled [spirit], so that you be going away).

Iápugko ikáw maggiyán ka íli lixáyan ta dínā- balbalsiánan (I offer betel to you, who reside at the town of Ligayan, so that you do not make us sick).

Iápugko ikáw maggiyán ka laáy ta iddánā- ka bitté- ammáy (I offer betel to you, who reside at Laay, so that you give me a little rice).

Iápugko ikáw alindodóāy umáñmo ipóāy ya sinotónmo ña ammáy (I offer betel to you, Alindodoay, come and drop the rice you carried on your head).

After the completion of all these ceremonies in the *kómān*, the woman comes back home.

In Apayaw customs differ with regard to the time and the circumstances in which reaping is begun in earnest.

In most places, the Isneg start on the morning following the *pinudóñ*-ceremony, and reap palay for about an hour. The next day, they remain in the field until noon; and after that, they stay the entire day: this lasts until all rice has been cut.

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Isneg reapers usually provide themselves with amulets, which they place in their *túput* (pouch) tied around the waist. The following are noteworthy:

Leaves of the *banítug*, a kind of forest tree with smooth leaves and white flowers, whose fruits and young leaves are edible. They prevent the bearer from feeling the pangs of hunger.

Katálin: a herbaceous vine with thick leaves, growing on the banks of rivers.

Palamían: a low herb, found almost anywhere.

Other amulets may be placed on the *bańíbāń* (heap of rice) in the *síxăy*:

Ańímăy: A low herb, with small leaves and very hairy fruits, found all over the district.

Basáńal: A creeping herb, mentioned among the amulets of the *aligmamán*-basket.

Binóăg: A low herb with white flowers, growing in forests.

Iput butít (literally: rat's tail): A grass, some two feet tall, probably a species of Setaria,[62] found almost anywhere. It keeps the rats from playing havoc with the palay.

Xippaxippáw: Also mentioned among the *aligmamán* amulets. This herb is placed somewhere in the hearth, before the *bańíbāń* has attained a considerable size.

Panápil: A low herb with round leaves, growing all over the district.

Thorns of the *surní-*, a plant mentioned before. It bears seeds that point downwards (hence its name: "turned the wrong way").

A *tutúxan*, a kind of round red bead, must be placed under the *síxăy*-hut and covered with a stone.

The following amulets prevent the people from consuming a large amount of rice, when taking their meals at harvesting time:

Anampát: A creeping herb growing along brooks. It resembles the Bermuda grass, but its leaves are larger and greener. The Isneg wrap it in a piece of cloth and tie it around the *bakóba-* (calabash for storing *baggát*, "husked rice") or around the neck of a jar that contains the rice.

Tagalobná- (Bayag pronunciation): A herb, some six inches tall, with small leaves, found almost anywhere. This also is placed on the receptacle for rice.

[62] The Italian millet belongs to the same genus.

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261 The *anibgán*, a herbaceous vine with small leaves, growing all over 789 the district, is used as an amulet of the new rice pounded during the harvest.

252 And this leads us to the question of the *inixúbān* or roasted immature rice.

New rice is never pounded in the regular way, before reaping has been going on for several days and before *inixúbān* has been partaken of; and in many cases *inixúbān* is the only new rice that is eaten until the end of the harvest. It is of so much importance that reaping time is often referred to by the Isneg as the time of the *inixúbān*. At the same time, the natives consider the *inixúbān* as a kind of dainty: everybody, the adult as well as the child, eagerly awaits the season in which he may indulge in the roasting and eating of new rice, almost in picnic fashion.

The immature paddy and the detached ears and branches of ears that were gathered by the reapers in their *arín*-basket (tied at their girdle), and have been stored in the *patuxáw*-basket (in the hut), form the bulk of the palay used for roasting. To these are added all *bàttá*-(bundles) that were not sufficiently ripe to be exposed to the sun and stored up with the rest. All these are known collectively as *xúput*, before the roasting, and *inixúbān*, afterwards.

To prepare *inixúbān* or to *maúixub*, as the Isneg call it, the following things are needed: fire, which can always be got from the hearth, inside the *sixāy*, a certain amount of fuel, a *taddó*, and two *duwág*.

The fuel used at this juncture, invariably consists of *pattár*: dry canes of *bassáw* (bamboo grass, Miscanthus sinensis, Andr.) or of *sial* (Saccharum spontaneum, L.). Neither wood, nor any other material is allowed for the purpose.

The *taddó* is a kind of square basket, woven very clumsily from splints of green bamboo. It serves as a receptacle for the paddy that is held over the fire.

The *duwág* are two forked sticks, used for manipulating the *taddó*.

When the *xúput* has been roasted sufficiently, it is placed in a mortar (*altóú*) and pounded with a pestle (*alló*). The first time the *altóú* or mortar is used for pounding *inixúbān*, it must be provided all around with *takkág*-amulets (schizaeaceous ferns mentioned before). Besides, it is advisable to mix another amulet with the rice, namely the *ama-ba-nát*, which is a low herb and grows in forests.

Pounding is followed by winnowing (*magsáp*). When *inixúbān* is winnowed for the first time, the Isneg take some *do-ráw* (straw, what

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remains after pounding) and some *asáp* (husks, what remains after winnowing), and wrap them in a leaf; after they have come home, they hang the latter somewhere in the *balâwa* (place where they pound rice). The same is done when new rice (not *inixúbān*) is winnowed for the first time.

Then we have the *uglây*, which must be set apart before anything else, when *inixúbān* is being prepared for the first time. The *uglây* consists of at least three liters of *inixúbān* that have to be kept for the Pilay who resides in the house, near the hearth. After the harvest, however, human beings consume what the spirit has left.

Husked *inixúbān* that is not consumed immediately, is stored up in calabashes, the ordinary kernels in *bakóba-* (the usual receptacles for husked rice), the broken ones in *busiŋán* (a smaller kind of calabash). The latter must have *takkág*-amulets tied around the neck, and their contents are reserved for children to eat.

The Isneg eat the *inixúbān*[1] (*magdúm* or *manúm*) either with or without viands. Sometimes, especially when children are around, they put back in the mortar a certain amount of *inixúbān*, and pound it until it is reduced to powder; by mixing this flour with coconut meat, a kind of púdding (*limbá-*) is prepared that may be eaten either raw or cooked.

When you have been preparing *inixúbān* for the first time, this is the way to *magdúm* (to eat *inixúbān*): first, eat one mouthful of *inixúbān*, then pronounce the magic word *baríbarī*, and after that continue your meal in the ordinary way.

At this juncture one or both of the following prayers may be recited. The second one must be accompanied by an offering of some of the food (*maglappá-* or *magpísi-*).

Baríbarī di mapalpáli ya kanánmi (Baribari, our food is not easily consumed).

Baríbarī matugtugkíkami maggáni (Baribari, we harvest more and more).

Both texts were given me by *Yadán* from Nagbabalayan (O dialect, K branch).

The preparation of the *inixúbān* does not interfere with the usual routine of the harvest, and the reapers go on with their work until it is finished.

If you foresee that the amount of your palay will be very much smaller than that of other years, so that it will hardly be possible to

[1] [roasted immature rice. --Analyst]

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243 call it an *ápit*,[63] have recourse to the following expedient: when you
789 prepare *inapúxān*, do not take leaves of the betel pepper (*xawád*), but use young leaves of the *tabbág* (a species of Ficus) instead; this will cause your palay to increase notably.

When all your paddy has been reaped and the *bañíbāñ* (heap of palay) in your *síxăy* (hut) is complete, so that you are *nadanág* (all your fields having been harvested), you are allowed to cut the *dogdógo* (Bayag pronunciation), which consists of a certain amount of palay that has been left standing near the *síxăy*.

The *xañgán* (called *láda* in some districts) or palay that was left standing here and there all over the field, because it was not yet ripe when the reapers came along, may be cut (*tudtúdan, magtudtúd*) later on, as soon as it has matured sufficiently. A part of the *xañgán*, however, must be abandoned to animals and spirits; to cut it all, is tabooed.

243 As soon as the harvest is over, a new set of spirits come on the scene:
782 these are principally the *Daraxámi*, who knock on the *síxăy*-hut at night, when people are sleeping inside, so that the latter very often dream about them. Then there is *Maxablây* or *Xinablây*, who is fond of killing people at this time. An appropriate prayer to forestall the latter's machinations is the following. Its text was given me by *Daxidí* from Baliwanan (O dialect, Main branch).

Iápugko iyáw xinablây ta dínaami al-aluwây (I offer betel [for chewing] to you, Ginablay, so that you do not cut off any part of our body).

At this time of the year, the Isneg usually offer (*magpísi-*) food or *inapúxān* to those spirits that are most likely to exert some influence over them, whether for good or for evil. When such an offering is made at home, in the village, one or more of the following prayers may be recited:

Iápugko adaăyó idammán ta dídaami umán sidsidúñān (I offer betel [for chewing] to you, our enemies, so that you do not come under our house).

Iápugko adaăyó abulbulón magkálap ta dínaami tagtagōnoñán (I offer betel to you, companions of those that get products from another district, so that you do not reduce our sustenance).

Iápugko adaăyó ña aníto ta tagapōliyánnu nídí an-aná- ta masăyánkami no pagbíli ni uyína (I offer betel to you, spirits, so that

[63] The *ápit* is the amount of rice or of Indian corn that is reaped in one season, provided it be abundant; if scanty, it is never called an *ápit*.

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each end a pole (*isiw*),[69] which they carry on their shoulders (*mañagtó*).

Before starting on their journey, the carriers insert a few *dáziń*-herbs in the straw of their load of palay, in order to keep them from all harm. This is not a vain precaution, as there is at least one of the numerous evil spirits in existence, namely *Nasígu*, who is especially fond of annoying people who carry rice from the *síxăy* to the *álań* (granary). If he finds them unprotected, he gives them a thrashing by means of a stick which he is always carrying.

As soon as they arrive at the place of the granary (*álań*), the women empty their baskets and the men untie their loads, after which all bundles are piled up under the granary (*magdaligpán*).

Before the Isneg store their palay in the granary (*magpintá-*), they attend to the following:

Besides a few objects that ultimately find their place in the granary, as the *pinudóń*, the amulets taken from the *síxăy*, etc., and that have been mentioned before, they put inside:

Amintakkán (from *pintá-*, "storing palay in the granary"): A low herb with very small leaves. It is placed on the floor of the granary.

Daŋaará-: A vine mentioned before among the amulets of the *ăligmamán*-basket in the *síxăy*-hut.

Inóá: A kind of herb. It is tied around one of the posts, inside the granary.

Pannó (literally: fullness, filling), mentioned before among the amulets of uncut paddy. This amulet causes the granary to be filled with rice.

The *pamintakkán* (from *pintá-*, "storing palay in the granary"): The *pamintakkán* is a *battá-* (one fourth of an *ćsiń*) and the first of the rice just brought in that is introduced into the granary. It is provided with *takkág*-vines (schizaeaceous ferns, often mentioned before) and *tagaŋŕabón* (called *tagarabón* at Bayag), which is a kind of herb, some twelve inches tall, with very small leaves and white flowers, that grows in rocky places, along rivers and brooks, and prevents the rice from being consumed quickly. The *pamintakkán* is placed in one of the two corners of the granary that are farthest away from the door.

When the time has come for storing the palay in the granary, the owner, the man, climbs inside, and his wife, standing outside, hands

[69] A pole used for carrying loads between two persons is called *búlig*.

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him the bundles. Nobody else is allowed either to hand it in or to pile it up inside.

In a few places, however, either one of them, the woman or her husband, enters the granary, and anybody is permitted to handle the bundles outside; but the person who started piling the palay inside, must continue the work until it is concluded: nobody else is allowed to interfere.

When *inapúzăn* is offered to the spirits at this time, the following prayers may be recited:

Iápugko iáw iwazán ta umáńnă- sidúńăn (I offer betel [for chewing] to you, Iwagan, so that you come under my house).

Iápugko iáw xinadúlan ta umáńnă- tazasinnán (I offer betel to you, Ginadulan, so that you come to look after me).

Iápugko iáw pílăy ta umąńnă- pańitagtágkélăy ka ammáy dató adú wa ammáy (I offer betel to you, Pilay, so that you, limping, bring me rice from the large heaps of rice).[70]

Iápugko iáw duńgali ta umáńnă- pagpíli kadató ammáy atoní (I offer betel to you, Dunggali, so that you come to let me choose from the large heaps of rice there).

Iápugko iáw paluggatáń ta abulonánnaami (I offer betel to you, Paluggatang, so that you be our companion).

Iápugko iáw ańlabbán ta tarâyannă- ka ballán (I offer betel to you, Anglabbang, so that you prop me up with palma brava timber).

Iápugko iáw bákat ta ipa-bágmo to sóńăn[71] (I offer betel to you, Bekat, so that you give me[72] tuskers).

Iápugko iáw da-nág ta bakkámmo ta-bán dăyá álig (I offer betel to you, Da-nag, so that you do not cover the *álig*-bees).

My informant, *Băydán* from Tawit (O dialect, Main branch), told me that these eight prayers were pronounced consecutively when storing rice in the granary, when cutting off the head of a dog in sacrifices, etc. The last three, however, and perhaps a couple of others, seem to have nothing to do with the rice crop.

The Isneg always tie some *takkág* (schizaeaceaus ferns) around the *lappó* (literally: thigh) or thick part of one of the four posts of the granary, below the floor, in order to increase the palay stored up there.

[70] Rice you stole from those that have much rice.

[71] *Asóń* means: tusk of wild boar.

[72] In answer to my prayer. *Ipa-bág* from *tabbág*, "answering".

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243 There are a few other amulets that may be placed on the palay in
789 the granary, at any time:
782 *Aggassip*: A low herb with white flowers, found all over the district. It causes the rice to last long.

Amagpaggáñ: A herb, some twelve inches tall, with small leaves, growing in forests.

Anaxupgá: A herb, some twelve inches tall, with small leaves, red flowers and brown fruits. It is found in the forest and, placed in the granary, helps the owners to economize their rice.

Anúyug: A herb, some eight inches tall, growing in forested areas.

Indág: A low herb, found almost anywhere.

Rakkód: A herb, growing all over the district.

When all the rice has been garnered, a small *báña*-jar containing rice pudding is placed in the filled *álañ* (granary), as an offering to Pilay. It is called *túxan*, the same name as that of the food brought to the reapers by a man (*manúxan*) from the village.

Finally the Isneg close the door of the granary and provide it with *takkág*-ferns and *adás*-sedges (Scleria sp.), at the outside.

III. The Isneg Garden

241 The garden or *kadánan* is a plot of ground where some time in the past rice has been grown. No garden plants are raised on virgin soil; rice always precedes them. Sometimes the *kadánan* has already served that purpose for one or more years, sometimes it is merely a *kómān* or part of a *kómān* from which rice has just been harvested.

Except for the necessity of having palay precede all other plants, the possibility or probability of raising successfully some special kind of plant on a given plot of ground is the only determinant for the choice of a garden plot. The Isneg merely studies the nature of the soil and its adaptability to the growing of certain products, according to his own experience or that of his elders.

The Isneg garden is always surrounded by a fence, either the usual one (*abút*) or, in case the man is too lazy to make a regular fence, the *balakkuyit* (strips of bamboo stuck in the ground at both ends so as to form a series of arches).

To prepare a garden, the first thing to be done is to clear the ground (*mañadánan*). When the garden is built on level ground, this work is called *maxónut*, just as in the case of a *kómān*. If the garden is new, that is, if it is made from a rice field that has just been harvested, the bulk of the weeds consists of *daxádag* (rice straw) or *sápi* (after-

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hole, and the latter is provided with one part of a yam; after that the hole is filled up with earth. Almost any part of a yam, even parings, may be used for planting: the center, however, and the entire lower part are useless. In the case of *lo-tó*, usually the upper half of the tuber is thrust into the hole.

When the first yam has been planted and the hole duly filled up, the Isneg cover it with the half of a coconut shell, whose center has been cut out. No such precaution is taken with the subsequent ones.

When the vines die, this is a sure sign that it is time to dig up the tubers (*magsíkaw*; sometimes: *magtaggáp*, also said of gathering taro rhizomes). To cause the yams to last long, the Isneg woman places *takkág líñan*[1] next to the first yam she meets, when starting her work, and leaves the latter in the field: a practice similar to the one that is observed at the gathering of taro rhizomes. In the same way, if the first yam that is dug up, happens to be a small one, not a single large one will be found that day; therefore, it is best to stop the work and go home: the next day may bring better luck.

The number of yams varies from plant to plant, but it never exceeds five.

7. OTHER PRODUCTS OF THE ISNEG GARDEN

Here follows a brief enumeration of the vegetables (*taxílpá*) and other plants that are raised in the *kadánan* of the Isneg.

The *antá-* (Vigna sinensis [L.] Endl.), cowpea. Its green pods (*bísi-*), dried seeds (*bokál*), and young shoots (*otón*) are used for vegetables.

The *ítāb*, *ábas* or *tañíñi* (Phaseolus lunatus, L.), Lima bean.

The *ampilán* (Dolichos lablab, L.). Its green pods are used for vegetables.

The *balátón* (Phaseolus radiatus, L.), green gram.

The *pallá*, *pallán* or *pallát* (Psophocarpus tetragonolobus [L.] DC.), asparagus bean. Its green pods are used for vegetables.

The *maséti* (Cajanus cajan [L.] Merr.), pigeon pea.

The *sińkamás* (Pachyrrhizus erosus [L.] Urb.), turnip bean or yam bean. Cultivated for its fleshy roots; its green pods are used for vegetables.

The *amaní* (Arachis hypogaea, L.), peanut.

The *karabása* (sometimes wrongly called *kalabása* or *labása*; from the Spanish *calabaza*), (Cucurbita pepo, L.), squash or pumpkin. Its

[1] [a type of vine, see p. 337. -- Analyst]

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corn, but here it is usually reenforced with a *balakkuwit* (hoops of strips of bamboo).

Tobacco is sown in January or February, transplanted in March or April, and picked in April or May.

Tobacco seeds are sown (*magbonóbon*) in a small plot of ground set apart for the purpose. While the seeds are sprouting and the seedlings (*bonóbon*) are growing, the Isneg have ample time to prepare the field (*magbakáń*).

Besides the observation of the size of the seedlings, the natives possess a *taximmatón* or sign for transplanting tobacco in the ripening of the small red fruits of the *diñánay*, a herbaceous vine found all over the district.

When the time for transplantation has come, the seedlings are grubbed up (*magba-dút*) and brought to the *bakáń*. Here they are thrust into holes (*magtuná-*) bored in the ground mostly by means of the *itutuná-* (dibble). Whenever possible the Isneg women use *itutuná-* made from *tálań* (pitch pine), because its sweet odor is supposed to influence the aroma of the tobacco.

One or more of the following amulets should be placed next to the first seedling (*bonóbon*) that is being transplanted (*magtuná-*):

Apnás: A very low herb with round leaves; it grows almost anywhere.

Aróro-: A herb, some twelve inches tall, with small glossy entire leaves; it is found in rocky places.

Dalimag: A low herb; it grows in gardens.

Branches of *subráy*, a shrub with yellow-and-green leaves; it is cultivated for ornamental purposes.

Taxibáñon (incorrectly *taximbáñon*), *tagabáñon* (Bayag pronunciation) or *báñon*: An amaranthaceous herb, some three feet tall, with dark-red leaves, light-red underneath. It is cultivated for ornamental purposes, and planted (not simply placed) next to the first *bonóbon* in order to cause the tobacco leaves to take on the same hue and the stalks to grow strong. The same names sometimes refer to another amaranthaceous herb with small leaves of different colors, red, green and white, also cultivated and used for the same purposes, ornamental and magical.

To protect the tender seedlings from the scorching heat of the sun, they are covered with leaves of the *anitáp*, or, in places where the *anitáp* is taboo, they are surrounded by short sections of canes of

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bamboo grass stuck in the ground in a slanting way. The *anitáp* is a very common tree; its flowers are white.

It is customary to place *xappiddn* next to the last *bonóbon* (seedling) that has been transplanted, so that the tobacco may reach a strong and healthy growth. The *xappiddn* is a herb, some eight inches tall; it is found in forested areas.

Other amulets that may be used in the *bakdú* (tobacco field) are:

Leaves of the *dañlá* (Cordyline terminalis [L.] Kunth.), the ti or palm lily, on account of their red color. The ti or palm lily is much used all over the Mountain Province in connection with pagan sacrifices, and the leaves play a prominent part in the ornaments displayed by dancers.

Talimúñay (Clerodendron sp.), a tall herb with beautiful red flowers and round leaves, growing in forested areas. It causes the tobacco leaves to become red when they are mature.

Padáyaw: A herb, some eight inches tall, found in forests. It causes people to admire and praise (*dáyawan*) the tobacco.

Dqlúyāg: A low herb, growing almost anywhere. It prevents the tobacco from being attacked by harmful insects and worms.

If, nevertheless, the tobacco field has been invaded by worms, one must have recourse to the *amrás* to drive them away. The *amrás* is a small herb with blue flowers; it has a very offensive smell and grows almost in any place.

Tobacco is one of the few products exported by the Isneg on a large scale and it is comparatively little used for home consumption: indeed, chewing betel is much more common than smoking. It is frequently resorted to, however, for poisoning fish, and so even low grades of tobacco are sometimes encountered in the *bakán*, for instance the *daméro*, a variety with large leaves, not much esteemed for smoking purposes.

When the tobacco has almost attained its full growth, the Isneg prune the stalks (*magkapún*), nipping off the buds that grow in the axils, and the younger leaves, in order to improve the quality of the older leaves.

As soon as a certain amount of leaves are completely mature, they are culled (*magátu*) by the women, who pick them with their fingers.

The first leaves to be gathered are the lower ones, the *andy*, which are not much esteemed: they rarely affect a smoker with giddiness. The *palávug*, growing higher up, are considered the best.

628 ed a jar of *basi* and invited all the people to drink with the brothers. When they were gathered, he asked them all to come into the house. After they were all in, he fastened them in. Then he offered a cup of *basi* to the *maingel*. Instead of letting him take it, Ewagan dashed the *basi* on the head of the *maingel* and killed him. Then the brothers killed all the people and flew with their blood to the river. All the possessions of those people wer collected; and Ewagan, by his magic powers, flew them to Pindayan, his home.

582 Then the brothers went to the house of Himbanganan in Dudongan, bringing her all the heads of the people of Dombilan. Himbanganan was afraid in the presence of all the brothers, and promptly agreed to marry Hinadolan without the necessity of a dowry. She followed the brothers to Pindayan, where she and Hinadolan were married and lived thereafter.

THE ORPHANS

789 Long ago there lived three orphans; two boys and a girl. These orphans were the sons and daughter of a rich family. These brothers and the sister were expert magicians. They did not suffer any hardships. When they became hungry, they just prayed to an *anito* for their needs and their wants would all be [577] provided for. They were very religious. They were humane and helpful to those who were in need.

789 574 One day they wanted to have a feast. So they invited all their relatives, their friends, and all their neighbors. They only prepared one chupa of rice, one

jar of *basi*, a small pig, and a small dog. When all their visitors had arrived, their house was not able to accommodate all the people. Their sister, whose name was Hinalingan, came out from their house and said. "Oh, *anito*, I pray to you that my house will become big so that it can accommodate all my visitors." After uttering this wish, the visitors could see the house becoming bigger and bigger until all of them were accommodated. 789 574

The older brother, by the name of Hinadolan, went near the stove and said, "I pray to *anito* that all our food will be prepared." Not long after that all the food were prepared. Then they distributed the rice and other food.

After eating, the dance started. It was led by a young brother, named Imlang. Imlang took his sister, Hinalingan, and began the dance. While Imlang, and his sister were dancing, their visitors were surprised to see that they were like birds flying in the air. It was because their feet did not touch the floor; but they were dancing in the air. After the dance, they ate again. Then after all had eaten, it was found that not even half of the food prepared was consumed by the people. Now the feast was over and their visitors returned to their homes.

Three nights after the feast, one of the men from among their visitors came with his father. After they arrived, they were entertained by the brothers and sister who asked what was the purpose of their visit. The man replied that he loved Hinalingan and wished to marry her. Courtship was followed by the marriage ceremony. The couple lived happily with the brothers after that. 584

THE PREGNANT WOMAN

000 There were two brothers, Dinkoan and Linadolan; and two sisters, Dommaria and Lananan. While the two sisters were bathing in the river, it happened that they saw a burning bundle of rice. It was like puffed rice; so Lananan ate some. The burnt rice had been thrown into the river by Enoy, who was taking a bath above them in the river.

684 836 [152] When the brothers found out that their sister was pregnant, they were ashamed, and they decided to put her in the thick forest. So they took her to gather bark for G-strings. As Lananan gathered the bark of a tree for the G-string, it became cloth; but the bark which the brothers gathered remained bark. When they saw this, they became jealous and asked her for some cloth. She did not like to share the cloth; so all the rest became angry and ran away from her. She shouted and shouted; but no one answered her. She kept hunting for the way to go home; but could not find it. At night-fall she found a flat stone on which she slept.

789 After sleeping a few hours, she awoke and saw several fine houses nearby and there was a fire burning. When she looked further, she saw a number of granaries full of rice. She entered one of the houses and found a stick of sugar cane. She peeled it, cut it into pieces, threw them out the door, and prayed: "May each of these pieces become a pig." They did so. Thus Lananan become a rich woman.

000 Her brothers became very anxious to see her, as they missed her. They asked their cousins, Ewagan

She
chewed betel nut and threw it out of the window praying: "Some of you will turn into fat pigs and other animals so that there will be many animals for the feast." 842 [789]

The people came to the feast and marveled at the wonderful house which was constructed better than any man could fashion it. The two brothers and the sister made a generous agreement and explained to all the people how the woman became pregnant and that the boy was really the son of Enoy. They were all satisfied.

BEBEROCA

Beberoca was a *anito* who could change himself at will, and he ate people. One day he found many people fishing in the river. He suggested to the people: "You do not have to work hard to make that dam to turn the river. Just stop and I will lie down and be the dam." The people were pleased and got to one side. Beberoca lay down so that the water was turned aside, and the people picked up many fish. For several hours he lay there. But suddenly a crab bit him on the head. It startled him so that he jumped up. The water came on the people, and they were all drowned and were washed away down the stream. 776

Since he got no people there, he went on up stream. While on his way, Beberoca met several women and asked them: "Why are you fishing like that? It is too hard. I will help you." The women were glad and Beberoca lay down. The water became less and less. The women took many fish. After several hours, a crab bit Beberoca on the back; so he yelled:

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many details as possible, although I am far from claiming that my study about Isneg religion and morality has so far been exhaustive or that my knowledge of these subjects cannot be improved upon. A whole lifetime would scarcely be sufficient to disentagle all the intricate knots, the more so that, especially as regards religion, the Isneg are sometimes far from logical in their reasoning.

In religious instruction the *dorarákit* or shaman plays the dominant rôle, as it is she who conducts religious ceremonies, and it is she through whom the spirits and the souls of the dead are supposed to communicate with man. Now let us see in how far the shaman imparts formal instruction, and in how far young people have to learn by merely looking on.

The *dorarákit* directly teaches her pupils by explaining to them the meaning of the rites and ceremonies, at the time of some *sáy-dm* or other sacrifice accompanied by *maxanito*, and almost exclusively on such occasions. Her pupils at the time are first of all the young *dorarákit*, who have been chosen and consecrated mostly when still in their infancy, and secondly all members of the younger generation who are willing to listen. Consequently this kind of teaching is done while the ceremonies in question are under way and it is illustrated by their performance. It is not the place here to enter into details about the ceremonies just referred to; it will suffice to say that the *sáy-dm* is a kind of public sacrifice in which dogs and pigs are offered to the spirits, and that *maxanito* refers to the action of the shaman at the time she is supposed to be possessed either by a spirit or by the soul of a deceased person, who speaks through her mouth. In this the Isneg shaman differs from the Kankanay one; the latter is usually supposed merely to communicate with beings of the other world, to talk to them, while in the case of the Isneg the spirit is supposed to talk through the shaman. Besides, a Kankanay shaman plays a very secondary rôle: she is mostly of use only at the time of sickness, when she has altercations with the spirits who are supposed to cause the disease or when she goes around to look for the *ab-abiik* (Kankanay) or soul, which a sick person is supposed to have lost; while sacrifices, whether public or private, are presided over by men. Let this be enough for the time being.

I just stated that the Isneg shaman explains the meaning of religious rites and ceremonies to her puipls. The manner of conducting these ceremonies, however, is not formally taught: in this respect a young *dorarákit* is a mere looker-on. When the time comes for the

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fere in the least: consequently she does not *maxanito* or impersonate the spirits of the dead, and remains completely in the background, if indeed she happens to be present. And the same is true with reference to the *ákit* or marriage ceremony: here also there is a feast and a killing of animals, but no *maxanito*. The Isneg probably believe that spirits and ghosts have nothing to do with something that is exclusively the business of living human beings, as an *amómān* or betrothal and an *ákit* or marriage undoubtedly are.

Nevertheless it may happen that the *amómān* takes place at the time a *sáy-ám* sacrifice is in progress at the house of the girl, and then of course the *maxanito* will be performed as usual, as no ceremonies connected with the customary *sáy-ám* are ever omitted; but this *maxanito* will generally be performed before the arrival of the *patúgān*, and in any case it has nothing to do with the *amómān*. The only reason why an *amómān* slightly interferes with the ceremonies of the *sáy-ám* is the fact that on such coincidences the female spirit *Sisina* has to be especially remembered. Two coconut shells, one partly filled with *básī* (a beverage obtained from sugar cane) and another one partially filled with dog's blood, have to be put down in her honor somewhere along the path that leads to the spot where the women draw water for drinking purposes. This is done in order to induce *Sisina* to look after the young couple and to see to it that both are of one mind and avoid all disputes and altercations.

The *amómān*, at least if it has resulted to the satisfaction of everybody, does not interfere in the least with the usual nocturnal visits of the groom to the house of the bride. He continues to *maxal-allóy* as before, that is, to sleep with her, and even to have coitus if they so desire. Actually in several districts they even translate the term *maxamómān* by that of *maxatáwa*, "to marry"; and in this case, of course, the subsequent ceremony of the *ákit*, after which the two young people are allowed to live together, must in their minds have lost most of its significance.

B. WEDDING RITES AND CUSTOMS

A certain period of time always elapses between the *amómān* and the real marriage or *ákit*, but it is impossible to determine exactly its length. In some cases a month is sufficient for all interested parties to prepare themselves properly for this most important ceremony; in others, even a whole year may pass by before the marriage finally takes place.

776 [824] The *Danag* live in trees and act like fairies. If a tree is cut down and it does not fall, a *Danag* inhabits that tree. *Danags* enjoy playing practical jokes. If something awkard happens on the way, a *Danag* did it. Or sometimes, when some priestess is calling her *anito*, a *Danag* will show up instead.

782 The usual method used to gain the favor or help of an anito is to give him a feast. This may vary in name, size, details, and extent, according to the occa-
796 sion and wealth of the party who gives the feast. The
574 general procedure; however, at a feast is about as follows:

[791] The relatives and family giving the feast gather in the house one evening while the priestess, *durarakit*, performs a ceremony in which she calls the suitable *anito* and invites it to enjoy the feast. She spreads a mat near the door, places on it a bundle of unthreshed rice, some *buyo*, with possibly other articles, and ties a small chicken near by. The priestess stands on the mat and, to the cadence of the drum and bronze gongs, side shuffles her feet and waves her extended arms, at the same time calling in an old chant for the *anito* to come to the feast. In a few minutes her eyes dilate and she begins to tremble in a trance. The *anito* has come. She continues talking to it, telling it to be happy and to please help as desired. After a while she comes out of her trance and starts placing *buyo* with leaves and lime, together with grass bundles, on the jars of *basi* and on the animals which are to be killed. (Dogs and pigs are eaten only at feasts.) The *durarakit* performs this that there may be peace at the feast.

796 smallest feast is the *pespes*, given at the beginning of harvest, or for a sick child. Only a chicken or maybe, a pig is killed. After eating, the people go to the field and work until quite dark. A coconut is divided and half left for the field. The other half is eaten on arriving home.

755 [753] A *coglot*, given to an *anito* for the recovery of a sick person, deserves further mention. If one of the family becomes sick, they think that the spirit of the sick one has wandered away and been caught by some *anito*. They call for one or more priestesses according to their wealth. This priestess holds a consultation to discover, either which *anito* is keeping the spirit, or which *anito* to ask to go and take the spirit away from the evil *anito*, and thus bring the sick back to health.

[757] Upon deciding which *anito* to call, they tie a live pig at the door, and the priestess calls the *anito*. Then she touches the patient, sometimes applying native herbs, oil, or lime on the parts affected. The dog or pig is then killed, and the priestess prays the *anito* to take the spirit of the animal instead of the spirit of the sick person.

[791] The next morning the patient gives the priestess the beads, plates, *aliwa*, and all the articles used by her in the ceremony.

787 Auguries are practised by observing the flight and call of birds.

The various calls of the *aiwanac* are important. Ten different calls are distinguished and are classified as *mulad*, foretelling good fortune; or *umgad*, foretelling misfortune.

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553 whoever be the person who suggested it. It is very clear though that the relatives, especially the old women, the more so if a shaman is among the latter, have a deciding vote in the matter, and that, in case of disagreement, an Isneg shaman or other old woman decides the question. But such occurrences must be rare, as the Isneg do not mind so much by what name their children are called provided [856] they have one at the earliest opportunity. The parents, however, usually refrain from giving their child its name, as they believe that in such a case the baby would not grow up or at least would grow very slowly.

553 When baptizing an Isneg baby, we always give him some Christian
177 name of course, and I know of very few cases in which I myself was
551 not called upon to choose the name in question. Sometimes I had to
795 suggest several names, as some of them did not prove acceptable, but for this there was usually no other reason than that they were too hard for the Isneg either to pronounce or to remember. This new name is generally faithfully adhered to, although the original Isneg name is rarely forgotten and sometimes even remains preponderant; indeed a name is something much too important not to be taken into consideration. Actually many Isneg babies get a Christian name as their proper name from the outset, and so all difficulties and equivocations are eliminated at once.

That this indifference exists not only with reference to the name of a child that has to be baptized, but even with reference to the first name of any newborn babe, is evident from the fact that Christian Iloko or Kagayan school teachers are often called upon to suggest a name for the little one. So, at Ampaw for instance, which is a small agglomeration not so far from Nagbabalayan, we find a little boy called *Mabíni*, a name proposed by the teacher of the last-mentioned place at the suggestion of the father; now, even without knowing the person who gave the name, it is patent that such a name could not have been given by Isneg, as it is the family name of Mr. Apolinario Mabini, a Filipino hero of revolutionary war fame, of whom our Isneg know nothing at all. To complete the matter, I called the boy Apolinario at baptism.

551 It may be seen even from the above that any name will do. Nevertheless the Isneg also have their preference, and this especially in regard to three classes of names:

1. Names that have become traditional among the Isneg, "old names" as they call them. For instance *Súzáy*, which has no known

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854 As soon as the mother is allowed to attend to her ordinary duties,
431 her first concern is to take her child and visit her relatives, her own
796 as well as those of her husband. These are then obliged by custom to give the little one a small bracelet, which consists in a string of beads and is called *battá-*. In each house that is entered for that purpose, one such *battá-* is placed over the wrist of the babe. Besides, the relatives who live in the same settlement with the parents of the child, have to perform the *maxaníto* ceremony (communication with the spirits), at which a chicken is offered by the shaman, before the arrival of mother and child. This *maxaníto*, however, is dispensed with in the case of people who live in different agglomerations.

853 The mother (*magtaxíbi*) gives her child (*taxíbi*) the breast (*magpasóso*; in Iloko, *sóso* means "breast"; in Isneg "breast" is *xátat*) at every turn, and the little one has always its mother's milk at its disposition. No sooner does the baby cry than this is done, since, for an Isneg, the only plausible explanation is that it is hungry. As a rule, a child suckles its mother's breasts as long as it has not cut its first tooth, but even then you cannot call it really weaned: a little youngster running around freely may sometimes be seen partaking
[262] of the same food as his newborn brother or sister. On the other hand the little babe is given cooked rice to eat very early, usually after five days; however, as a matter of course, this solid food has been chewed by the complacent parent before it is put into the infant's mouth.

854 The baby when at rest is lying down either stretched out on a mat or a piece of cloth on the floor, or more frequently in a *dóyan*, which is a rectangular piece of cloth doubled up lengthwise so as to form a kind of pouch, each end of which is suspended from some part of the house, like a hammock, by means of two strings or strips of rattan, so that it can be used as a swing.

854 If Isneg parents have to leave a little child alone in the house,
776 they usually confide it to the care of *Daraxodán*, a kind spirit, who is always at hand in such a predicament: he looks after the babe, without its elders knowing anything about it, and the little one never cries as long as he remains with it. Another spirit, *Laglagémiń*, who has the shape of a bird, is supposed to bring up any babies who are not
[753 well cared for by their parents; but although such children do not
856] die while *Laglagémiń* looks after them, they always remain thin and emaciated, which, of course, the Isneg do not consider as an ideal condition for an infant.

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fere in the least: consequently she does not *maxanito* or impersonate the spirits of the dead, and remains completely in the background, if indeed she happens to be present. And the same is true with reference to the *ákit* or marriage ceremony: here also there is a feast and a killing of animals, but no *maxanito*. The Isneg probably believe that spirits and ghosts have nothing to do with something that is exclusively the business of living human beings, as an *amómān* or betrothal and an *ákit* or marriage undoubtedly are.

Nevertheless it may happen that the *amónān* takes place at the time a *sāy-ám* sacrifice is in progress at the house of the girl, and then of course the *maxanito* will be performed as usual, as no ceremonies connected with the customary *sāy-ám* are ever omitted; but this *maxanito* will generally be performed before the arrival of the *patúgān*, and in any case it has nothing to do with the *amómān*. The only reason why an *amómān* slightly interferes with the ceremonies of the *sāy-ám* is the fact that on such coincidences the female spirit *Sisina* has to be especially remembered. Two coconut shells, one partly filled with *básī* (a beverage obtained from sugar cane) and another one partially filled with dog's blood, have to be put down in her honor somewhere along the path that leads to the spot where the women draw water for drinking purposes. This is done in order to induce *Sisina* to look after the young couple and to see to it that both are of one mind and avoid all disputes and altercations.

The *amómān*, at least if it has resulted to the satisfaction of everybody, does not interfere in the least with the usual nocturnal visits of the groom to the house of the bride. He continues to *maxal-allây* as before, that is, to sleep with her, and even to have coitus if they so desire. Actually in several districts they even translate the term *maxamómān* by that of *maxatáwa*, "to marry"; and in this case, of course, the subsequent ceremony of the *ákit*, after which the two young people are allowed to live together, must in their minds have lost most of its significance.

B. WEDDING RITES AND CUSTOMS

A certain period of time always elapses between the *amómān* and the real marriage or *ákit*, but it is impossible to determine exactly its length. In some cases a month is sufficient for all interested parties to prepare themselves properly for this most important ceremony; in others, even a whole year may pass by before the marriage finally takes place.

776 [824] The *Danag* live in trees and act like fairies. If a tree is cut down and it does not fall, a *Danag* inhabits that tree. *Danags* enjoy playing practical jokes. If something awkard happens on the way, a *Danag* did it. Or sometimes, when some priestess is calling her *anito*, a *Danag* will show up instead.

782 The usual method used to gain the favor or help of an anito is to give him a feast. This may vary in name, size, details, and extent, according to the occa- ● 796 sion and wealth of the party who gives the feast. The 574 general procedure; however, at a feast is about as follows:

[791] The relatives and family giving the feast gather in the house one evening while the priestess, *durarakit*, performs a ceremony in which she calls the suitable *anito* and invites it to enjoy the feast. She spreads a mat near the door, places on it a bundle of unthreshed rice, some *buyo*, with possibly other articles, and ties a small chicken near by. The priestess stands on the mat and, to the cadence of the drum and bronze gongs, side shuffles her feet and waves her extended arms, at the same time calling in an old chant for the *anito* to come to the feast. In a few minutes her eyes dilate and she begins to tremble in a trance. The *anito* has come. She continues talking to it, telling it to be happy and to please help as desired. After a while she comes out of her trance and starts placing *buyo* with leaves and lime, together with grass bundles, on the jars of *basi* and on the animals which are to be killed. (Dogs and pigs are eaten only at feasts.) The *durarakit* performs this that there may be peace at the feast.

In the morning the family prepares the food for the guests. The men butcher the dog, chickens, and pigs. They might go out and get a wild pig or two. The women cook the rice, vegetables and meat. Boys carry invitations to the houses of the guests, who begin to arrive about noon, all dressed up in their best clothes.

When a guest arrives, he is given a drink of *basi* and also food, if he is hungry. Individual servings of rice, together with some meat and vegetables, are wrapped up in sections of bamboo leaf and passed around. One package of food is placed for the family *anito* under the sacred big tree or bamboo clump where it lives, and where it is the custom to hang the heads taken by the family warriors. As the various animals are killed, a little of the blood and liver are placed in a coconut shell or a section of bamboo and hung up for the *anito* of the feast. That is his share. The people eat the rest for him. Also *runo* leaves are hung from a rafter above the stove, one for each pig killed.

Dancing, *talip*, in the house starts early in the afternoon. The intriguing music is supplied by the women, who beat a staccato rhythm on three instruments: the *ludog*, a drum fashioned of a hollowed log with a skin secured over one end; a large, shallow curved-bottomed kettle-shaped bronze gong; and the *ganza*, a smaller, flat-bottomed bronze gong. Each has its own tone (base, soprano, alto) and beat; while the notes are short: quarter, eighth, and sixteenth. Thus the rhythm is fast and intricate: hard to follow. One couple dances at a time. One of the family hands a special cloth to an honored guest. He starts walk-

535 ing in the clear space and is joined by a woman, per-
796 chance of his own choice. Occasionally a highly hon-
574 ored guest has two partners. They raise and wave their arms and hands resembling the wings of a bird in flight. The man gestures with his outspread cloth and goes in a circle somewhat reminiscent of a youth courting a girl. Their feet begin to shuffle and then stamp in cadence to the music. In the middle of the dance one of the family brings *basi* for the dancers and musicians to drink. The music rapidly becomes faster and louder so that the dancers must stamp harder and faster and raise their knees higher. This is such hard exercise that one of the couple soon gives up and goes and sits down. His partner follows suit and the music stops. The man hands his cloth to a friend, who starts the next dance. This dance is difficult to learn, and only long experience makes one
[537] proficient in it. Sometimes, if some famous old warrior does not choose to dance, the people shout, and he recounts his noble deeds in the characteristic chant, *oggayam*.

Meanwhile the people are talking and joking.[1] The (1)
is happy. Dancing and talking become more excit- (4)
and once in awhile drinks pass around: so everybody (3)
basi has been dug up from underneath the granary (2)
[537] ing. Sometimes two men contest in a long debate (5)
over some such matter as the quality of the feast. They talk in the characteristic chant, *palawag*. If one of the men cannot chant, he shouts. The party is be-
796 coming noisy. There is some enjoyable antiphonal
574 singing. A group of boys sing and a group of girls
533 answer: sometimes using well-known songs with a
786

1 [The numbers to the right of the text indicate the proper sequence of lines.--Analyst]

pleasing lilt or perchance composing words in honor of some guest or circumstance. The tune used is called the *salecdomey*. Somewhere a boy may be openly courting the girl of his choice in a characteristic chant, *adkaling*, but often composing his own words. Food and sweets may be served two or three times in the night, and the party goes on with increasing excitement, as more and more *basi* is consumed. Drunken quarrels may break out, leading to blows. Killings are not infrequent. One must have had quite a few drinks in order to really enjoy this party.

Along towards morning the music stops and the tired people lie down to sleep—either in that or adjacent houses. If, perchance, a boy has been successful in his courtship, he may follow his girl to where she lies down. After some further discussion, she probably accepts him.

The feast may continue the next day and next, according to the wishes and wealth of the family, and how long the *basi* and food lasts. At the end of the feast, the priestess again calls the *anito*: she tells it that they hope that it is pleased with its feast and will now grant their requests. Then the guests start for home. The relatives are each given some meat to take with them, and soon all is quiet again.

Probably the most popular feast is the *say-am*, given for the *anito*, Pilay, after the harvest. The *dildap* is a small, short feast given for the *anito Kaybacan*, sometimes for the health or welfare of the family, or to clinch some agreement. There is no dancing. The *magboto* is given before, and the *boda* after, a head hunting expedition as described elsewhere. The

796 smallest feast is the *pespes*, given at the beginning of harvest, or for a sick child. Only a chicken or maybe, a pig is killed. After eating, the people go to the field and work until quite dark. A coconut is divided and half left for the field. The other half is eaten on arriving home.

755 [753] A *coglot*, given to an *anito* for the recovery of a sick person, deserves further mention. If one of the family becomes sick, they think that the spirit of the sick one has wandered away and been caught by some *anito*. They call for one or more priestesses according to their wealth. This priestess holds a consultation to discover, either which *anito* is keeping the spirit, or which *anito* to ask to go and take the spirit away from the evil *anito*, and thus bring the sick back to health.

Upon deciding which *anito* to call, they tie a live [757] pig at the door, and the priestess calls the *anito*. Then she touches the patient, sometimes applying native herbs, oil, or lime on the parts affected. The dog or pig is then killed, and the priestess prays the *anito* to take the spirit of the animal instead of the spirit of the sick person.

[791] The next morning the patient gives the priestess the beads, plates, *aliwa*, and all the articles used by her in the ceremony.

787 Auguries are practised by observing the flight and call of birds.

The various calls of the *awanac* are important. Ten different calls are distinguished and are classified as *mulad*, foretelling good fortune; or *umgad*, foretelling misfortune.

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593 The family is a very important entity among the Isneg, and their family life is comparatively intense. There is no question of man and wife associating only for the duties incident to the procreation of children. All members of the household keep rather close together until the young people are able to form a new family, and even in this case the latter usually remain with their elders for a considerable period of their married life. To establish a family, if possible with plenty of children around, is the ultimate goal of every Isneg boy and [671] girl. In principle the rights of the individual are subordinate to those of the family, while state paternalism cannot be thought of.

177 It is true that actually the Government often interferes with the native customs of the Isneg, and in many cases it could not very well 593 do otherwise, but the latter consider it as alien and regard its ways as entirely contrary to their traditions; they would most certainly like to get rid of it at the first opportunity. The Isneg submit of course, as the constabulary is supposed to be mostly wide awake, but they generally do so very reluctantly and often under protest; occasionally they even disobey, and sometimes not without reason, especially in cases of interference with their traditional family life.

177 Just to give a couple of examples. The local authorities force the parents to send their children to school; anybody who disregards this 871 rule is punished by being obliged to furnish free labor to the Gov- 582 ernment. Now the wisdom of this regulation cannot always reason- 593 ably be doubted, because, if no strict measures were taken, nobody would go to school. But even children of marriageable age very often fall under this rule, as Apayaw is sparsely populated and the officials are anxious to present decent reports to their superiors; and so Isneg parents who allow their children to marry, face a very disagreeable dilemma: they have either to continue to send to school, in this way breaking up the home as they understand it, or to disobey and be liable to be taken into custody by policemen. It should be noted here that the law of the land recognizes such marriages as valid, but local officials sometimes have little regard for them. By this [797] time, however, the Isneg have found a way out, namely by becoming Christians and contracting marriage before the priest. Such marriages are always duly recorded of course, and so the young people escape forced attendance at school, and the parents avoid trouble with the Government. After all it is the Church that helps the Isneg to keep to his original traditions about the essentials of marriage and home life.

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4. *Actual Moral Behavior*

And now I come to the consideration of Isneg practice as compared with theory. I always promise to be brief, but I rarely live up to my promises; so I shall see what I can do about it now.

The Isneg are far less fanatical in matters religious than, for instance, the Kankanay. Their religious practices are also comparatively few and far between, and the women usually play the most important rôle. A person who disobeys (*saúran*) any injunction of the shaman is not considered as being a traitor; he is mostly left to his own devices, although his disobedience is not exactly lauded as an act of virtue. Nevertheless not only the old women, but also the old men are usually very punctual in complying with all directions of the shaman and in observing whatever their religious convictions impose upon them. I purposely say "old" men and women, as among the younger generation, this respect for the heathen practices of their tribe seems to be on the wane. The influence of the schools which are supposed to be neutral, is a decided factor in this matter. The teachers, being Christians, have no sympathy with what they call the superstitions and ridiculous practices of the Isneg. Although perhaps they keep these sentiments to themselves during school hours, the sparseness of the population in a district where schoolboys and schoolgirls very often live far from the schoolhouse, forces many of the latter to remain in the immediate neighborhood of the teacher's house for five consecutive days every week, which necessarily allows the influence of the Christian schoolmaster to be very far-reaching.

Besides, Christians are entering Apayaw in large numbers every year, some to stay, others as transient guests. Since the country is practically pacified, nothing keeps them back any more, and so they also exert an undermining influence on all matters that relate to Isneg religion as such. This immigration coupled with Isneg temporary emigration, tends to teach the people the futility and even the error of their beliefs. Indeed an Isneg who enters the Iloko or Kagayan country, and stays there for a certain time, cannot fail to bring back a spirit of indifference with reference to his native religion.

It may be the place here to say a few words anent the relations of the Isneg with the Catholic missionary. In general it must be said that all over the Mountain Province the priest has usually met with the sympathy of the natives. During the Philippine Revolution against Spain, when Spanish friars were taken into custody by the

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insurgents, the Hapaw people (Ifugaw) hid their priest in the forest for a considerable time; and I am sure that our Negritos and Isneg would do the same to us if necessary. They are supposed to be inferior to the Christians in many respects, they themselves believe so, and the Christians do not fail to impress it upon their mind through word and deed: an Iloko or Kagayan has not respect for an Isneg, and again Iloko, Kagayan and Isneg oppress the Negrito whenever they can.

Now comes along a man who sympathizes with these pariahs, a man who understands them, a man who, although teaching a different religion, never ridicules them, a man who always puts them on the same level with other human beings, a man who is willing to live with them, to share their food and their mat, a man who learns their language and their customs, a man who takes their side even against the Christians when the latter are wrong: what can they feel but respect and even love for such an extraordinary being? Then add to this, in the case of the Isneg, their frequent intercourse with Christians and the patent superiority of the latter's civilization, which excites the ambition of the former, and it will not be wondered at that the priest and his religion are respected, that Isneg mothers bring their children for baptism just as the Christians do, that the Isneg youth wants to be instructed in Christian doctrine, and that Christianity is considered as the ultimate goal of a great number of Isneg young men and women.

Here among the Isneg I have never yet met with that strong opposition to baptism, which formerly was so very common among pagan Kankanay fathers and mothers in several of their villages, and if the inborn indolence of the Isneg could be done away with, all youngsters would be Christians within a very short time. In the case of old men and women, although they rarely object to Christianity as such, still they usually hold rather tenaciously to their traditional practices, which, however, does not prevent them at the same time from giving complete freedom to their offspring.

Last year at Namaltugan, two Christian Isneg intended to get married; when the groom firmly refused to have anything to do with native pagan customs, the relatives on both sides agreed to everything, except on the question of the payment that had to be given to the parents of the bride: on this they strongly insisted; it had nothing to do with religion, and so it had to be observed.

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Not so long ago I opened two dormitories for High School students, one for boys and one for girls. These young people came here directly from their villages, for the most part without having received as yet any serious Christian instruction. Since that time I have been inclined more than once to stop the whole affair; at any rate I shall certainly never again accept them indiscriminately. If I had to watch them strictly only on one side, it would not be so bad; but when even some of the girls have to be kept under close surveillance, the situation becomes almost intolerable. The dormitories had barely been started, when I had to expel one boy and one girl: it was not simply a matter of the boy writing love letters, with the girl answering them; but he openly proposed in writing to sleep with her, and the girl consented, also in writing, and gave a date for their future meeting.

Recently one of the girls from the girls' dormitory told me that, at the time she was still studying in her home village, a few of her classmates had absolutely refused to study the prayers (to prepare for baptism), and this for the following reason: "If we were Christians we should not be allowed any more to sleep with the boys at night [using each other's arm for a pillow; not: performing coitus], and this we cannot endure". The last part of this sentence is here put down textually, just as I heard it.

Coeducation which obtains in the public schools helps not a little to take away the small restraint that native Isneg teaching may have produced, and the example of persons who should show them better ways is sometimes far from being an aid to our frail young people on the arduous path of purity and chastity.

Nevertheless children born out of wedlock are the exception. How can we explain this? There is no question of contraceptive measures or voluntary abortion as far as I know, so the reason has to be found elsewhere. This state of affairs may be explained either by the practice of solitary vice or by marriage subsequent on the pregnancy of the girl in every case. Now the latter explanation is in my opinion more often concordant with the actual facts than the former. The boys go to *mamabdy* (court the girls) early in life, and they may have had sex relations very often before the dreaded result occurred. Besides Isneg boys and girls marry very early, and they are allowed to sleep together as soon as they are engaged, so that it is an easy matter to arrange everything in such a way as not to cause the child to be considered as born out of wedlock. Public education as it is in

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PROGRESSIVE TENSES

Present Tense

First person singular—*magdaldalannak*

etc.

Past Tense

First person singular—*magdaldalannak*

etc.

Future Tense

First person singular—*manalannak*

etc.

Subjunctive Mode

Present Tense

First person singular—*manalan na din*

etc.

Imperative Mode

Singular—*manalan ka* Plural—*manalan kayo*

Infinitives

Present Tense	Present Perfect Tense
manalan	*dinalan*

NUMERALS

802

1.	*isa*	20.	*dua pulo*
2.	*dua*	30.	*tallo pulo*
3.	*tallo*	40.	*appat pulo*
4.	*appat*	50.	*lima pulo*
5.	*lima*	51.	*lima pulo se isa*
6.	*annam*	60.	*annam pulo*
7.	*pitto*	70.	*pitto pulo*
8.	*walo*	80.	*walo pulo*
9.	*siyam*	90.	*siyam pulo*
10.	*pulo*	100.	*sañgagatot*
11.	*sangapulo se isa*	1000.	*sangaribu*

APAYAO SYSTEM OF MEASUREMENTS

Time

805

The day—*aldao*
dawn—*paglawag*
sun-rise—*sumirag* or *lumta*
morning—*pagmaat*
mid-day—*algao*
noon—*mangalintotogo*
afternoon—*gidgidam*
sunset—*lumgap-simab*
evening—*gumibat*
night—*gabi*

The week—*liguan* (five)
First day—*pisa*
Second day—*piddua*
Third day—*pelo*
Fourth day—*pimpat*
Fifth day—*ligo*

Month—*bulan* (moon)
The Seasons—
dry—*negao;* rainy—*nudan*

Year—*dagon*

Quantity

804

A certain small basket-full of rice—*isa tapang*
Siyam (9) *tapang*— *tanga salup*
Dua polo si lima (25) *salup*—*tanga caban* (some 63 kilos)
One hundred leaves of tobacco—*tanga pito* or *tanga badad.*

Weight

Light—*nalangpao* Heavy—*nadamat*

Length

One hand span—*dangan*
One span of extended arms (tip to tip)—*dapa.*

823

Points of the compass

North—*abud* (down stream); South—*daya* (up stream); East—*amibao* (where sun rises); West—*amigato* (where sun sets).

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264
177
751

cock, in order to prepare breakfast, which early preparation is called *magsíra*.

Actually children who attend school continue to follow the general Isneg rule, and leave home early in the morning, before having taken any breakfast. As they have to wait until noon before partaking of their first meal, it is needless to say that such conditions will hardly improve the health of the next generation.

805

Divisions of day and night as known to the Isneg:

Mawarnít: Immediately before sunrise.

Pagmakát: Morning, from sunrise till about ten o'clock a. m.

Alxáw: Day.

Xídam: Evening, from about five o'clock p. m. till darkness sets in.

Xabí: Night.

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then there is always a way open to them, and divorce is not so very uncommon among the Isneg as to be considered an extraordinary event.

Bride and groom having already had coitus more than once, there is no question of course of ceremonial defloration, jus primae noctis, looking for proofs of virginity, and so on. The morning after the *ákit*, the *tádug* is brought over to the house of the girl's parents, and triumphantly escorted by a large group of people. Here a chicken is killed in order to celebrate the happy event, and all present are allowed to partake of it, but some of the blood must be smeared on the objects that make up the *tádug*. This is called *banít:* the girl's parents are those who *mamanít*; they *banítān* the *tádug*.

One or two days later a certain quantity of sweets is again prepared at the house of the bride's parents, for the ceremony called *lablabág;* but the *pinatará-* variety of cakes is taboo on this occasion. The reason is that it would cause the future offspring of the newly wed to get sore ears (a kind of otitis with concomitant suppuration).

On the third day, three nights (the Isneg always count by nights, not by days) after the *ákit*, the young couple *maglablabág:* they first go to observe the flight of the *labág* bird. If the omen is bad, nothing will be done and a more favorable occasion will be awaited, because to go ahead under the circumstances would entail the early death of one of the interested parties. The whole *lablabág* ceremony, however, is almost always performed on that day anyhow, as there is more than one hour in a day and more than one *labág* bird in Apayaw. After having obtained a good augury, if the house of the boy's parents is near, the young couple direct their steps toward it in the afternoon; otherwise they start in the morning. The members of their escort carry all eatables prepared for this occasion, and these are then distributed to the people at the house of the groom. These eatables,—sweets, meat, etc.,—are called *talinabáw*, but the cakes are far from being as abundant as at the time of the *ákit*. The whole ceremony, beginning with the observance of the flight of the *labág* and ending with the distribution of the *talinabáw* at the house of the boy's parents, is called *lablabág*.

The next day, four nights after the *ákit*, the husband goes to live (*maggiyán*) with his young wife at the latter's house, and stays there as long as has been determined at the *amómán*, after which he takes his wife home to his parents' house, where the woman stays (*maggiyán*) from now on. In case the groom does not stay at the house

IV. *INNAS*

539

First Group: *Ki kayo ñga calagaab*
Intada ñga magdowas
Innas sa ianno onnas inballoballog
ogennas.

2nd Group: *Ay yo diamno dowas*
Aed ac lagud aumicad
Ta piniac makilaglagaak
Ki kao nga kalabeat.

First Group: Oh! beloved brethren,
Let us love one another.
Allright: forget the past and
Let us all love together.

2nd Group: Here I am with you, love;
Yes, I am here with you;
I want to be happy
With you my beloved brethren.

COSMOLOGY

Apayaos say that the earth is flat with edges, off 772
which the water flows and is caught by the moon 821
which returns it to the earth as rain. You can tell 823
when this will be done by observing the new moon. 221
If its tips (forming a container) are horizontal it 241
will not rain. If one tip is down, the water will run 805
out and it will rain. Camotes are planted during the
first and the last quarters of the moon. The positions
of ursa major and ursa minor determine the time of
planting most of the food crops. This is done by co- [476]
operative planting, *abugo.*

241 784 527 Harvest is started in the wax of the moon. In each *barangay* there is a chosen woman, *gomanay* (beginner of harvest) who goes ceremoniously to each field in turn and cuts the first bundle of rice and stores it in the granary. She must observe many taboos and no one else may come near the field for two days prior to cutting. During the first five days of harvest no one visits the owners house nor asks for fire. No fuel is cut nor rice pounded. The *anito* must not be frightened. Otherwise planting and honest are gala seasons.

[805] Each full of the moon is observed as a holiday; also as the first thunder and first rainbow in the season. In the full of the moon the granary (in which all the rice cut has been stored) is first opened by another chosen woman, *Manginas*, who goes ceremoniously, before dawn and takes out three bundles only, which she pounds and cooks. She eats first; but she must not take a bath nor eat fish nor chew betel-nut [476] all that day. Those who worked in that rice field then receive their share of the crop.

821 784 During an eclipse of the moon no work is done and likewise during an earthquake, which is caused in this way: deep under the earth in great cave, there lives a huge eel and a crab. When the crab pinches the eel he wiggles, and so shakes the earth.

821 Once the sun and moon had a quarrel. The moon beat the sun with a broom; and so the sun struck the moon with a fire brand giving it a dimmer light and leaving a scar where it struck.

APAYAO SYSTEM OF MEASUREMENTS

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Time

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mid-day—*algao*
noon—*mangalintotogo*
afternoon—*gidgidam*
sunset—*lumgap-simab*
evening—*gumibat*
night—*gabi*

The week—*liguan* (five)
First day—*pisa*
Second day—*piddua*
Third day—*pelo*
Fourth day—*pimpat*
Fifth day—*ligo*

Month—*bulan* (moon)
The Seasons—
dry—*negao;* rainy—*nudan*

Year—*dagon*

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Quantity

A certain small basket-full of rice—*isa tapang*
Siyam (9) *tapang*— *tanga salup*
Dua polo si lima (25) *salup*—*tanga caban* (some 63 kilos)
One hundred leaves of tobacco—*tanga pito* or *tanga badad.*

Weight

Light—*nalangpao* Heavy—*nadamat*

Length

One hand span—*dangan*
One span of extended arms (tip to tip)—*dapa.*

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Points of the compass

North—*abud* (down stream); South—*daya* (up stream); East—*amibao* (where sun rises); West—*amigato* (where sun sets).

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824 842 forest, gathers the herb in question, wraps it in a piece of cloth, and brings it to the woman, who immediately starts chewing it. This is mostly practised only by mothers who have already been blessed with a numerous offspring.

843 811 Both Ilоko and Kagayan attach much weight to the capricious appetite of a pregnant woman, and to whatever she loves or loathes at the time, all of which they believe to have its repercussion on the baby that has to be born. So some years ago a certain Kagayan mother gave birth to a child whose skin was much more lightly colored than that of its brothers and sisters, and everybody explained the occurrence by the fact that the mother, while pregnant, had had a very great devotion to a statue of the Divine Babe, which was either made of white material or at least painted white, and that she had gone almost daily to pray in front of the statue in question. All Isneg, however, whom I questioned on the subject disclaimed both knowledge of such a belief and its existence among their people.

843 776 Whatever may be the reason, the Isneg do not seem to dread the intervention of the spirits (*anito*) before the actual birth of the child. Do they perhaps imagine that the *anito* are ignorant about the ways of the flesh, and that they do not know the meaning of pregnancy? Or do they believe that the spirits have no power on children as yet unborn? The latter is probably the case. I think that in their eyes, as long as a child dwells in the womb of its mother, only what enters the body (food, semen) is able to exert any influence on it, and that [833] outsiders can in no way affect it. And so, except for a few beliefs with reference to food, the only precaution that is taken during the pregnancy of the mother is that the husband ceases having sexual intercourse with his wife so soon as her state is known with certainty, lest, so they say, the babe be injured. For the rest everything runs its usual course, and, although such a large number of magical and other practices have come to my notice at every other period of the life of the Isneg, the period that precedes the birth of a child has so far proved to be completely devoid of any belief in the evil influence of one spirit or another.

843 824 In some places a woman who is pregnant for the first time, is believed to assure the good health of her babe after its birth, if she eats *asdń*, which is the fruit of a kind of tree that grows in the forest.

843 262 824 These are the articles of food forbidden to pregnant women which have come to my notice:

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846 778 789 On the wound of the navel the Isneg place some soot and a piece of dried bagasse, in order to sear it and to allow the rest of the umbilical cord to come off easily. The latter (*kázaw*) is then placed in a *táxo-* or coconut shell, some ashes are strewn over it, and the whole is buried either at the place of the afterbirth, or somewhere under the house in case the afterbirth has been buried away from it. It seems, however, that in Bayag it serves the same purpose as that of the membrane just referred to, and that it is rolled up in a piece of cloth and stowed away in some trunk belonging to the parents, to be kept as an amulet in business.

846 778 789 The immediate and natural needs of the newborn babe having been attended to, the first concern of the Isneg is to protect the little creature from all possible machinations of the spirits, who seem to have been lying in wait for this new human being to come into the world in order to work their wiles upon it. The Isneg, however, are not backward in finding sure and almost infallible remedies against the machinations of these *anito*, and they usually have the upper hand in this warfare between the world of spirits and that of real men. We have already described how the afterbirth is rendered innocuous or rather how the spirits are obliged to forego all hope of using it as a weapon of offense against the child or its parents; or does the herb that is tied to it force the supernatural world into granting either some of the present wishes of the parents or some of the future ones of the child? Just what is the use of that herb I do not know, and the Isneg will tell you the same; it is the custom, and that is sufficient [811] in most similar cases. Sometimes explanations are given, and I shall not fail to record them in every instance, but these explanations are very often unsatisfactory, and the connection between a certain practice and the reason why it is said to be performed is very often exceedingly loose, and, at least from our point of view, quite inappropriate.

846 789 As soon as a child is born in the house, the Isneg take a coconut shell, place some ashes and some water in it, and put it somewhere near the door, at the inside. After that, the first thing to be done is to forbid access to the house both to the spirits and to people who might bring bad luck to the enriched household.

With reference to the spirits, this is not very hard: there are some objects that an *anito* will never approach even from afar, and provided one knows which object to choose, everything is safe from that side. At Bayag the Isneg place an *ízād* at the door of the house, at

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848 as clearly as if somebody had witnessed her having intercourse with
845 her paramour. Hence the shame; and this is, I believe, but natural if considered from the Isneg point of view.

848 But again it might be asked: what is the use of resorting to such
845 a drastic measure, that of killing one of twins? Does the shame
811 not remain the same? Yes and no. She certainly has been caught (I repeat it, always in the eyes of the Isneg), but so far very few people know about it and everybody will keep mum; while, if both children lived, the secret would become public property, and everybody would know about the bad behavior of the mother. Here, however, I am much in doubt if this last answer concurs with the Isneg point of view, and besides, I may urge the matter further and ask: Why is the husband not angry with the real father of the babe? Why does he not divorce his wife? It might be answered that he could not very well know with what man he should be angry, that he might even know very positively that his wife has always been a virtuous woman, and so find no reason for divorcing her. Such answers, however, are evidently very unsatisfactory, and, as I have hinted at in its place, the preceding answer would perhaps never be proffered by an Isneg.

Here then, in my humble opinion, is the core of the whole difficulty, and to me it looks simply like one out of many examples of the reasoning of the Isneg, in which they imitate some Spaniards who are afraid of venturing on a trip on Tuesdays and Fridays (el martes y el viernes ni te eases ni te embarques) and some Americans who nail an old horseshoe to their auto for luck.

Consequently my opinion of the whole matter is this: it is sufficient to have lived with the generality of Christian Iloko for one week at a time, I mean to have lived *with* them, not in their immediate neighhood in your own house, but in their own abode, sleeping on their mat and eating at their table, it is enough, I say, to have lived intimately with them for a comparatively short time to be convinced that nothing will happen which might be regarded as more or less out of the ordinary without an explanation being sought at once, not an explanation that is natural and quite simple, but one that will touch on the preternatural, if not on the supernatural. Anyhow some explanation will be looked for, and this will rarely or never be the ordinary one, which truly and simply fits the known facts, since it would surely be considered as far from satisfactory, on account of its being quite natural, while the event is supposed to be unnatural. If a leaf moves, an insect hums, a bird flies, etc., and such an occurrence

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is not exactly what is quite ordinary, immediately all sorts of questions are asked: Why? What is the matter? What is the meaning? What might it portend? What secret is hidden behind it? And so on.

Now the pagan Isneg are no better. They also will try to find some explanation different from the natural one for any event that does not look entirely ordinary to them. And so the birth of twins being a rather rare occurrence, there must be something the matter with it. Twins. Who ever heard of two children being born at once from one husband and one wife, without there being a secret behind the whole affair? Twins: this is far from common. And there you are; an explanation has to be found. Now there is one ready at hand, and to the Isneg mind a very reasonable one, it is not even necessary to enter into the realm of spirits: two children at once must be the product of two men; when one man who lives in bigamy begets two children simultaneously from two women, there are at least three authors, so now also these twins must be the offspring of three persons, —in this case of only one woman of course, and thus necessarily of two men.

Now what to do? Just kill one of them, put it out of the way, and so avoid the shame attached to the whole affair; kill all gossip in the bud. But is every child not welcome? Certainly it is, but a child has no business bringing a companion with it, and the joy of the parents will be complete with the single child; the other one, if alive, will not add to that joy, nor, if dead, detract from it. Here of course the husband is faced with a dilemma: either his wife is a virtuous woman or she is not; if she is, and maybe he knows her to be so, then how can she have a child by another man? If she is not, why does he not divorce her? Yes, but this dilemma does not confront the Isneg, his reasoning does not extend as far as that. If he knew his wife to have been unfaithful, that would be reason enough for him to divorce her without needing the birth of twins to convince him. Here he stands before an extraordinary event, the birth of twins; he has found an explanation for it: the action of a third person. This is a very shameful affair to both husband and wife, but he will eliminate all difficulties at once: one of the twins will be done away with. And there his reasoning stops, the incident is closed.

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Here follow a few Isneg expressions with reference to little children:

Babbíń or *ababbíń*, when used by the parents: son, daughter, child.

Ababbíń, when used by the parents: sons, daughters, children.

Ababbíń, when used by other persons: little children not yet able or barely able to walk.

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many details as possible, although I am far from claiming that my study about Isneg religion and morality has so far been exhaustive or that my knowledge of these subjects cannot be improved upon. A whole lifetime would scarcely be sufficient to disentagle all the intricate knots, the more so that, especially as regards religion, the Isneg are sometimes far from logical in their reasoning.

In religious instruction the *dorarákit* or shaman plays the dominant rôle, as it is she who conducts religious ceremonies, and it is she through whom the spirits and the souls of the dead are supposed to communicate with man. Now let us see in how far the shaman imparts formal instruction, and in how far young people have to learn by merely looking on.

The *dorarákit* directly teaches her pupils by explaining to them the meaning of the rites and ceremonies, at the time of some *sây-ám* or other sacrifice accompanied by *maxanito*, and almost exclusively on such occasions. Her pupils at the time are first of all the young *dorarákit*, who have been chosen and consecrated mostly when still in their infancy, and secondly all members of the younger generation who are willing to listen. Consequently this kind of teaching is done while the ceremonies in question are under way and it is illustrated by their performance. It is not the place here to enter into details about the ceremonies just referred to; it will suffice to say that the *sây-ám* is a kind of public sacrifice in which dogs and pigs are offered to the spirits, and that *maxanito* refers to the action of the shaman at the time she is supposed to be possessed either by a spirit or by the soul of a deceased person, who speaks through her mouth. In this the Isneg shaman differs from the Kankanay one; the latter is usually supposed merely to communicate with beings of the other world, to talk to them, while in the case of the Isneg the spirit is supposed to talk through the shaman. Besides, a Kankanay shaman plays a very secondary rôle: she is mostly of use only at the time of sickness, when she has altercations with the spirits who are supposed to cause the disease or when she goes around to look for the *ab-abîik* (Kankanay) or soul, which a sick person is supposed to have lost; while sacrifices, whether public or private, are presided over by men. Let this be enough for the time being.

I just stated that the Isneg shaman explains the meaning of religious rites and ceremonies to her puipls. The manner of conducting these ceremonies, however, is not formally taught: in this respect a young *dorarákit* is a mere looker-on. When the time comes for the

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vogue here now tends to retard marriage; but its introduction is still too recent and it is still too much the privilege of the few, to be able sensibly to affect the standard of morality among our Isneg.

As to conjugal fidelity, it may be said that an unfaithful wife is the exception among the Isneg; but with reference to the men, the situation is not so bright. Even polygyny is not always sufficient to put a curb to the husband's license: indeed only the rich can afford to take more than one wife, and these at the same time usually enjoy the greatest freedom on account of their wealth and social influence.

To sum up the situation, it may be said that open immorality and indecency is much less frequent among the Isneg than among several other Mountain tribes, but, although more or less well concealed, loose morals are rather the rule than the exception among young unmarried people, and among married people the state of affairs leaves much to be desired. "Doing that which may make a girl pregnant" is not what the Isneg abhors, but "making a girl actually pregnant".

With reference to honesty, the Isneg generally observes the rules laid down by his own code, and transgressions are rare. Isneg thieves are not at all common, and downright robbery, even from the Ibanag or the *idammán* (enemies of his own tribe), is a rare occurrence. This is true of children as well as of adults, although the former may occasionally try to pilfer fruits or other eatables, in which, nevertheless, they are never encouraged by their elders, who rarely fail to scold them and even to punish them.

Truthfulness also is quite ordinary among adult Isneg, but many youngsters need frequent correction on the subject. In this connection, however, we should bear in mind the existence of two inveterate habits not only among the Isneg, but also among the generality of Malays with whom I have come in contact. And first, whenever he is caught at something that might elicit from you even the smallest reprimand, he has always an excuse ready at the tip of his tongue, and any excuse will do, however preposterous it may be; he never reasons about it, the truth is not what he aims at, but the plain presentation of an excuse, be it real or imaginary. These people are certainly experts in that line.

Just to give a few examples. One day I was very much astonished to find that all my bananas had disappeared, although they were carefully stored away in a closed press, so I suspected, and not without reason, that one of my Isneg boys had found them to his taste. At the first occasion I bluntly asked the fellow what had happened to

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my bananas, hoping in this way to catch him unaware, but as quick as lightning he retorted: "*Kinalbów náyá áto* (the dog ate them)". Now the poor boy never thought of the impossibility of that press being opened by a dog, and even in case it could have been done, of the improbability of a dog leaving the meat aside and choosing the bananas instead.

On another occasion I had observed that a kind Iloko lady had missed Mass on two consecutive Sundays; and so at our first meeting I made a little remark about the matter, but she was as quick as my Isneg boy in retorting: "I had my menses". This I merely answered with another question: "Twice a month?"

It may be hard indeed for any innocent person not to defend himself when he has been accused unjustly, but for an Isneg I think it would be simply heroic to keep silent after a reproof, even though it be slight and most amply deserved. And even when the unreasonableness of his excuse has been demonstrated to him, he must be a very dull fellow indeed if he will not immediately try another one, without even stopping to think whether it may not be as little acceptable as the one just rejected.

Another custom which very often makes abstraction of truth or error as we understand it is their manner of answering a question. No conscientious inquirer should ever forget that these people are in the habit of answering a question, not according to truth, but according to what they believe you except to hear from them. I would be the last to accuse them of wilful lying under the circumstances, and would much prefer to put the blame on their inborn desire to please you. This goes to show that one has to be very careful in proffering judgment on our Isneg, not only with reference to questions that may have been answered the wrong way, but also with reference to obedience in general to those precepts of their moral code that have to do with truthfulness and lying. The blame of the whole affair is very often to be laid, either on the inquirer himself who should know something about the mentality of this people, or on the courtesy of the latter: in this case they should be credited, not with the vice of lying, but with the social virtue of politeness.

A few Isneg expressions with a direct or indirect bearing on the education and home life of the child may here be appended:

Áyáyam: Toy.

Lullupítan: Said of a child who cries for the smallest reason.

Dumdúm: Dull, unhandy at work. Also: dull at learning.

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Kútaw's boat, which is always fastened at the *dodóñăn* (place on the bank of a river where a boat is fastened, landing place) on this side of the pond when not in use, has only one *pidpíd* or side plank, which means that one side of the boat is open and unprotected, and nevertheless no water ever enters her and she never goes down. Thus the *kadudúwá* is ferried over the water in a boat that consists of only about one half of an ordinary one, a boat cut in two from stem to stern. When asked how anybody could possibly cross the *lablabbáñ* in such a contrivance, the Isneg merely state that they do not know. And in this they are most certainly right. But who would dare say that the actions of the spirits have to correspond exactly with our own? Their ways are not our ways, and that settles the matter. Besides, the *lablabbáñ* is not an ordinary *labbáñ*, neither are *Kútaw* and the *kadudúwá* ordinary men, so why should the boat be an ordinary one?

The only other detail I have heard about the *lablabbáñ* is that it is full of cogon grass (*labbáñ*) and of worms.

Kútaw himself was once described to me as wearing a coat from which a certain portion of cloth had been torn out entirely, and his headax or *alíwá* as being deprived of one of its essential parts, namely the *sáwit* or blunt projection at the back (cf. CAC–P, 1:233, fig. 68).

Once at the other side, the *kadudúwá* live a happy life in the *Aglalannawán* (called *Tagtaggăyán* at Bayag) or realm of the dead: it is good (*napiyá*) to be there. Their life is comparable to a dream: they live in the same way as we do when we are dreaming. For the rest, they do not change in their ways: they plant and reap as before, have the same likes and dislikes, live on the same kind of food, with none of their old preferences gone, and so on. The house they live in, however, is not made of timber or bamboo; it is a real gold or silver one. There they stay and never come back, except at times and temporarily,—for instance, when they come to get one of their relatives, in which case the latter is *makadudúwá*, becomes sick and dies (such *kadudúwá* are called *gíbu-*), or when they enter the body of a shaman in order to communicate with the living, or even appear to the latter (perhaps only to the shaman), at the time of a *sáy-ám* sacrifice, etc.

It seems to result from all this that even the Isneg have a kind of double fate for man after death: one of happiness for those who prove acceptable to *Kútaw*, and one of privation for those who have to remain behind or are left unguided at the entrance to the *Aglalan-*

778 enveloped the tobacco fields, and all the trees were consumed in fulfilment of the saying that: "no tree shall grow here."

Many years have passed; but the mountain is still bare. And, if you come up to Apayao, you will see for yourself the place which Osud set on fire. Not a single tree has since grow on that mountain. This mountain is located below Magabta. It is called *bantay kungkingan*. If a stranger should pass by this mountain for the first time, he must pray and leave some gift. If he fails to do so, he will get caught in a heavy rain and become sick.

THE DISCOVERY OF LAKE DANAO

Long long ago in the *barangay* of Namaltugan there was a lake called "*Danao*," (lake). One day, while the Colidao people, who lived in Namaltugan were hunting, they discovered the lake. It gave them a great surprise because they found it in the middle of a thick forest which the natives called "*ginobat*." [311] They believed that it was enchanted by an *anito* because, in spite of the fact that it was in the midst of the thick, dark forest, not a single leaf floated on the water or lay in the bottom of the lake.

ooo Then the Colidao people spread to all the others the news of their discovery. When the Madatag people heard about the lake, they thought that it would be the best place for them to hide their precious jars; because they had heard that a man named Toliao was coming to fight with them. He was from the lowlands,

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These three facts combined prove that the Isneg, at least implicitly, consider a living man as consisting of two elements: the *baggí* or body, of which no more mention is made after death, as an *inndt* (corpse) takes its place, and the *kaduduwá* or spiritual element that continues to live and is usually invisible.

Through death "a person ceases to exist as an ordinary human being". Indeed, the *kaduduwá*, although its life is similar in many respects to that of a living person on earth, is usually quite invisible and "continues to live indefinitely". I say "indefinitely": why not "eternally"? It must be remembered that the Isneg have no notion of eternity as such; they know that the *kaduduwá* continues to live, they never heard of a *kaduduwá* dying, but if it lives eternally, that goes beyond their comprehension, or, to be exact, they never think as far ahead as that. And so what looks to the Isneg as "indefinite" (living on indefinitely), if considered under our own viewpoint, would probably mean "eternal" (living on eternally). The corpse also is far from existing as an ordinary human being. Not that the Isneg consider it to be completely devoid of any animating principle, but that it is dead for the time being, and if it lives afterwards in the state of a *balańóbáń*, its life cannot be compared with that of an ordinary man.

The *kaduduwá* goes to live "ultimately at least in the realm of the dead". This will be explained more fully when referring to the state of man after death.

"Leaving behind an *inndt*". *Inndt* is the body of a man immediately after death, as long as it stays in the house, and before burial, if burial takes place. The *inndt* is dead, it neither moves nor breathes, it needs neither food nor drink. We shall see presently whether the Isneg believe all dead bodies to remain in that state, in the state of *inndt*, until decay sets in.

2. *Future Life*

What happens after death? And first as to the *kaduduwá*.

The night after a person's death (some say: "at any time after his death"; but this could never mean "immediately after death" on account of the necessity of the *inndt* being clothed), *Kútaw*, the ferryman, or rather the ferry spirit, comes along to bring the *kaduduwá* over the great pond (*lablabbáń*) to the realm of the dead. Here, according to some informants, the *kaduduwá* receives hospitality at *Kútaw*'s house until the latter brings it on its way to the house of its relatives who died before.

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nawán. The privation, however, seems to be only temporary, as the Isneg are, so far as I know, unanimous in declaring that all *kaduduwá* finally reach the *Aglalannawán* country. It might be called eternal, or rather indefinite in time, only in case the *kaduduwá* would have either always to remain unclothed or clothed with old garments, or to continue to live separated from its relatives for lack of a guide to the abode of the latter: but I never heard anything explicit about that. I am of the opinion, that, according to Isneg belief, all *kaduduwá* in the end attain perfect bliss. I shall have to add a few points to the Isneg belief in a double retribution, when speaking about the *balańóbáń*.

Anyhow Isneg doctrine in this respect is very different from either Christian or Northern Luzon Negrito belief:

A Christian believes in heaven, happiness, for the good, and hell, privation and actual punishment, for the bad.

A Negrito believes in life above with the deity, happiness, for the good; and, for the bad, living somewhere on earth, privation without actual punishment, or, according to some informants, being thrown into the water, being unable to move, etc., thus privation with actual punishment.

An Isneg believes in a happy life in the *Aglalannawán*, at the other side of the *lablabbáń* pond, happiness, for those whose *inndt* or corpse has been duly prepared; and staying at this side of the *lablabbáń* pond or living in partial poverty, at least temporarily, privation apparently without actual punishment, for those whose *inndt* has been neglected in some way. Good and bad in man, according to the Isneg, seem to affect only the state of the body after death, as will be explained in detail when referring to the *balańóbáń*, and not that of the *kaduduwá* or immortal spirit.

Here should be noted a curious belief which I found only among the Isneg living in and around Awan (municipal district of Bayag). Not far from Awan is a place called *Nagsińgowán*. The *kaduduwá* of anybody who dies in the neighborhood is supposed to pass at this place, dressed in full regalia, and if it is a man, carrying shield and spear. In case that *kaduduwá* asks for food at somebody's house, one of the inmates immediately accedes to its request, but as it is only a ghost, the food is not put into its mouth, but merely pushed against its chin. The *kaduduwá* always seems quite pleased anyhow, and continues its journey, but has barely gone along for a short while, when it invariably disappears.

THE ISNEG LIFE CYCLE

854 When the mother takes her child along, she carries it on her back
853 in a piece of cloth (addún; see PUBL. CATH. ANTHROP. CONF., v. I, no. 5, Fig. 52, p. 231), in which the little one takes a sitting position, its feet dangling freely beneath, and its head protruding above. At one side, the addún passes over one of the shoulders of the carrier, mostly the right one, and at the other side, under the opposite arm, its tips being knotted in front; sometimes, although rarely, the addún passes under both arms. In order to give her child the breast, the only thing the mother has to do is to give the whole outfit a little shift, allowing the baby to pass under the left arm toward the front; but even without going to such extremes, a little freedom in the position of the little one will give the latter a chance occasionally to get a few mouthfuls from the left breast of its mother by pushing its head under her left arm. This way of carrying her infant does not hamper the mother in her ordinary work, such as cleaning the field, pounding rice, and so on; besides, her movements will very often serve the child for a swing and rock it to sleep.

854 When the baby becomes a little older it is frequently carried sitting on the hip in a straddling position one foot in front and one at the back (abbayán). An older brother or sister, or some other kind-hearted person occasionally takes the place of the mother and carries the child around in one of the ways just mentioned.

/824/ Besides the ordinary precautions that have to be taken to keep the
821 child from injury, anybody who is carrying a baby around in the
854 evening should not fail to pick a leaf of tabbán or cogon grass along
789 the road and tie it to the child's ankle. Then, as soon as they reenter the house, the child should be made touch one of the three stones (taxán) of the hearth, on top if possible; if this were not done the Isneg firmly believe that the little one would get sick sooner or later. Nothing of the kind has to be done, however, if the walk took place in the morning.

854 Incidentally it may be mentioned here that small babies dispense
301 with all clothing whatsoever. A string to which a few seeds or cowries
291 (kamúsay) have been attached, and which serves it for a bracelet or, more rarely, for a necklace, is considered more than sufficient for the time being, and a small piece of cloth laid under the little one when at rest takes the place of swaddling clothes. The greatest concern of the parents is to keep the child in good health, and the amulets, whether seeds or cowries, will look after that.

854 All rags that are used with newborn babies and which are called dappin (in some places dappán), for instance the cloth that is some-

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for you if you can show the girls an *andôri* tattooed on your arm; will they not be eager to get the attentions of such a warrior? Will they not vie with one another in making themselves attractive and pleasing to him? Such a man will be renowned all over the country, and at every public *sây-ôm* sacrifice he will recount his brave deeds. Even when he is tottering with old age, people will respect him as they will nobody else, and after he has long been dead, his name will still be pronounced with reverence and given to children as a remembrance of his great deeds, so that his spirit will continue to live on earth in the members of the younger generation who are called by his name. In the realm of the dead his soul will live encircled by the same aureole of a glorious and immortal fame. It is true that actually you can hardly aspire to such great glory: strangers have taken possession of the land, people who know nothing about Isneg heroism and justice, people who would punish you for such an act of courage, people who do not understand that an enemy has no rights, that his head is acceptable to the spirits. But we of the older generation, we at least should not abandon our glorious traditions; and if it might please the spirits or an all-powerful fate to return to us our lost freedom and rid us of constabulary and judges, then, yes, you should not forget that you are an Isneg, that a head is the most precious offering that you can make to the spirits, that taking the head of an enemy, whoever he be, whether dead or alive, will give you a crown not to be equalled by anything else. You know how often these last years we have been visited by locusts and famine. Whose fault is it? Nobody else's but the cursed Ibanags': they forbid us to propitiate the spirits who are craving for human heads, and what can the *anito* do but punish us for our negligence?"

A couple of years ago, a poor Negrito, Kalisto by name, who had just escaped from jail, from which he would have been released very soon as he was innocent of the crime imputed to him, was killed at Tawit by an Isneg, who gave the pygmy's threatening attitude as a pretext for killing him. But after the body had been disinterred and examined, it was found out that a part of the skull was lacking and that it had been severed from the rest by a cutting instrument: this proved to everybody's satisfaction that the case was a headhunting affair and nothing else.

"Every Isneg child should be obedient to its parents. As long as you are unmarried, you have the bounden duty to comply with the wishes of your parents, and not only with those of your parents, but

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539 7. M.: Whatever, 'you', I obtain, it is all the same.
W.: It is your business, 'you', should you throw it away.

584 8. M.: Even though you look at it now, see.[37]
W.: Would I not feel gratified, companion, if it is so.

9. M.: One thing though, 'you', I will say again.

10. M.: How now, companion, if there is one now who manifests his thoughts.

11. M.: It cannot be, really, after all.[38]

12. M.: I know, is it not, that it is farther than the stars,[39] even though we others will say it.

13. M.: That is our end now.[40]

14. M.: As for me, I obtain what is bad or I obtain what is good.

15. M.: So that it is like this and this,[41] even though I explain it if you do not like it.

16. M.: Even though our thought is like this, if you say: "No", what can I do about it.

17. M.: It is my greed, companion, to steal this walk from others who are walking like me, so that if one who lives like me says: "No now", what can be done about it.

18. M.: But, 'you', to transgress the order [42] of my fellow creatures, I cannot do it.

19. M.: Failing to act without permission will result in not being offended by words [43] after all, companion.

20. M.: But I am offended by words on account of our life.[44]

In this text we meet with one Spanish term: *bando*, "ordinance".

[37] I shall not throw it away.

[38] I am not worthy of you.

[821] [39] *lawirān búlan*, literally: rope of the moon, thus: what follows the moon. The Isneg imagine the stars following the moon.

[40] We cannot add anything to it.

[41] Never mind.

[42] To act without permission.

[43] *balikát* usually means: pronouncing. Here it means: pronouncing bad words in order to offend somebody.

[44] Because we are of a lower state.

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it is made of burnt shells[9] and usually kept in a small calabash (*busiŋán* or *tabáyad*).[10] The betel (*xawád*) may be the same as that used by man (any of several varieties) or it may consist in the very small leaves (*dazapá*) that are absolutely of no use to human beings.

In order to become a proficient farmer it is necessary to have at least a fair knowledge of what the Isneg call the *taximmatón* or *taxemmatón*, the "signs". Here are a few of them:

The *yaŋyáŋ*, which is supposed to be a small insect: it announces the coming of the dry season, usually some time in March. No Isneg can claim ever to have set eyes upon it, as it is completely invisible: it is known only from its voice, which is very sweet.

The *sibulbúg*, a kind of large bird: its cry announces the arrival of the rainy season, usually some time in November.

The first appearance of the *buúlún* or rainbow, which is one of the multitudinous spirits known by the Isneg: it proves that the rainy season has set in.

The *aniwánat* or Milky Way: if it becomes visible after a prolonged period of rain, it forecasts fair weather for several days to come.

The *bíbig*, which is a kind of bird of average size with grey plumage: it foreshadows a period of very heavy rainfall.

Other *taximmatón* that indicate the time at which some particular kind of work is to be performed, will be mentioned in due time.

As it is exceedingly important for the progress and the final success of any kind of business that all necessary rules be observed, that no taboos be infringed, and that nothing be done that might go counter to the will of the spirits, indicated in various ways, I shall now give a few hints to the farmer with reference to work in the field in general. At the same time, some of these hints may be of use to an Isneg who wants to embark on some enterprise that has nothing to do with farming or gardening.

First of all, the Isneg should be convinced that none of his exertions will be of any benefit to him, if they go on without the blessing and coöperation of the spirits. Therefore, whenever possible, he must recite the following prayer, or a similar one, in the morning, before going to work:

[9] *Dazíkan, azodón*, etc., different kinds of fresh-water gastropods, all of them having a long tapering spire. The *azodón* is larger than the *dazíkan*.

[10] The *tabáyad* is a small white calabash with a very narrow neck, although less narrow than that of the *taŋtáŋ*, which is the kind of calabash used by the Isneg when they prepare *inapúzan* in honor of the *Pílay*-spirits, at harvesting time.

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Umáŭnakamí iddaggán kiyá agwiwiliyán (Come to wait for us where we go to work).[11]

The text of this prayer was furnished by *Yadán* from Nagbabalayan (O dialect, K branch).

Very often the spirits give the Isneg warning not to work on a certain day, lest he incur their anger and his work be of no avail or the result of it be destroyed or rendered void. He should heed them and keep a holiday (*magúllin*) whenever it is intimated to him. Here follow some of these warnings:

When you hear the voice of one of the following birds: the *buwákaw*, the *bakákaw*, the *bissaxáw*,[12] or the *púro*,[13] for the first time, you must stay at home for one whole day without going out to work. Should you be on your way in the morning, do not proceed, but come back home, and remain there for the rest of the day. Should you hear it in the evening, stay at home the next day. If you happen to hear it again later on, it does not signify anything.

When you hear for the first time the lowing (*úxa*) of a deer (*ugtá*), whether in the evening or at night or early in the morning, do not go to work in the field the next day, whether you be man or woman, because, if you do, the deer will inevitably consume all your plants (*múla*). In some districts, however, this is observed only by men at the time of clearing the ground for a prospective rice field, which is exclusively a man's job.

In case of hail (*ulaláxo*), which the Isneg consider as the substance of the rain (*baggát udán*), the following day should be observed as a holiday. The same obtains during the dry season, when there is a shower of heavy rain (*arnáb*), so that rivers and brooks swell considerably, or when the streams become muddy and swollen (*balanbán*),[14] a sure sign that it rained hard somewhere upstream.

When you go to your work in the morning and you meet an omen bird or *labág*[15] that *magsúñit*, turn back (*maxulli*) immediately lest you meet danger on the way. The *magsúñit*-flying is more or less

[11] Literally: Where we go and from where we come back on the same day.

[12] So called from its cry. It is smaller than the *bakákaw* and is usually heard early in the evening.

[13] So called from its cry. It lives in the bushes and may be heard either in the morning or in the evening.

[14] Not to be confounded with *balañbán*, which is the name of the temporary fence built around the house of a deceased person.

[15] A small bird with red plumage, black at the throat.

Ewagan is very handsome, shining like a flame. 776
A great bird, *Gabilayan*, carried him through the sky. He has great strength and has magical powers. He can cross a river without a boat and can change his body into a pig. There are many stories told of his fighting, hunting, fishing, and farming.

At one time when the sky was very near, Ewagan 773
lived on earth. He built a house for the poor and 821
made a kaiñgin for the blind and lame who could not work. He showed the people how to make *aliwas* and build good houses. In order that the people might more easily reach the sky, Ewagan planned to build a high tower. He called all the people together and held a big meeting; but the people from the different *barangays* had different dialects and could not understand orders. So he had to drop the project and send the people home. However, he did take the people 497
in his own *barangay* and built a great bridge across the Apayao River at Lucban. You can still see the stone posts of the ancient bridge standing there.

Ewagan stayed for some time on earth; but one night *Hasatan* came to him in a dream, and persuaded him to become an *anito* in the sky world, so that he would never become tired. At the same time, he could help the people just as well and cure them of their ills. Ewagan agreed and Hasatan used his magical powers to change Ewagan into an *anito* in the sky world.

At first, the sky was so very low that the trees could not grow very high, and the strongest of them grew right into the sky. But one day a woman was pounding rice and she raised her pestle so high that

773 it struck the sky. The sky became frightened and
821 raised up, causing a great commotion, and the trees were torn out of the ground.

776 To the family of Hatan, I will add the names of
[771] some other *anitos*. The tendency is for them to lessen in scope, in number, and in interest (i.e.—toward monagony). First I will mention some good *anitos*.

776 *Kaybacan* is the guardian of the house. A feast,
527 *pildap*, is given to him upon completion of a new house.
342 Small spears are placed there in the house where he stays. Whenever there is meat, a small portion is placed on the spears. Otherwise the family will get
[704] sick. No eels, deer, or mud fish are brought into the house; for the *anito* dislikes their smell and would run away, leaving the family to sicken and die.

776 *Pilay* is the guardian of the farm. He lives in
241 the granary. If a stranger touches it, he becomes lame. A small feast, *pespes*, is given to him at the beginning of the harvest.

Ambungan is the guardian of the rice harvest. Before harvest one must mix some burnt rice with shredded coconut and eat it under a certain big tree
[821] where he is. If the owner does not do this, strong winds and rain will come and blow down the grain.

776 *Danag* is the guardian of the fishermen and hunters; while *Ayan* induces the wild pig to run into the trap; but *Siwasion* helps the wild pig and deer to avoid the hunters.

Daguan makes one strong to work, and *Manglanbang* is the guardian of the warrior; while *Panugatang* is the guide. *Sangasan* guards the entrance to the *barangay*.

Ewagan, *Jimalingan*, *Banwaran*, and *Diaban* are called upon in time of sickness, and *Barangseo* helps one to run away if some enemy is trying to kill him, while *Anglabang* will help him kill his enemy. *Lecay* kills other *anitos*. 776

Among the evil *anitos Pungal* is best known and most feared. He causes sickness and death. People always obey him. *Ademat* also gives a fatal illness; while *Kapunan* gives sudden death by hemorrhage. *Anguan* hunts men with dogs and gives one a headache from which he may die. *Dangquico*, *Makel*, and *Kilang* move the winds that kill instantly. 776 753 [82]

Kakayan teaches and tempts people to do evil, and *Anlabbang* causes quarrels; while *Duman* steals beads. *Darantan* lives in the river and is the one who makes a person drown. *Aliang* lives along the streams and entices small children away. Occasionally one see his peculiar foor prints in the sand. *Wirwer* digs up the dead corpse and eats it. 776

There are also various ghosts, giants, and fairies. *Balongobangs* are evil revivals of the dead corpses who cannot bend their legs. They catch people and tear them to bits. One can tell them at night by their nauseous bad odor. Then is the time to run away from that place quicker than possible.

The *Gaggag* are giants who live in the forest and can make themselves into animals. If one even says their name, they will rush out and kill him. They have green blood in their bodies and red blood is only in their heads. So one must hit a *Gaggag* in the head in order to kill him.

IV. *INNAS*

539

First Group: *Ki kayo ñga calagaab*
Intada ñga magdowas
Innas sa ianno onnas inballoballog
ogennas.

2nd Group: *Ay yo diamno dowas*
Aed ac lagud aumicad
Ta piniac makilaglagaak
Ki kao nga kalabeat.

First Group: Oh! beloved brethren,
Let us love one another.
Allright: forget the past and
Let us all love together.

2nd Group: Here I am with you, love;
Yes, I am here with you;
I want to be happy
With you my beloved brethren.

COSMOLOGY

Apayaos say that the earth is flat with edges, off 772
which the water flows and is caught by the moon 821
which returns it to the earth as rain. You can tell 823
when this will be done by observing the new moon. 221
If its tips (forming a container) are horizontal it 241
will not rain. If one tip is down, the water will run 805
out and it will rain. Camotes are planted during the
first and the last quarters of the moon. The positions
of ursa major and ursa minor determine the time of
planting most of the food crops. This is done by co- [476]
operative planting, *abugo*.

241 784 527 Harvest is started in the wax of the moon. In each *barangay* there is a chosen woman, *gomanay* (beginner of harvest) who goes ceremoniously to each field in turn and cuts the first bundle of rice and stores it in the granary. She must observe many taboos and no one else may come near the field for two days prior to cutting. During the first five days of harvest no one visits the owners house nor asks for fire. No fuel is cut nor rice pounded. The *anito* must not be frightened. Otherwise planting and honest are gala seasons.

[805] Each full of the moon is observed as a holiday; also as the first thunder and first rainbow in the season. In the full of the moon the granary (in which all the rice cut has been stored) is first opened by another chosen woman, *Manginas*, who goes ceremoniously, before dawn and takes out three bundles only, which she pounds and cooks. She eats first; but she must not take a bath nor eat fish nor chew betel-nut [479] all that day. Those who worked in that rice field then receive their share of the crop.

821 784 During an eclipse of the moon no work is done and likewise during an earthquake, which is caused in this way: deep under the earth in great cave, there lives a huge eel and a crab. When the crab pinches the eel he wiggles, and so shakes the earth.

821 Once the sun and moon had a quarrel. The moon beat the sun with a broom; and so the sun struck the moon with a fire brand giving it a dimmer light and leaving a scar where it struck.

764 A fence is constructed around the house, and all neighbors are strictly prohibited, *canao*, from entering [827] it or even from coming around the place. The rela- [262] tives dress in white as a sign of mourning and drink *basi;* but they do not eat rice nor meat; only plain food, such as camotes and bananas. There is no music, dancing, or singing; only mourning in order that the spirit of the dead may be happy in the knowledge that they miss him.

The corpse is bathed, dressed, and laid out on a mat, length-wise with the house. Then the nearest relative (husband or wife), with hair cut short and dressed in white, must lie down by the side of the corpse just as if it were still alive, and remain there without food and without moving for two or three days, all during the *callas*. After a while it becomes torture for the person to stay still; but when he does move without permission, the relatives of the dead are there to punish him and force him to pay them indemnity.

764 While this is going on, all the relatives are eat-
533 ing, drinking and mourning. This mourning is not so much the grief of parting, but rather as entertainment for the dead. There are certain specified shouts and talking back and forth, using certain old cadences: sometimes expressing pity or carrying on vigorous debates which almost seem quarrelsome. As the *callas* continues, it all makes quite a noise.

764 In the meantime, the corpse has begun to smell and putrify. A relative takes some of the fluid beginning to come out of the mouth, ears, and eyes of the decaying body and rubs it as an ointment all over

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764 824 the *lito* (also Lygodium sp.) used for the manufacture of basketry, in the smaller size of its leaves and the brittleness of its rachis.

764 824 After all these rites have been duly observed, the body is lowered into its final abode. In order to do this, the Isneg tie the coffin with strips of *báno-* (core of the rattan), which are rather brittle and never used when something has to be tied in a durable way. It now depends on the wishes of the nearest surviving relative, the husband or wife, the father or mother, a child, as the case may be, whether a lid has to be placed over the coffin or the body has to be left uncovered and the lid dispensed with. In case the body was kept squatting in the lower half of a jar, the other half is now placed over it, and the opening on top is closed with a plate (earthenware imported from China).

Then the grave is filled up with the earth that was taken out by the gravediggers, and the old basket that was used to extract the loose earth at the time of digging is placed on top. No mound is erected over the grave; the ground above is simply kept level with the surrounding ground.

Here follows the description of what is placed on and over the tomb: a few things immediately after the funeral, others either at the same time or the next day, according to the wishes of the people in charge or to the presence or absence of the materials in question at the time of burial.

There are placed on the grave immediately after the funeral:

824 Several pinnae of a young coconut leaf, sometimes twisted into different fantastic shapes, roughly imitating those of birds, dogs, stars, balls, etc.; also some stumps of cigars, partly burned: all these to keep away *Bowá* (by some called *Alibowá*), a spirit who feeds on dead bodies;

In some places a spear is stuck in the tomb: this is done in order to prevent the spirit *Wirwír* from stealing and devouring the body;

824 823 Then ingredients for chewing betel nut, namely: one or more betel nuts or some sections of a betel nut, leaves of the betel pepper, some lime. The lime is placed there more especially with the purpose of preventing the body from leaving its grave in the shape of a *balańóbāń;* in this way the lime supplements the magic power of the *takkág* and of the ashes of the burned raincoat, both of them mentioned before.

Further adornment, put in place either immediately after the funeral or, more commonly, the next day:

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operative planting, *abugo*.

THE FIRST CIRCUMNAVIGATION OF THE EARTH

823 In the olden days there lived a beautiful maiden. This beautiful maiden lived in a fine house; and around the house she planted different kinds of flowers. When the plants grew up, they bore many flowers. Different kinds of insects came in contact with the flowers, especially in the morning and late in the afternoon. This maiden was friendly to insects and birds. She was also a magician.

One day she was sitting by the door watching the insects sucking on her flowers. She saw a beautiful butterfly and said: "friend butterfly, come into my house and we will have a talk." So the butterfly flew inside the house and settled itself on the flowers which were sitting on a round block in the house. Then the maiden began telling the butterfly her desire: that she wanted to find out if the water flows off the earth. Her reason was that the people believed that water flows off the earth, so she wanted to see if that was so.

The butterfly then answered: "Let us go around the earth and find out whether the people are right or wrong. Get on my back and let us fly away." So they flew away and flew around the earth. They then discovered that water does not flow off the earth; but just flows about on the surface.

When they came back, the maiden told all the people that water does not flow off the earth; but flows about on the surface.

Nowadays many of the old people still do not believe that water is flowing only about on the earth.

They always believe that water flows off the earth. 823 ●
Their reason is that, if the water does not flow off the earth, it would have been full of water a long time ago. So it is still believed by some of the Apayaos that water flows off the earth.

DONKOAN AND HIS WIFE DOMMARIA

There was a man and his wife. The name of 843
the man was Donkoan and the wife Dommaria. He instructed his pregnant wife that she should not go to any other house or go any distance as he was going away to trade. He started out; but did not say where, merely telling his wife that he would spend several days on his trip. On the second day, a woman named Malagamsi, a former sweetheart of Donkoan, came and asked Dommaria to go and look for certain sour fruits. Dommaria said: "I cannot go with you, for my husband told me not to go out." But Malagamsi said: "He will not know, and we will only go to the top of that hill." However, Dommaria would not go. Malagamsi came again the next day and tried to persuade Dommaria to go if only to the top of the hill. At first, she refused; but finally, as Magamsi said that she had seen a *balococo* (a very sour fruit tree) on the top of the hill, Dommaria agreed, providing the tree was very near. She said that they must get back soon, for her husband would find out and scold her. So they started out.

They climbed quite a distance up the hill but did not come to the *balococo*. Dommaria said: "where is the tree?" Malagamsi said: "Only a little way further."

APAYAO SYSTEM OF MEASUREMENTS

805

Time

The day—*aldao*
dawn—*paglawag*
sun-rise—*sumirag* or *lumta*
morning—*pagmaat*
mid-day—*algao*
noon—*mangalintotogo*
afternoon—*gidgidam*
sunset—*lumgap-simab*
evening—*gumibat*
night—*gabi*

The week—*liguan* (five)
First day—*pisa*
Second day—*piddua*
Third day—*pelo*
Fourth day—*pimpat*
Fifth day—*ligo*

Month—*bulan* (moon)
The Seasons—
dry—*negao;* rainy—*nudan*

Year—*dagon*

804

Quantity

A certain small basket-full of rice—*isa tapang*
Siyam (9) *tapang*— *tanga salup*
Dua polo si lima (25) *salup*—*tanga caban* (some 63 kilos)
One hundred leaves of tobacco—*tanga pito* or *tanga badad.*

Weight

Light—*nalangpao* Heavy—*nadamat*

Length

One hand span—*dangan*
One span of extended arms (tip to tip)—*dapa.*

823

Points of the compass

North—*abud* (down stream); South—*daya* (up stream); East—*amibao* (where sun rises); West—*amigato* (where sun sets).

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that may occur, as it is the ultimate cause of the anger of the spirits, who are deprived of their usual offerings through the abolition of headhunting.

But let us come back to our original purpose of describing the Isneg life cycle, and leave those digressions about fate and spirits for some other time. I shall first treat birth; second, education and home life; third, marriage; and fourth, death and burial.

I. Birth and Infancy

The birth of a child is as a matter of course a very important event, not only for the individual in question, but also for everybody concerned. Any addition to the household is hailed with delight by each and every member of the family, and children are considered as a very precious asset by all Isneg. Some five years ago, at the very beginning of my residence among the Isneg, while I was chatting one day with the justice of the peace of Kabugaw at the latter's house, an Isneg woman came to see him in order to ask him to allow her to divorce her husband. When the judge remonstrated and tried to convince her not to resort to such a drastic procedure, by describing its bad effects more especially on her own self, the woman merely replied that she could stand anything from now on, as during her short married life she had been given "gain" (she used the Spanish term *ganancia*); and when the judge asked her what kind of gain she meant, she merely showed him her child. While in the eyes of most persons a child would be an obstacle to the easy divorce of its parents, in the eyes of this Isneg mother, the child that had been given to her was considered as a treasure that would compensate all hardships incident on the separation from her husband.

A. Pregnancy and Gestation

In order to promote pregnancy, some married Isneg women buy what some of them call "medicine" either from the Christian Ilokos or from other married people among their own tribe. This "medicine" usually consists of one or more kinds of herbs which are the secret of the seller. The buyer carries them on her body, tying them to her girdle in front, either above the right thigh or above the left one. The *ginanad-*, a herb that grows on trees, is chewed by Isneg women for the same purpose.

A kind of small herb, called *âma-dâ*, is occasionally used by Isneg women in order to stop bearing children. Somebody goes to the

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824 842 forest, gathers the herb in question, wraps it in a piece of cloth, and brings it to the woman, who immediately starts chewing it. This is mostly practised only by mothers who have already been blessed with a numerous offspring.

843 811 Both Ilоko and Kagayan attach much weight to the capricious appetite of a pregnant woman, and to whatever she loves or loathes at the time, all of which they believe to have its repercussion on the baby that has to be born. So some years ago a certain Kagayan mother gave birth to a child whose skin was much more lightly colored than that of its brothers and sisters, and everybody explained the occurrence by the fact that the mother, while pregnant, had had a very great devotion to a statue of the Divine Babe, which was either made of white material or at least painted white, and that she had gone almost daily to pray in front of the statue in question. All Isneg, however, whom I questioned on the subject disclaimed both knowledge of such a belief and its existence among their people.

843 776 Whatever may be the reason, the Isneg do not seem to dread the intervention of the spirits (*anito*) before the actual birth of the child. Do they perhaps imagine that the *anito* are ignorant about the ways of the flesh, and that they do not know the meaning of pregnancy? Or do they believe that the spirits have no power on children as yet unborn? The latter is probably the case. I think that in their eyes, as long as a child dwells in the womb of its mother, only what enters the body (food, semen) is able to exert any influence on it, and that [833] outsiders can in no way affect it. And so, except for a few beliefs with reference to food, the only precaution that is taken during the pregnancy of the mother is that the husband ceases having sexual intercourse with his wife so soon as her state is known with certainty, lest, so they say, the babe be injured. For the rest everything runs its usual course, and, although such a large number of magical and other practices have come to my notice at every other period of the life of the Isneg, the period that precedes the birth of a child has so far proved to be completely devoid of any belief in the evil influence of one spirit or another.

843 824 In some places a woman who is pregnant for the first time, is believed to assure the good health of her babe after its birth, if she eats *asadi*, which is the fruit of a kind of tree that grows in the forest.

843 262 824 These are the articles of food forbidden to pregnant women which have come to my notice:

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From a Dangla informant:

Three kinds of sugar cane:

The *saxádaw*, which has a yellow skin;

The *lokóg*, with a dark-purple skin;

The *basótāu*, with a reddish-brown skin.

Three kinds of bananas:

The *dokkasi*, which is a very large banana with a thick yellow skin;

The *parandn*, which is very small and has a thin yellow skin, its taste is more or less sour, and it grows in very large bunches;

The *lippokán* (Iloko: *alimúkeń*), a small egg-shaped banana with a thin greenish skin.

The terminal bud or cabbage (*baraníbād*) of the fish-tail palm (*aníboń*, Caryota cumingii. Lodd.).

The *tobál* or soft meat of a sprouting coconut, lest the woman experience difficulty in giving birth to her child.

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From a Nagbabalayan informant:

Legs of a pig, for the same reason as in the case of the *tobāl*.

It should be noted in this connection that taboos are not always universally observed all over the district of Apayaw. For instance, a certain article of food may be forbidden over a comparatively large area, while everywhere else such a taboo is unknown and consequently unobserved.

B. CHILDBIRTH AND POST-NATAL CARE

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A pregnant (*nabu-sit*; *bu-sit*, in Isneg, means "fetus"; *buksít*, in Iloko, means "belly, abdomen"; "fetus", in Iloko, is *sikúg*) woman goes about her ordinary duties up to the last moment. I have known a Kankanay woman who gave birth to her child while she was working in an irrigated rice field, and, although I know of no similar cases among the Isneg, it has been told me more than once that an Isneg mother could give birth to her child anywhere, even though walking and at work. On other occasions, while inquiring about their proper names, I was told that a woman who gave birth to a child in the bush, might call her child "Bush" (*sirát*); if she brought forth her offspring near some tree, the name of that particular tree might be given to the newborn babe. All this goes to prove that the intensive care taken by and for a future mother in more civilized areas is entirely absent and considered as quite superfluous among our sturdy mountaineers.

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843 Nevertheless such extreme cases are the exception, as may be readily understood. Under normal conditions an Isneg mother is delivered at home surrounded by persons who are in a position to assist her and to look out for whatever is necessary or suitable on this important occasion.

843 If a future mother is able to secure some *taxañlaká* or *añlaká*, this
824 is fortunate indeed: in the eyes of the Isneg, this herb exerts a magical influence on the birth of a child, and the mother who carries the *taxañlaká* (in Ilоko *laká* means "easiness") on her body will be delivered without the least difficulty. The *máyandw* vine also is supposed to have the same power. Should she happen, however, to meet *añlóñag* (a small herb), the Isneg are firmly convinced that a single look at these nefarious plants will cause her to experience much difficulty in giving birth to her child.

1. Normal Cases

844 I shall first examine the usual case of a single living child that is born to a couple of happy parents; later on a few abnormalities will be considered.

Here, even from the beginning, I am confronted with contradictory statements, namely with reference to the place of the house where the mother gives birth (*maxan-anâ-*, from *an-anâ-*, "child") to her child. Some say that the mother is delivered near the place of the hearth; others assert that any part of the house will do. From Bayag comes a corroboration of the first statement: at that place the kitchen is usually separated from the house proper, and it was told me that in case a woman was in labor the hearth would be taken out of the kitchen and brought to the house, after which the child would be born near this transferred hearth.

Everything considered I do not think it very difficult to explain the contradiction involved in the above statements and to arrive at the exact truth about the matter. All my informants agreed that the place of a woman after her delivery was near the hearth (*dapûg*) of the house. Now, whereas all these informants were men, and men have no business to be present at the exact moment of child-birth, the real place may very easily have escaped the notice of some of them in every instance, and the subsequent position of the mother may have led them to believe that the actual place was the original one. Besides, it is obvious that, whenever possible, the mother will go near the hearth from the beginning in order to avoid the trouble of being

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All men who do not belong to the family are forbidden to enter the house, and even those who live there, whether small boys or adults, have to keep away from the mother,—a prohibition which is easily complied with, as Isneg houses are very roomy. The husband alone forms an exception to this rule in a few places, Bayag for instance, where he is allowed to assist the women; but in most other localities, he himself, although permitted to stay in the house, has to turn the other way and is forbidden to witness the birth of his offspring. Nobody, however, is allowed to remain at the door (*xagiyáńan*): this is strictly taboo; all persons have either to enter the house, provided of course they belong to that set of people who are not forbidden to be present on such an occasion, or to stay outside below the ladder.

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The Isneg mother brings forth her child kneeling down on the floor of her house. In order to facilitate the birth of the child, the Isneg sometimes place one or more *pulpultóg* (a fungus in the shape of a small round white ball, growing on wet soil) on the body of the future mother. If she experiences unusual difficulty, the *bańsál* (a thorny woody vine) is used for the same purpose. Occasionally some *kalobbazá* (small herbs) are placed over the place of her lungs, lest the latter move. Lung is called *bazá* in Isneg.

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A small section of light bamboo (Schizostachyum mucronatum), on which a razorlike edge has been cut by means of a headax, is a very appropriate instrument for the severance of the umbilical cord (*púsag*). The afterbirth, to which has been tied some kind of herb (*kaddát*) known to the shaman as an amulet (*tánib*), is placed either on a *duyát* (wooden plate), or in a *bali-lukú* (spathe of the betel nut) or a *tázo-* (coconut shell), and then buried either far away from the house (at Bolo, etc.), or under the house, immediately below the hearth (at Musimut, Bayag, etc.).

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A Bayag man told me that, in case the child was born still enveloped in a membrane, which he said was a very rare occurrence, his people rolled the latter up in a piece of cloth and stowed it away somewhere in one of their trunks; they considered it as a very powerful amulet in business: it would enable the owners to buy many things. He also stated that the newborn babe was bathed immediately in ordinary cold water; in other places, however, and this I consider to be much more general, the child gets its first bath only when it is able to turn itself upon its mat without assistance, or to creep over the floor on hands and knees (*maxadáń*).

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the outside, immediately after the birth of a child. The *izād* is an instrument that is used to scrape out the meat of the coconut: it mostly consists of a piece of wood fixed upright in a block of the same material, which serves it as a base, and provided at the top with a small tonguelike blade, sometimes more or less in the shape of a half moon, whose edge has been cut out into a row of teeth like a saw. This instrument, according to the Isneg, looks to the *anito* like a frightful dog, at least at the time of the birth of a child, and no spirit will venture to approach the house, as long as that faithful guard remains in position. At Bolo they stretch a *lásiw* (a special kind of vine) crosswise over the entrance. Elsewhere, and this is the most common practice, a spear is stuck in the ground immediately below the ladder, and around the spear are wound two strips of cloth, one red and another one indigo; this contrivance also keeps the *anito* unmercifully at bay. Whether scraper, vine or spear, this guard remains at the door of the house as long as the child is not able to move freely over the floor of the house.

But the ways and means of the spirits are manifold. Although practically no access can be had to the house on account of the spear or the scraper, as the case may be, it might happen that an *anito* uses his evil influence from afar off or approaches the child or its mother by some other way. Therefore to protect the child, a small portion of black wax (*lilín*) is stuck to the hair of the baby, at the whirl somewhere on top of the head; of this, according to the Isneg, the *anito* are much afraid.

The mother, besides inserting some herbs (*kaddáṭ*), the secret of the shaman, in her headband (*laddóṅ*), never fails to stick a small piece of ginger (*basáṅ*) on the blunt projection (*sáwit*) at the back of the small knife (*ikó*), which she always carries stuck in her headband. The shape of the *ikó* is the same as that of the ordinary Isneg headax (*aliwá*), but the latter is much larger; the upper part of the blade of both the *aliwá* and the *ikó* is prolonged at the back into a comparatively long dull pin. That piece of ginger protects the mother from the evil influence of the spirit *Talomásim*. Indeed, as long as she has to sleep near the hearth, she is liable to become sick (*matalomásim*) whenever she leaves the house, even in the daytime; the ginger, however, whose smell *Talomásim* cannot stand, keeps the latter at bay, and the young mother reënters the house without becoming *matalomásim*.

THE ISNEG LIFE CYCLE

854 When the mother takes her child along, she carries it on her back
853 in a piece of cloth (addún; see PUBL. CATH. ANTHROP. CONF., v. I, no. 5, Fig. 52, p. 231), in which the little one takes a sitting position, its feet dangling freely beneath, and its head protruding above. At one side, the addún passes over one of the shoulders of the carrier, mostly the right one, and at the other side, under the opposite arm, its tips being knotted in front; sometimes, although rarely, the addún passes under both arms. In order to give her child the breast, the only thing the mother has to do is to give the whole outfit a little shift, allowing the baby to pass under the left arm toward the front; but even without going to such extremes, a little freedom in the position of the little one will give the latter a chance occasionally to get a few mouthfuls from the left breast of its mother by pushing its head under her left arm. This way of carrying her infant does not hamper the mother in her ordinary work, such as cleaning the field, pounding rice, and so on; besides, her movements will very often serve the child for a swing and rock it to sleep.

854 When the baby becomes a little older it is frequently carried sitting on the hip in a straddling position one foot in front and one at the back (abbayán). An older brother or sister, or some other kind-hearted person occasionally takes the place of the mother and carries the child around in one of the ways just mentioned.

/824/ Besides the ordinary precautions that have to be taken to keep the
821 child from injury, anybody who is carrying a baby around in the
854 evening should not fail to pick a leaf of tabbán or cogon grass along
789 the road and tie it to the child's ankle. Then, as soon as they reenter the house, the child should be made touch one of the three stones (taxán) of the hearth, on top if possible; if this were not done the Isneg firmly believe that the little one would get sick sooner or later. Nothing of the kind has to be done, however, if the walk took place in the morning.

854 Incidentally it may be mentioned here that small babies dispense
301 with all clothing whatsoever. A string to which a few seeds or cowries
291 (kamusay) have been attached, and which serves it for a bracelet or, more rarely, for a necklace, is considered more than sufficient for the time being, and a small piece of cloth laid under the little one when at rest takes the place of swaddling clothes. The greatest concern of the parents is to keep the child in good health, and the amulets, whether seeds or cowries, will look after that.

854 All rags that are used with newborn babies and which are called dappin (in some places dappán), for instance the cloth that is some-

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584 832 534 [828] 1. The use of musical instruments, which he plays at the house of the girls, usually while lying down in the evening, and which are supposed to have a very soothing influence on the mind of any member of the weaker sex. As this is not the place to describe these instruments at length, I shall merely enumerate them and add a few of their most outstanding characteristics:

The *kuribáw*, a kind of Jew's-harp, entirely made of bamboo, whose tongue is struck by the finger at its fixed base.

The *axiwáń*, another kind of Jew's-harp, partially made of bamboo, whose metal tongue is moved by a string.

The *balikiń* or nose flute, which consists of a slender tube of bamboo, open at both ends, and provided with holes along its length, three at one side and one at the other.

584 832 533 2. The singing of love songs (*magdaldallán*). This is done in the daytime as well as in the evening, whenever the boy is moved by concupiscence (*makibabbáy*). Such songs, however, are not the exclusive property of the male sex.

584 834 192 3. The pronunciation of special terms, otherwise meaningless, that are supposed to have a magical influence on the female sex. These are interwoven in the verses of the song and more or less connected with the rest of the sentence. Such terms are: *dumaripón, dumiñídiñ, dumardarobó*, etc.

584 832 302 824 4. The use of perfumes (*bañúg*), usually consisting of fragrant herbs or leaves stuck in the headband; although unseen by the girl in the evening, these perfumes forcibly strike her nostrils in an agreeable manner. Any kind of perfume may be used for the purpose, but the most esteemed on such occasions is the *malindáw* (called *indáw* at Bolo). The *malindáw* is a small tree covered with spines and provided with very aromatic leaves. The *Anán* brook near Dangla flows through a thicket that is renowned for the abundance and variety of its odoriferous plants: *silávon* (aromatic leaves, parasitic on trees), *dilán* (aromatic seeds, a kind of rattan), *malindáw*, etc.

584 832 1776 Here two spirits occasionally play an important role: both of them are supposed to spread a very agreeable odor, and they sometimes accompany the boys on their courting expeditions, although nothing is done by the latter to attract them. They are:

Asináw: a spirit who lives in the hills and always wears very nice apparel; he is supposed to be visible at times. He merely accompanies the boy and through his fragrance influences the girl in behalf of her lover.

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832 with her body. Or he may resort to a stratagem very often used in
789 magic, namely, he may place a drop of the oil in question on one of
171 the girl's footprints. Belief in the efficacy of such actions is not confined to the Isneg. Many Iloko, all of whom were converted to Christianity in Spanish times, believe that the caudal spine (*burábur*, in Iloko) of the sting ray thrust into the footprint of a person or in the place made wet by the latter's urine, invariably causes the death of the person in question.

832 Sometimes, instead of this ordinary love charm prepared by a shaman, the boy uses one of his own choice: he tears off a diminutive section of a thread from one of the fringes at the hind part of his G-string, and mixes it with the betel (betel nut, leaf of the betel pepper, and lime) which he prepares for his girl to chew.

832 I have also been able to obtain the names of a few herbs, used for
824 love charms, which were known to the boys who gave me this infor-
278 mation. It goes without saying that the shaman is completely left out in such cases. These herbs, none of which I have been able to identify as yet, are:

sagúbăy: a small herb, the leaves of which are used to win a girl's love;

tagalomó- and *taññó-:* small herbs, to be mixed with oil, as explained above;

aňímud: a small herb, to be mixed with the betel given to the girl;

aňam-ámo: a small herb, placed either on the girl's mat or under her nose so that she can smell it;

danórăn, tagiámo and *pa-paámo:* small herbs, the first two growing on trees. The boy does nothing else but put one or more of them in his pouch when he goes to court the girls: they merely serve him as an amulet in order to win his girl's love. *Amo* in the last two of these three names, and in the preceding one, means "taming";

dalúpa-: a small herb, to be put secretly in the pouch of a girl who is "wild" to you.

The use I give for each of the above herbs is simply the one that was given to me by my informants, and I repeat it exactly as I heard it, without any addition or explanation on my part.

A Tawit boy gave me the following recipe, which works both ways: If you want to win the love of a girl who is engaged to some other boy, gather a few *tuma-ddy* herbs (a creeping herb growing in the forest), and mix some part of them with the betel nut you hand to

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the girl in question; as soon as she swallows a part of the juice of this mixture, her love for the other boy will have disappeared in its entirety, and you will have taken his place in her affections.

To complete the account I shall add here the means used by a spurned lover in order to revenge himself on the girl who despises his love. The first thing to do is to obtain another kind of herb or mixture of herbs from the compliant shaman. After that the boy pays a last nocturnal visit to the house of the girl who has definitively refused his advances, and throws a part of this charm, which in this case is not a love charm of course, at the girl in question. If it sticks to her body or to her clothes, the Isneg firmly believe that she will conceive through the sole adherence of the herbs thrown at her; in such a case she will forever be scorned by other young men, and the young man's revenge will be complete. If the charm falls down and does not stick to the girl, she will escape unscathed. Similar [171] beliefs are to be found among other Mountain tribes; in certain Kankanay tales, for instance, there is question of a girl who crosses a brook or takes a bath at a place below the one where a boy has thrown his anklet (Kankanay: *bóyat*) into the water: the latter, having floated down, encircled one of the girl's legs, with the inevitable result, not only that she became pregnant at once, but that her being with child became apparent almost immediately.

All the above information concerning the means used by Isneg lovers to win a girl was given to me by young men who had exactly the required age to know everything about the subject from personal experience. From some of the Isneg boys I have also obtained tests giving typical dialogues between a boy and a girl whom he courts. Owing to their content and length and to the necessity of prefacing them with certain linguistic data of a more general nature, they are given as an appendix to the present paper (pp. 261-80).

The Isneg believe that, if the betel (nut, leaf and lime) which a girl prepares for her lover to chew, causes a burning sensation in the latter's mouth, it is a favorable omen for him. In such a case the boy may hope to find his sweetheart ready to accept his suit. So also, if the betel prepared by a lover for his sweetheart burns in the latter's mouth, the girl understands that the boy is really in love with her.

An Isneg lover generally looks for a good omen before going to court the girls, at least when the affair has become serious or when he takes the necessary steps to know definitively whether his feelings

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584 583 nection *maxamómăn* (or *umunĕ-*) means nothing else but "to go to the house of a prospective bride and ask the parents for the hand of their daughter", which is done by the relatives of the groom.

At my first visit to Namaltugan, one evening I was sitting on the porch of the municipal building, when a whole group of Isneg, men and women, old and young, all in festive attire and seemingly in very high spirits and full of glee, were seen passing along and directing their steps toward Aputan. When I inquired about the reason for this display, my companions told me that these Isneg were going to the house of a prospective bride in order to make arrangements for a possible marriage in the near future; they were intent on the *amómăn*.

This gathering, which always takes place in the evening, and in which a large group of relatives of the future husband take part, is really a very important business meeting. Here, after the completion of the *sumpád* ceremony, they discuss the *tádug* or price that has to be paid to the parents of the girl, the number of years during which the young husband will have to stay in the house of his parents-in-law before returning to that of his own parents, and so on. The bride and groom, however, take absolutely no part in the deliberations. In this connection the *săyó* herb should be mentioned for the powerful influence it may be able to exert here: indeed if one or more members of the *amómăn* party take some *săyó* (a small creeping herb) with them, the girl will most certainly consent to go over to the boy's house immediately after the final ceremony, and the latter will not be obliged to stay even for a short time in the house of his parents-in-law.

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584 583 The first part of the *amómăn* is known by a special name: *sumpád*, and consists in the formal presentation of the boy's suit by three delegates called *patúgăn*. Before dark the *patúgăn* start on their way to the house of the girl: one of them is always a young woman, as yet unmarried, and she always carries one, and only one, basket full of native sweets of the variety called *binaladdibád* (*ininapát* in some districts). The *binaladdibád* or *ininapát* consists of *dékat* rice, a kind of very oily rice, sometimes known as "red" rice among Americans residing in the Philippines; the *dékat* is indeed very often red, although there are also several varieties of white *dékat*. The *dékat*, pounded into powder or not, is cooked with coconut milk (expressed from the meat of the coconut) and salt or sugar, and wound in woven

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together side by side in three places, at both ends and in the middle; it corresponds exactly to an ordinary raft or *zákit*, except of course that it is much shorter. 764

The *tádag* is then laid down near the middle post of one of the longer sides of the house, namely the one opposite to the door (fig. 3), and the body is stretched out upon it at full length, with its head near the wall, arms crossed over the chest, hands flat and fingers extended. In this position the *innát* has the place of the hearth to one side, but it is comparatively far away from it, as between this and the *tádag* is a certain space, that is usually reserved for women after childbirth; the middle post just referred to is kept immediately at the side of the head of the deceased, between the latter and the hearth. The *innát*'s pillow consists of the garments of which the deceased has just been stripped, jacket and G-string or tapis, etc.; they are rolled up into a bundle and placed under the head of the dead person. The latter's eyes have been closed; but the mouth may remain open: the lower jaw is never bound up.

After this a few pinnae of a young coconut leaf (*palátan*) are twisted and formed into a kind of crown, which is placed over the head of the deceased. This crown, which the Isneg call *sinaxíkaw*, is never absent. Then the whole body is covered with a fine new blanket, which leaves only the crowned head visible. [824] [292]

If the deceased is a married man, his surviving wife cuts off her tresses at the height of the shoulders (*maggañád*), and these are tied to the head of the *innát* and arranged in such a way as to form one with his own hair. [302]

It should be noted once for all that all ceremonies and observances connected with death and burial are the same for men and women, for adults and children, for shamans and ordinary mortals, except for an occasional detail that will be recorded at the proper place. 766

In some special cases the *innát* is kept in a sitting or squatting posture, this time immediately in front of the central post and facing the door. It is kept sitting on a small bench, with head and waist tied to the post just referred to, and hands resting on the thighs; there is no question of course of any *tádag* or bier.

At other places, as at Bayag, some corpses are kept squatting in a jar, always at the customary place. A large *xúsi* jar (earthenware imported from China), a *tadóxān* in the case of an adult, a *dordorí* in the case of a child, both very precious to the Isneg, is cut into two almost equal parts, and the body is placed in a squatting position

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766 inside its lower half, a certain amount of clothes being pushed between the sides of the jar and the *inndt* in order to keep the latter straight and to prevent it from falling forwards or backwards and from leaning to either side.

But these are exceptional cases and happen only to the very rich (Musimut, Nagbabalayan, etc.) or to persons that stand very high in the estimation of their people (Lettuakan, Bayag, etc.). At Musimut and so on, very rich people may be kept two days like that before they are finally interred. At Lettuakan, a few years ago, *Antón*, who does not seem to have been either rich or influential, was kept in a sitting posture for three days. At Bayag also, three days usually elapse before the jar is buried with its contents. I believe, however, that formerly such bodies would have been kept from burial for a much longer time. This opinion is based, not only on analogy with similar customs that obtain among other tribes, but also on information received in Apayaw with reference to the time that elapses between death and burial, all of which will be mentioned later on.

764 171 Among the Isneg there is no question of preservation of the body either by mummification or by the use of any other means. Abandonment of the coffined body under some large rock in the neighborhood of the settlement, which obtains among the Kankanay and the Bontok Igorot, burial in elaborate monuments, as is customary among the rich Kalinga, cremation, etc., are all unknown in Apayaw. The body is simply interred, as will be explained presently.

764 After the death of a person, one of his relatives (all of whom are called *matáydn*) goes to announce (*magba-ba-ndn*) the sad news to the absent members of his kindred. As long as the body remains unburied, friends and neighbors come and go, men and women showing in their own way their participation in the sorrow of the bereaved relatives. Women who go to the house of the deceased, usually take along with them some *anúlut* (a kind of herb) as a precaution, lest the *balańóbáń* of the person they go to mourn for be following them in the future. The *bási* that is abundantly distributed on such occasions, proves a very strong attraction to some of the men, and, in case the deceased was a man of means, the pigs that are slaughtered are also a powerful incentive and inevitably induce our Isneg to flock to the house of the dead (*makizánat* or *mepazinnaidy*) and participate in the ceremonies connected with mourning. No real sacrifices (*pildóp*, etc.), however, are offered, and no *mazonito* is per-

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Some tobacco, or some of the ingredients used in the chewing of betel nut (betel nut, leaves of the betel pepper, and lime), according to the former habits of the deceased. 764

To these may be added:

A bottle of *básІ;*

One or more spears;

One or more shields;

Some coins;

Some favorite musical instrument of the deceased; etc.

One of the following objects is also usually present, and, in the case of a rich man, all of them:

A *saxabán* (string of beads worn around the head);

A string of beads (worn around the neck);

A *xúsi* jar containing some *básІ* (in which case there is no bottle of *básІ*).

Everything is placed inside the coffin, the *xúsi* excepted, which is buried in the hole especially dug for it.

These objects, even though some of them are very precious in the eyes of the Isneg, are never interfered with; they always remain where they are. The desecration of a grave by robbers or other malefactors is something unknown in Apayaw. 764 769 685

Sometimes it happens that an ill-intentioned person (never one of the relatives), probably moved by a desire for revenge, when unobserved, stealthily places some herbs in the coffin, alongside the body. He does this with the purpose of forcing the body to leave its abode at night in the shape of a *balańóbáń*, and to roam around playing havoc among the chickens of the neighbors. 764 754 775

Before the body is placed in the grave, the bottom of the latter is strewn with ashes, obtained by burning an *anańá*, which is a kind of raincoat made of palm leaves. This ceremony is supposed to serve a double purpose: the raincoat will render good service to the deceased in the other world, and the ashes will prevent the dead body, either from leaving its grave in the shape of a *balańóbáń* or ghost, or at least from frightening the neighbors.

Lest the *balańóbáń* scare the relatives of the deceased or the women of the neighborhood who daily repair to their work, the Isneg usually put some *takkág* vines inside the coffin, alongside the body. The *takkág* is a schizaeaceous fern (Lygodium sp.), which differs from 764 824

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764 824 the *líto* (also Lygodium sp.) used for the manufacture of basketry, in the smaller size of its leaves and the brittleness of its rachis.

764 [824] After all these rites have been duly observed, the body is lowered into its final abode. In order to do this, the Isneg tie the coffin with strips of *báno-* (core of the rattan), which are rather brittle and never used when something has to be tied in a durable way. It now depends on the wishes of the nearest surviving relative, the husband or wife, the father or mother, a child, as the case may be, whether a lid has to be placed over the coffin or the body has to be left uncovered and the lid dispensed with. In case the body was kept squatting in the lower half of a jar, the other half is now placed over it, and the opening on top is closed with a plate (earthenware imported from China).

Then the grave is filled up with the earth that was taken out by the gravediggers, and the old basket that was used to extract the loose earth at the time of digging is placed on top. No mound is erected over the grave; the ground above is simply kept level with the surrounding ground.

Here follows the description of what is placed on and over the tomb: a few things immediately after the funeral, others either at the same time or the next day, according to the wishes of the people in charge or to the presence or absence of the materials in question at the time of burial.

There are placed on the grave immediately after the funeral:

[824] Several pinnae of a young coconut leaf, sometimes twisted into different fantastic shapes, roughly imitating those of birds, dogs, stars, balls, etc.; also some stumps of cigars, partly burned: all these to keep away *Bowá* (by some called *Alibowá*), a spirit who feeds on dead bodies;

In some places a spear is stuck in the tomb: this is done in order to prevent the spirit *Wiruór* from stealing and devouring the body;

[824 823] Then ingredients for chewing betel nut, namely: one or more betel nuts or some sections of a betel nut, leaves of the betel pepper, some lime. The lime is placed there more especially with the purpose of preventing the body from leaving its grave in the shape of a *balaŋóbāŋ;* in this way the lime supplements the magic power of the *takkóg* and of the ashes of the burned raincoat, both of them mentioned before.

Further adornment, put in place either immediately after the funeral or, more commonly, the next day:

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After the death of one of their relatives, the Isneg also *lapatân* or taboo some of the coconut trees that belonged to the deceased. Such trees are easily recognizable, as one always finds a certain quantity of strips of bamboo or of thorny branches or of both, tied all around the tree, at the height of one's shoulders. I know of a couple of Iloko teachers who, knowing nothing about this custom, climbed a tabooed coconut tree, in order to drop down some of the fruits and eat them; unfortunately they were caught by the owners and got free only after the payment of a heavy fine. If they had been natives of the district, they would not have escaped so easily, although I doubt very much if an Isneg would ever dare break such a taboo.

Coconuts that have been gathered at the time of the owner's death are also declared taboo, and nobody is allowed to partake of them until the time of the *obóbāt;* if no such ceremony takes place (which must be a rare contingency) the fruits are left to decay. At the time of the *obóbāt*, however, they are declared *inúkas* or free, and everybody is allowed to consume them.

The following are the *lapāt* or taboos that have to do with fishing:

1. It is usually forbidden to catch fish in that part of the river or brook that passes near the settlement in which a person died. This taboo is lifted only at the time of the *obóbāt*. The tabooed section, which is said to be *mabalsiyán*, is marked off at both ends by green leafy canes of bamboo grass (Miscanthus sinensis) stuck in the bottom of the river or brook.

2. If the relatives of the deceased claim the exclusive right of fishing in a certain part of a river or brook, this section or *anáwań* remains tabooed until the *obóbāt* or completion of the mourning period.

It is forbidden to work on two days, namely on the second day after the funeral, the *taribukáy*, and on the day following the *obóbāt* ceremony. This obligatory rest is called *úlin*, and any work done on such a day is considered useless and inevitably subject to being completely spoiled.

A widow or widower is forbidden to visit the relatives of the deceased husband or wife for the whole period that elapses between burial and *obóbāt*. Infringement of this taboo would cause the whole body of the culprit to swell up. The same punishment would be inflicted on a widow or widower who would dare eat mushrooms (*óoń*) or *úbud* (young shoots of some palm trees, as the *aníboń* or fishtail palm, etc.).

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of the hand crosses the palm from one side to the other continuously and without interruption, is absolutely unable to raise a large amount of rice.[4]

Nobody, however, should feel dismayed, as the Isneg possess a cure even for the direst poverty. It consists in having recourse to the use of a very powerful amulet, which has been designed most especially for the needy by the ever merciful spirits, namely the *taza-rút*, a small herb that grows in the forest. The only question is to know it and to find it.

As will be made plain in the course of this paper, the Isneg firmly believe in a strict division of labor. Each sex has its own work to do, and generally no member of the opposite sex would dare encroach upon this age-long custom. Nevertheless there are a few male individuals who form an exception to this rule: these are the *tăyyén* and the *takowán*. The *tăyyén* (pronounced *tăyyán* in Bolo) do not know how to handle a hatchet, while, on the other hand, they use a woman's *ikó*-knife as easily as if it were a tool specifically their own; even in their gait, they take over everything that is characteristic of woman. The *takowán* dress like women and perform all kinds of work usually done by the latter: they plant, weed and pound rice as well as the most experienced member of the fair sex. But, I repeat it, these are exceptions.

No true Isneg man goes to work without his headaxe or *aliwá* usually stuck in his G-string from beneath, at one side, with the helve uppermost.[5] This is his constant companion and also the sole tool he needs when at work in the field. It will not be amiss to give here a detailed description of the *aliwá* of the Isneg.

The headaxe or *aliwá* consists of a kind of hatchet with a very broad blade and a comparatively thin long helve (*alupítan*).

The helve is made of hard wood furnished by several trees that grow all through the Isneg country, for instance the *taggáy* (a kind of molave), the *bañlát*, the *kanúmay* (a kind of ebony), etc. The end of the helve, opposite to the head in which the blade is fixed, is called *aguwáy*. The blade is attached to the helve by means of a tang or spike (*otán*) that fits into the head of the helve, which is surrounded by a comparatively long iron ring (*palábo* or *paraddál*).

[4] The *rappád* also easily resorts to murder: he is a dangerous person.

[5] Cf. Publ. Cath. Anthrop. Conf., v. 1, no. 5, Dress and Adornment in the Mountain Province of Luzon, Philippine Islands, p. 217, fig. 36.

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intricate and obviously of rather rare occurrence: this is probably the reason why such an unusual way of flying has rendered it suspicious to the natives. It happens like this: the bird flies first from right to left, and then from left to right, in front of the person who is on its way to the field; after that it flies first from front to rear, and then from rear to front, at the right-hand side. This fourfold movement of the *labág*-bird is called *magsúñit*.

If, after having begun (*sumikáp*, "to start work") any kind of work in the field, you happen to see a buzzard (*bukkáw*) for the first time, or a rat (*butít*) any time, stop then and there, return home and stay here for the rest of the day. As may be seen by the above statement, there is a considerable difference between the two: indeed, a *bukkáw* or buzzard sends you home only when it is seen for the first time, while a rat keeps you idle for a day whenever it makes an appearance.

There are a few other things of importance, which it is very useful for the Isneg to know.

For instance, if you happen to meet the spirit *Gabbuwá* on your way to work and he jumps out in front of you, you may be sure that you will become ill in the near future. Then it is up to you to take your precautions as soon as you come back home.

The influence of the spirit *Barôyan* is also very nefarious: should he accompany you on your way, you will be unable to perform anything worth while and your body will be aching all over; in some cases he has even caused people to become completely mad.

Never walk over the first plant or seed which you confided to the soil, whether it be rice or tobacco or anything else, because, if you are careless in this respect, not a single plant will grow in that particular field or garden of yours.

When you reach home, after having planted (*magmúla, muldn*) something, never take hold of a *báña*[18] in such a way as to insert your hand or your fingers (*magkuwál*). When it is absolutely necessary to take up a *báña*, be careful to touch it only at the outside, otherwise whatever you have planted will be consumed sooner or later by wild animals.

An Isneg who wants to become skilled in planting (*aragmúla*) must try as much as possible to observe what follows:

[18] An earthen jar used for cooking rice, etc.

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When you have to start a certain work and want it finished quickly, go and look for a little herb, called *tagalárat* in Bayag: it is about five or six inches tall, has comparatively long leaves, and grows almost anywhere. After you have found it, take it along and put it down somewhere near the place where you begin working: in less than no time you will be through with everything.

In order to assure the healthy growth of any kind of plant, before you start sowing or planting, stick some part of a *litáw* in the ground somewhere at the place where you begin. The stem and the leaves of the *litáw*, which is a climbing plant, are both of the same color: they are uniformly green.

When your plants have taken root (*naggamút*), or, which amounts to the same, if they live (*mabiyág*), it is the farmer's duty to see that they become strong. The surest way to obtain such a result is to go and look for a herb, called *tagabilag* at Bayag, and to attach it to one of the plants in question. It causes the whole field or garden to be covered with the most luxuriant vegetation and to produce a growth that can weather almost any storm. The *tagabilag* may be found all over the district: it is rather tall, some ten inches, and bears white flowers and red fruits.

Another herb, called *gátud* at Bayag, of the same habitat as the preceding, but rather low, may be used with profit in connection with the gathering of crops. It should be tied to one of the plants that have to be reaped, and if nothing untoward intervenes, the farmer may rest assured that his soil will yield a most bountiful harvest.

To avoid the occurrence of landslides, which often play havoc not only with plantations, but with dwellings and granaries as well, the Isneg plant *nagbăyúgan* on or near the spot they want to protect: one single plant is sufficient, and it is not necessary to have it multiply. The *nagbăyúgan* is a stout herb, usually some two feet tall: it spreads a very agreeable odor, has comparatively long leaves, and, according to the natives, bears no flowers.

But the enemies of a man's fields and gardens are numerous and powerful: some of them are able to destroy in less than one hour what it has taken you weeks and months to build up. Therefore all Isneg farmers should know who they are and make a thorough study of all the means at their disposal for combating them and protecting the fruit of their labor. The dangers that threaten the life or growth of any particular kind of plant will be treated in their proper place.

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A shaman, for instance, who envies the result of your labor, may pronounce the following words:

"Napiyá no lamúsan náyá kalkaltón" (It would be good if the *kalkaltón* ate it), and these insects will start destroying everything, cutting down not only the tender stalk of the rice, but even the sturdy petioles of the taro.

Or any ill-intentioned person may take it into its head to throw *aniág*-herbs into your fields or gardens. The *aniág* is a very low herb that grows almost in any place, and looks very innocuous; but if it touches any of your plants, these will soon be devoured by a whole legion of rats, wild boars, and the rest. Indeed, this herb proves such a strong attraction to them that the Isneg put it on their *balíti*-traps in order to cause wild boars to come along and be caught.

One might easily become disheartened when seeing how easy it is for an evil-minded person to cause the destruction of a field that is most promising; but this should not be so, because you must always remember that the good and kind-hearted spirits have provided you with a remedy for every evil. And so, if you see that there is something wrong with your farm, go and gather *balí-*, a kind of woody vine that grows in the forest and is covered all around with thorns that face the roots. As soon as any part of this vine is placed in your field, it immediately wards off all danger and transfers the latter to the farm of your neighbor. Then it is up to the latter to look out for himself. The same *balí-* has also the virtue to save you from being poisoned: it merely transfers the danger to somebody else.

All this goes to show that the career of an Isneg farmer is not as easy as it looks. Nevertheless he does not seem to mind, and he continues to live a care-free life. In Apayaw, the soil is usually fertile; plots that are exceptionally bad are easily detected by the presence of *anamág*-ferns, which thrive only on ground that is absolutely useless; and rainfall is abundant. Therefore the Isneg is able to raise almost any kind of plants at the expenditure of a minimum of exertion. Should incantations and evil imps haunt him, he has simple means to counteract their influence: his own magical practices and the help of the good spirits, his protectors. One thing, however, is of capital importance, namely his yearly rice crop; if it fails him, ruin stares him in the face.

And so we have come to the most important part of this treatise: rice.

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the latter being usually the most plentiful, over a small space called *tálon*. This *tálon* is generally not much larger than one square yard, and so the first day's work is finished within a comparatively short time.

Besides the observances that are usual for all kinds of work, and which have been mentioned previously, here are a few practices that are peculiar to the *mañumá* (clearing), which it is good for the Isneg to heed. And so, before beginning to cut anything, he should perform the ceremony called *sapsapó*. This consists in strewing a certain amount of ashes, brought along for this purpose, first to the left, then to the right, and finally behind his back, in order to avoid, if not the approach, at least the bites of mosquitoes for the entire duration of the *mañumá*. Besides, if he is a careful man, he will have provided himself with one or more of the following: *alimbódo, anagláw, talésăy*. The *alimbódo* is a kind of herb that keeps you from any kind of harm, from anything that might hurt you, provided it be placed at the spot where you begin your work. The *anagláw* is a low herb with comparatively long leaves, that grows all over the district, and is put down at the same place as the preceding, for the benefit of the worker and his *kómăn*. The *talésăy* also is a small herb, and serves the same purpose as the *anagláw*, but it is found only in forested areas. At the same time the following prayer may be recited. The text was given me by *Yadán* from Nagbabalayan (O dialect, K branch).

Dinakami palpalagmán kiyá sípăt năyá inammăyán (Do not disobey us at the clearing of the rice field).

Now pronounce the word *óka* or *póka*, and begin attacking the bushes. This word should be pronounced every day before the first stroke of the hatchet, until the whole field is cleared. Its pronunciation will help you to go up the slope in a lively way and to finish the work quickly. Should somebody come along and pronounce the same word, while you are busy cutting the bushes, its pronunciation will have the same effect, making the work easy for you.

The next day, that is the day after the *tálon* has been cleared, the Isneg *xumowán*, which means that he stays at home and does nothing: he makes it a holiday (*ńílin*). Woe to him if he infringes this taboo. What would befall him, nobody really knows, as it has never happened yet that this holiday was not kept: no Isneg willfully disobeys any of the customs of his people, and this special taboo is known by everybody.

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243 The third day, or the next day after the enforced idleness just mentioned, is called *sarsár*. Now the Isneg *manarsár*, which means that he begins work in earnest, starting for his field early in the morning.

The farmer begins clearing his field at the lower edge (*atád*), near the *tálon*, or small patch cleared two days previously, and gradually climbs up the slope, until he reaches the upper edge (*arpád*). Should the field be level, the Isneg call this work *mazónut* instead of *mañumá*. While cutting the grasses, he causes them to fall to the left or to the right, but always backwards, that is toward the *atád* or lower edge, so that they will not interfere with his subsequent work. All large trees are left standing, nothing is torn down but what can be cut either at one stroke of the hatchet (*magtaggád, taggadán*), or at least with little difficulty, so as not to hinder considerably the progress of the work. Usually in this kind of work the Isneg has two hatchets in his possession, the second one or *takám* being used in case the first one becomes dull.

[776] The spirit that is to be feared more than any other at this time of the year, is *Pagpazasápat*, a killer of men at the time of the *mañumá*.

An accident that may easily befall the Isneg at this juncture is the snapping of the helve of his *aliwá* at its junction with the blade, inside the iron ring or *palábo*. In this case the wielder of the hatchet is said to *magpañúd* and the hatchet itself is *napñudán*. Should such a catastrophe (and it is no exaggeration to call it by that name) occur on the day of the *sarsár*, the farmer is obliged to abandon the whole business and begin all over again, going in search of another field, observing the omen, cutting the *tálon* or first patch, *zumowá* or resting the next day, and so on. But this is not obligatory if the same accident happens on some other day after the *sarsár*, and not without reason: otherwise he might be obliged to clear fields until doomsday, as the helve of an Isneg hatchet, if used more or less carelessly, is apt to break very easily at this point, the thinned fork of the helve being very brittle at the place where the iron tang is fixed into it. This also may be a practical reason for leaving comparatively large trees intact for the time being.

243 824 When clearing a patch of ground that has been left untouched for several years, the Isneg is liable to come across all kinds of plants. Whereas his principal aim is to make the work progress as quickly and smoothly as possible, and to cut down whatever comes in his way, the

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larger trees excepted, nevertheless there are a few objects about which he should be extremely careful.

First of all we have the *amitál*, a kind of woody vine with elongated leaves, that may be found in almost any brake or bushy plot of ground. In case the Isneg comes upon it while busy clearing his field, he should stop immediately, go home, and stay there all through the next day, making the latter a *álin* or holiday. This *amitál* is by far the worst of all, as it retards the progress of the work considerably; others are not so bad.

The *lapát álag*, for instance, a kind of tree usually growing to a considerable size if left to thrive without interruption, must not be cut down in the *kóman* under any pretext whatsoever, because if the Isneg fails to heed this prohibition, the rats will inevitably destroy the rice that might happen to grow on this field. The *lapát álag* is easily noticeable by its absence of branches, all leaves growing directly on the trunk, and by its large leaves which measure approximately fifteen by five inches.

Then there is the *lúbo-*, a herbaceous vine that grows in forested areas: not only must it remain untouched, but the place where it grows should be excluded at any price from the *kóman* or rice field, otherwise a member of the owner's family will die before the end of the season. Consequently the *lúbo-* often obliges the farmer to alter completely the shape of his *kóman*, so as to keep the ground on which it grows at the outside of his future rice field. In some districts the same nefarious influence is attributed to a herbaceous vine which the natives call *bitál*, but which is probably the same as the *lúbo-*: the name *bitál* may have been given to it on account of the properties of the *bitál*-knot of vines, which will be described presently.

Another taboo has to do with the *pirály*-instrument which the farmer is absolutely forbidden to carry or play in the field, for the whole time that elapses between the *saradr* and the end of the harvest. Even a stranger who happens to have a *pirály* on his person, when entering the field, must be warned not to play it; usually, however, he will know about the prohibition without needing a warning. The reason of this taboo is that the sound of the *pirály* attracts the birds and causes them invariably to come and ravage the field before the end of the harvest. This *pirály* (fig. 3) consists of a small piece of bamboo in which two parallel slits have been cut lengthwise, without entirely severing the intervening portion from its adjacent parts; this central part is then lifted up by means of a small stick, that has been slid

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[534] under it and that produces a slight sound when pinched on either end.
243 It is also absolutely forbidden to pare one's nails in a new-made
784 *kómān*.

A very favorable omen is the meeting of a nest of *amsí-* in the future
243 rice field. The *amsí-* is a stinging medium-sized red-and-black ant,
825 very thin between thorax and abdomen. Such a find forebodes the
787 lusty growth of rice and of all plants that may subsequently be raised in this field.

Another happening that is eagerly looked for is the finding of a jungle fowl's nest. At such an occurrence all work is momentarily stopped and the only concern of the Isneg is to count the number of eggs it contains, each egg presaging the harvest of one hundred bundles of rice.

[534]

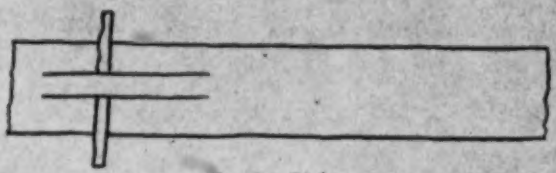

Fig. 3. *Piráy*.

243 When the day's work is over, the Isneg goes home to enjoy a well-
262 deserved rest. Here, however, he should be careful, when partaking of a meal, not to eat the crust of the rice (*assíp*), that is, the rice that is next to the pot and has become brown and hardened, because, if he did so, the palay on the field would *umsíp*, which means that it would refuse to grow after having sprung up lustily, and would then wither and become yellow and die. This taboo, however, has to be observed only at the beginning of the *mañumá* or clearing of the field.

243 On subsequent journeys to the field for the purpose of continuing
824 the clearing of the ground, it may happen that one sees along the road a *bitál* (also called *bitúl* and *binitulán*), that is: a cluster of vines or rather a considerable amount of strong vines that have become so intertwined as to form a huge knot. This knot could not have been there before, as it could not have escaped observation, so it is only reasonable to conclude that it has formed after the *mañumá* has been started. In this case the Isneg should retrace his steps and make that day a holiday (*ńilin*). If met in the rice field itself, however, such a knot may remain unheeded, as it has not the slightest influence on the man and his *kómān*.

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And so, after several days of hard work, perhaps interrupted occasionally by a holiday, in order to follow the rules laid down by his ancestors and the spirits, the Isneg finally reaches the upper end of his field, the *arpád*. Once there, he has to leave untouched a small section of his intended rice field, usually about one square yard, the *nańarpadán*. Later on, after a resting period of from three to five days, he is allowed to go and clear it with the rest (*pammalinán*, "to finish, to end").

The field is now *inumá*, which means that all the grasses, shrubs, canes of bamboo grass, saplings, etc. have been cut down: the first important work is done. It is for the sun now to do its part by drying up everything as soon as possible, man being a mere looker-on. This does not mean, however, that nothing has to be done before there is an opportunity for burning the *kómān*.

First of all, the farmer makes a survey of the *kómān* that is now in the *inumá*-state, carefully cutting down in the meanwhile anything that might have been overlooked, most especially at the center, the sides being of less importance: this is called *manábal*, a term that is also used for the finishing touch given by a woman to the rice field after it has been weeded.

After this comes the *tádaw* or the cutting down of all the branches of the trees that have been left standing in the field. The *lapát úlag* mentioned before forms really no exception to this rule, as it has no branches. The *tazimmatón* or sign for this work, which is usually performed some time in March, is the blooming of the *tablán* or coral tree, referred to under the *tazimmatón* of the preceding work, the *mańumá*. Another sign for the beginning of the *tádaw* is the *lumbá-*, a tree whose flowers are much sought after by honeybees: when the *lumbá-* begins to bear fruit, the Isneg knows that it is the *agtatádaw* or time for lopping the trees in his *inumá*.

This also, of course, is a man's work; but, because most all Isneg are able to climb any kind of tree, the work is not considered hard provided there are a couple of good sharp hatchets ready at hand. The *kumilá*-tree, however, is usually left with its branches intact, because the boughs are very brittle and it is rather dangerous to climb the tree and cut them; but nothing prevents the Isneg from cutting it down in its entirety, at the time of the *mańumá*, provided it be not too large. The *kumilá* is very straight and its bark is fragrant; it rarely grows very thick, although it may reach a great height. In Dangla,

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A part of the fruit and leaf of the lemon;

A few seeds of *laññá* or sesame: these seeds have a peculiar aptitude for "teaching" the rice how to grow vigorously;

A seed of *oldiyátan*, in order to guard the spirit of the rice, lest it leave the rice and the ears become empty. The *oldiyátan* is a forest tree with a thorny stem and round seeds that are used for toys;

A piece of zedoary or rhizome of *kannig* (Curcuma zedoaria [Berg.] Rosc.), which grows wild;

A piece of galangale or rhizome of *disôl* (Kaempferia galanga, L.), cut into small pieces. This plant is often cultivated, as old women use it for perfume;

Some pudding made from *madíliya*-rice, mentioned before.

All these are amulets (*tánib*) that insure the nice growth of the palay.

The seeds of this *la-bá* are now kept apart, and they will be planted in the field before any other ones.

Then the work of shelling goes on and, whenever there is a sufficient amount of *aggí-*, it is transferred to a bamboo tube, called *agaggikán* like the old mat itself. The term *agaggikán* consists of the stem *aggí-* and the locative combination *ag . . . án*: when referring to the mat, it means "the place where the woman *maxaggí-* or shells rice"; when applied to the bamboo tube, it means "the place of the *aggí-*". In some localities, instead of using a bamboo tube, the Isneg wrap the seeds in the leaves of the *asipúlo* or *sipúlo*: a forest tree with very large round leaves; its bark is sometimes used for chewing with the betel nut.

When the time of planting (*tognó*) draws near, the Isneg puts the finishing touch to the cleaning of his *kóman*. Some of the plants that had been cut during the *añumá* or clearing, have sprung up again (*rumsí-*), after the field was burnt. And so the man takes his hatchet and the woman her *palóʔ-* (hoe), which will be described presently, and proceed to the field in order to clean everything thoroughly before the planting is begun: this final preparation is called *magpatari-sí-* (*tari-sí-* means: young shoot of plants in general).

For the planting or *tognó* (a term used for rice and Indian corn, not for beans, etc.), which is the exclusive work of the women, the latter need a special implement, namely a dibble.

Here I shall give the description of the aforementioned *palóʔ-* (hoe) and of the two kinds of dibble used for planting rice, the *saguwá-* and the *xádaň*.

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251 Young banana leaves (*adón*) are used very extensively for wrapping
245 purposes, especially when things have to be kept fresh, for instance cooked rice, several kinds of viands, etc.

The men cut down (*lappadán, maglappád*) the leaves with the *aliwá* (hatchet) and gather (*manaxidón*) them.

Dry banana leaves (*arupát*) are used for wrapping all kinds of small objects.

245 A banana plantation where the leaves are all withered, is supposed
776 to be the abode of the spirit *Alḗxān*. For the rest, no harm is done, as she never attempts to destroy the fruits.

6. YAMS

244 The origin of yams or *úbi* (Dioscorea alata, L., D. pentaphylla, L.,
773 etc.) is authenticated among the Isneg by the following stories:

539 *Uwíl* from Bolo (O dialect, Main branch) told me this:

824

Ya nonōnná ńa úbi

The first yam

Kitó inumbét dató dódon kiddí itó nōnná ńa alxáw āwánda kanó ńa anán dató tólāy ta amminán dató dódon./ Kané āwánda ńa anán kitó mammínda ńa natáy ináru-da ya anánā-da séda ńa anán āy imúlada to tabbít nató ababbíń./ Ay to ya nagbalín ka úbi to ya nonōnná ńa úbi.

When the locusts came here in former days, the people, it is said, had nothing to eat, as the locusts consumed everything./ And when they had nothing to eat, so they would all be dead, they took out a part of their children's bodies, and they ate it, and they planted the flesh of the child./ And that became a yam: that is the first yam.

Another man related to me a similar story with reference to the *paddíg*-yam: it is very large, and its skin is very red; it looks as if it were bleeding. On a certain day, a mother took her babe as soon as it was born and cut it into pieces, which she buried in the ground. After a while they grew, and when the woman dug them up, they had become *paddíg*-yams. She cooked them, ate them, and found them to be a savory kind of food.

A different story is woven around the *dinampāyán*, a kind of *lo-tó* (Dioscorea fasciculata, Roxb. and D. aculeata, L.). The *lo-tó* are small yams, whose meat is yellowish or white and very soft; their skin is thin and whitish or brown, and is easily peeled off when cooked; their vines and leaves are thorny. Formerly all *lo-tó* were soft

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stones. A little child having stepped on one of them, the latter took the shape of a small foot: that is the reason why the *dinampăyán* are more or less footlike and have small projections like toes.

In Isneg, *úbi* is the general name for all yams, and *lo-tó* is the general name for several kinds of soft yams whose skin is white or whitish. In Iloko, *úbi* refers only to one kind of yams (Dioscorea alata, L.), and *tugí* is the Iloko equivalent of the Isneg *lo-tó*. In Kankanay, *tugí* is the sweet potato.

Besides the *paddíg* (*úbi*) and the *dinampăyán* (*lo-tó*), the Isneg cultivate the following varieties (belonging to different species of Dioscorea) of *úbi*:

The *aniñgát*: A kind of yam with purplish skin.

The *baraón*: A kind of yam almost perfectly globose.

The *bisóyon*: A kind of yam with purplish skin, very long and crooked.

The *kamáñag*: A kind of yam very similar to the Dioscorea batatas, Dene., but with a different vine.

The *dampandn*: A kind of *lo-tó* with a very pubescent skin, the most esteemed of all.

The *pixdy*: A kind of *lo-tó* with a very thin skin.

The *marivag*: A kind of wild yam, with comparatively small vines, growing along brooks. The Isneg improve it by cultivation. Perhaps Dioscorea batatas, Dene.

Whereas most other tribes cultivate yams rather sparingly, the Isneg plant them much more extensively than anything else, rice excepted. In this they resemble the Batan, whose staple food is the yam: rice, however, is not grown by them.

It takes yams one year to develop their tubers; they may be planted at any time.

Before planting *lo-tó*, the Isneg wash the parts that will be confided to the soil, with *babbalowán*-vines cut into pieces and soaked in the juice of the sugar cane. This is done to ensure their sweetness. The *babbalowán* is a herbaceous vine with yellow flowers and with leaves that resemble those of the *úbi*; it grows in gardens planted with *lo-tó*.

When they want to plant yams (*magbaló*; sometimes; *magtuvág*, which is said of both planting taro and planting yams), the first thing they do is to cut a certain quantity of tubers into pieces (*maxáru-* or *mañúru-*). Then holes are bored in the ground by means of a *paló-* (hoe) or a dibble (the *saguvó* or the *itytunó*; the latter being called *ibabaló* when used for planting yams). Some ashes are strewn in each

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hole, and the latter is provided with one part of a yam; after that the hole is filled up with earth. Almost any part of a yam, even parings, may be used for planting: the center, however, and the entire lower part are useless. In the case of *lo-tó*, usually the upper half of the tuber is thrust into the hole.

When the first yam has been planted and the hole duly filled up, the Isneg cover it with the half of a coconut shell, whose center has been cut out. No such precaution is taken with the subsequent ones.

When the vines die, this is a sure sign that it is time to dig up the tubers (*magsíkaw*; sometimes: *magtaggáp*, also said of gathering taro rhizomes). To cause the yams to last long, the Isneg woman places *takkág líñan*[1] next to the first yam she meets, when starting her work, and leaves the latter in the field: a practice similar to the one that is observed at the gathering of taro rhizomes. In the same way, if the first yam that is dug up, happens to be a small one, not a single large one will be found that day; therefore, it is best to stop the work and go home: the next day may bring better luck.

The number of yams varies from plant to plant, but it never exceeds five.

7. OTHER PRODUCTS OF THE ISNEG GARDEN

Here follows a brief enumeration of the vegetables (*taxílpá*) and other plants that are raised in the *kadánan* of the Isneg.

The *antá-* (Vigna sinensis [L.] Endl.), cowpea. Its green pods (*bísi-*), dried seeds (*bokál*), and young shoots (*otóñ*) are used for vegetables.

The *ítab*, *ábas* or *tañíñi* (Phaseolus lunatus, L.), Lima bean.

The *ampilán* (Dolichos lablab, L.). Its green pods are used for vegetables.

The *balátoñ* (Phaseolus radiatus, L.), green gram.

The *pallá*, *pallán* or *pallát* (Psophocarpus tetragonolobus [L.] DC.), asparagus bean. Its green pods are used for vegetables.

The *maséti* (Cajanus cajan [L.] Merr.), pigeon pea.

The *síñkamás* (*Pachyrrhizus erosus* [L.] Urb.), turnip bean or yam bean. Cultivated for its fleshy roots; its green pods are used for vegetables.

The *amaní* (Arachis hypogaea, L.), peanut.

The *karabása* (sometimes wrongly called *kalabása* or *labása*; from the Spanish *calabaza*), (Cucurbita pepo, L.), squash or pumpkin. Its

[1] [a type of vine, see p. 337. -- Analyst]

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fruits (*bísi-*), male flowers (*bu-gá-*), and young shoots (*rańáw*) are used for vegetables.

The *tabuńáw* (Lagenaria leucantha [Lam.] Rusby), bottle gourd, especially the Hercules'-club. Its fruits (*bísi-*) and young shoots (*rańáw*) are used for vegetables. Several varieties of bottle gourd are cultivated by the Isneg:

The *kandól*, dipper gourd.

The *bakóba-*, calabash. Universally used for storing rice.

The *lupiđy*: A kind of huge calabash.

The *tabđyad*: A kind of small white calabash. Sometimes used for storing rice.

The *busińán*: A kind of very small calabash. Universally used for storing lime.

The *bakuwáw*. Its young shoots are glabrous.

The *kabatíti* (Luffa cylindrica, Roem.). Its fruits (*bísi-*) are used for vegetables. The variety with ribbed fruits is called *balídan*.

The *pariyá* (Momordica charantia, L.). Its fruits and young shoots are used for vegetables.

The *tańkúy* (Benincasa hispida [Thunb.] Cogn.). Its fruits are used for vegetables.

The *kasímun* (Cucumis sativus, L.), cucumber.

The *túpa-* (Citrullus vulgaris [L.] Schrad.), watermelon.

The *kamáit* or *amákis* (from the Spanish *tomates*), (Lycopersicum esculentum, Mill.), tomato. The variety with small globose fruits.

The *tarón* (Solanum melongena, L.), eggplant.

The *amsí* (Solanum nigrum, L.), nightshade. Its young leaves are used for vegetables.

The *síli*, a general name for the following plants:

The *to-rán* (Capsicum frutescens, L.), chile or spur pepper. Its young leaves (*pat-ó-*) are used for vegetables, and its small fruits for condiments.

The *amilín*, a variety of the preceding, with somewhat larger fruits.

The *xappo-* (Capsicum annuum, L.), green pepper. Its young leaves (*pat-ó-*) and fruits (*bísi-*) are used for vegetables.

The *kambón*, perhaps Solanum crassipetalum, Wall. Its large fruits are used for vegetables.

The *salúyut* or *salúyaw* (Corchorus olitorius, L.), jute or Jews' mallow. Its leaves are used for vegetables.

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241 The *laññá* (Sesamum orientale, L.), sesame or benne. Cultivated
824 for its seeds (*bokál*).
262 The *agláy* (Coix lachryma-jobi, L.), Job's-tears. A variety with edible young capsules that are much elongated.

The *naññá, bannuwáñ* or *sábug* (Setaria italica, Beauv.), Italian millet. It is considered as good luck to find seeds (*bokál*) with two or three (instead of one) eyes or hila.

The *baxinát* (Andropogon sorghum [L.] Brot.), sorghum.

The *kumáyo* (Manihot utilissima, Pohl.), cassava, manioc or tapioca plant.

The *lampákan*, a plant resembling the taro. Its branchy rhizome is edible.

The *baxáñ*, probably Tacca sp. Cultivated for its edible roots.

The *basáñ* (Zingiber officinale, Rosc.), ginger.

The *sagó* (Maranta arundinacea, L.), arrowroot.

The *lasoná* (Allium cepa, L.), onion.

[263] The *báwañ* (Allium sativum, L.), garlic.

The *piniyá* or *apiniyá* (from the Spanish *piña*), (Ananassa sativa,
[283] Lindl.), pineapple. The fibres of its leaves are used for strings. Its suckers (one on top, several at the base) are called *pipíñ*.

IV. The Tobacco Field

249 Gardens and tobacco (*tabáko*, from the Spanish *tabaco*) fields (*bakáñ*) are both prepared from old rice fields, but, in the case of the *bakáñ*, the level parts are usually preferred; and so the term *maxónut* for "clearing a level plot of ground" is also the common term for "clearing the *bakáñ*".

The term *magkípug* for "weeding" has exactly the same meaning here as when it is used in connection with the *kadánan* (garden). It is customary, however, to remove as much as possible all trees and stumps of trees that were left in the field, when former crops were raised: this work is called *magkusáp*. Felling trees for timber is *magkallán*.

The biggest difference between a *kadánan* (garden) and a tobacco field is the absence of a regular fence around the latter. Its only protection against the inroads of animals is the *dal-át* or heap of rubbish, that consists mostly of weeds and canes proceeding from the surrounding grounds and piled up all around. The same contrivance is occasionally resorted to in the case of fields planted with Indian

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(*magkaskás*) from the *agdĕrăyān*-pole and then piled up (*magsaldít*) somewhere on the floor of the house, next to the wall, where they are left to cure. To keep the bulk (*saldít*) of tobacco leaves in place, a stick is fixed somewhere in the floor, and the bulk of tobacco finds its place between this stick on one side and the wall of the house on the other.

While the tobacco is curing, the men prepare (*mañolapí*) boxes (*kolapí*) for the final storage. These *kolapí*, which are as high as they are long and very narrow, are made from the bark of one or more of the following trees:

The *adaán*, a forest tree with large leaves.
The *ánut*, a forest tree whose timber is not much esteemed.
The *labdó*, mentioned before, when treating sugar cane.

Before storing (*ipintá-*) the hands of tobacco in the *kolapí*, the Isneg spread some *bánăy*-leaves on the bottom, to serve as a pad (*annáp*) and to cause the leaves to become red. The *bánăy* is a very tall zingiberaceous plant with white flowers and grows in thickets of bamboo grass and in waste places.

To cause the tobacco to appear very valuable to prospective buyers, some *taróyog* are mixed with the leaves stored in the *kolapí* (box). The *taróyog* is a low herb that grows in forested areas.

V. The Isneg Orchard

The Isneg have no idea of a real orchard as we understand it. Nevertheless there is no village, almost no house, where they have not at least a few coco palms growing on the grounds, which surround the house yard or the group of houses that constitute a village. To people who walk along a mountain path or paddle down a river on a canoe or a raft, these coco palms are very often visible from a great distance and are the surest sign of the actual or former existence of one or more habitations in their immediate neighborhood.

All fruit trees planted by the Isneg are to be found on the grounds just mentioned, but there is none more precious and more important to the inhabitants of Apayaw than the universally cultivated coco palm or *iyúg*.

As to the question of its introduction into Apayaw, let us listen to what *Lampá* from Dangla (O dialect, Main branch) has to tell us about it:

Naggăyatán năyá iyúg
Origin of the coconut

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To nōnná ńa alxáw ăy nagdallís nalnáp ńamin to alawaxā́n ńam āwán piám maiyúg kid apā́yaw,/ ńam ăy rā́nna la uwā́d da iyúg ga nillṓd./ Nasińán dató tólăy ēluxānda ńa totó ńam bakkánda namálā-./ Nasińán din to kusá sinaluxā́nna séna iddán kadató tólăy séda imúla./ Tówin ya naggăyatā́n ńámin ńa iyúg./ Ńam xapó ta ipaanā́ńi dăyá kusá to nańalā́-da kitó nagdallísna kitó nōnná ńa alxáw séno atā́n ya mańallṓd ônó mańíxād mińirańiráw dăyá kusá maxáwāgda ka iyúg.

In former days the whole world was covered with a flood, but no coconuts were yet produced in Apayaw,/ but it happened that there was a coconut that floated down./ The men saw it, they really desired it, but they did not get it./ A cat saw it then, it got it swimming, then gives it to the men, then they plant it./ That is the origin of all the coconuts./ But, because the cats managed to take it out of the flood in former days, when somebody causes [coconuts] to float down or scrapes out coconut meat, the cats mew, they call the coconuts.

When somebody intends to plant coconuts, the first thing he has to do is to climb one or more of the trees and to detach (*mamúxāt, buxā́tan*) a certain amount of ripe nuts (*iyúg*), which are dropped on the ground and afterwards picked up; cracked ones of course are useless for this purpose. A man who has been roasting meat should abstain from gathering nuts (*manuxúnug*) for some time, lest the trees that grow from these nuts produce nothing else but fruits that wither before they are grown to maturity.

The nuts (*patúbo*) are tied without more ado to a pole that has been stuck somewhere in or near the house yard, in order to cause them to sprout (*mańarā́y* or *magpaarā́y*). There are very few houses in Apayaw in whose immediate neighborhood there is not to be found such a pole with its heap of dry coconuts. Here they are left until the shoots have attained a certain development and they are ready to be planted.

The meat of sprouting nuts (*arā́y*) that are in their first stage namely before the shell has been pierced, consists of a white spongy mass (*tobál*) that fills the whole nut and is considered as a great dainty.

To plant coconuts (*magtubáń*) the Isneg men dig holes in the ground, at a distance of at least fifteen feet (*dapán*) from one another. Then the man who does the actual planting proceeds in the following way:

First he loosens his G-string, because

nexát ya abā́g séno nasulít a bunutā́n

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The tawny nestlike appendages situated at the base of the leaf of the coco palm, are called *appit*. 245

Among the several varieties of *iyúg*, two are especially remarkable:

The *xana-nát*: It is very much esteemed; its nuts contain abundant milk and their meat remains comparatively soft even when completely ripe.

The *pokópo-* or *paxópo-*: Its fruits are rarely numerous, and they can generally be reached without climbing the tree, as the latter never grows very tall.

Besides the coco palm, the Isneg cultivate many other fruit trees, usually on the same grounds. These are of much less importance, however, than the coco palm, and so I shall merely enumerate them and add a few details whenever necessary or advisable. 245 824

The *lumbán* or *dommón* (Citrus decumana, Murr.), pomelo.

The *kuttáy* (Citrus aurantium, L.), orange.

The *kakíl* (from the Spanish *cajel*, "a kind of orange") or *arańxíta* (from the Spanish *naranjita*, "small orange"), a variety of small orange.

The *alolonsít*, *kalomansí*, *kalamansít* (none of them genuine Isneg terms) or *daláyap ári* (literally: king's *daláyap*), (Citrus mitis, Blanco): A variety of lime, yellow when ripe.

The *balás* or *daláyap* (Citrus lima, Lunan), a small variety of lemon.

The *usíwa*, a small variety of lemon; larger than the *daláyap*; yellow when ripe.

The *arońrońót*, a variety of lemon, as large as a small orange, with very rough peel, yellow when ripe.

The *ximmá*, a variety of very large citron, more or less globose, yellow when ripe.

The *paká-* (Artocarpus communis, Forst.), breadfruit.

The *anaúká* (Artocarpus integrifolia, L.f.), jack.

The *mańgá* or *amańgá* (Mangifera indica, L.), mango.

The *kardowélas* (from the Spanish *ciruela*, "plum"), (Spondias purpurea, L.), ciruela, a plumlike fruit.

The *kapáya* (Carica papaya, L.), papaya or papaw.

The *lumbóy* or *lońbóy* (Eugenia jambolana, Lam.), Java plum or jambool. The infusion obtained from its bark is drunk as a remedy for dysentery.

The *makópa* (Diospyros discolor, Willd.), mabolo. Fruit globose, fleshy, densely covered with hairs; stones two.

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245 The *santól* or *santór* (Sandoricum koetjape [Burm.f.] Merr.), sandal 824 tree. Fruit globose, yellowish; pericarp thick; seeds large, surrounded by a soft, translucent or pale, edible, acid pulp.

The *piyát* (Averrhoa bilimbi, L.). Its acid fruit is edible and much used for condiments.

The *ulílib*, growing wild and occasionally cultivated: A large tree, whose edible fruits, when ripe, consist in a yellow drupe, the size of a small tomato (globose variety), and contain two stones.

The Isneg have several ways of gathering fruits from a tree. Whenever possible of course they simply pick them from below; otherwise they either climb the tree or shake it (*zoyyowán* or *yagyaggán*). Sometimes they use a *razúd*, a stick or bamboo provided with a hook, whether natural or artificial, in order to detach the fruits (*magdo-dó-*) and cause them to drop down. Finally they get some fruits by throwing a stick through the crown of a tree.

Fruits are gathered in the same way, whether one or more are picked (*magpannát*) for present use, or all of them are harvested at once (*magdakná-*).

A fruit that has been overlooked and is left on the tree is called a *kátat*.

VI. Other Plants

Here follows a list of trees, shrubs and herbs that are cultivated by the Isneg and have been omitted in the preceding treatment of the garden and the orchard. Most of them are planted somewhere at the outskirts of the village or around the house yard, like the coco palm and other fruit trees; but I thought it better to treat them separately, because, either they are not trees at all, or else they could hardly be counted as fruit trees in the strict sense of the word. Some of the herbs are found occasionally in the *kadánan* (garden), but this is rather exceptional.

Cultivated for culinary purposes

241 824 The *marońgáy* (Moringa oleifera, Lam.), horse-radish tree. Its leaves and fruits are used for vegetables.

262 The *katúday* or *kasúday* (Sesbania grandiflora [L.] Pers.). Flowers and pods are used for vegetables.

[263] The *salamági* (Tamarindus indica, L.), tamarind. Its pods are used for condiments.

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The *tṓsi*, *katṓsit* or *antṓsit* (Bixa orellana, L.), achiote or annatto tree. The seeds are used for condiments.

The *kapé* (from the Spanish *café*), coffee. The plants known in commerce as *robusta* are much more frequently cultivated in Apayaw than the *arabica*: this points to a comparatively recent introduction.

The *kakáw* (from the Spanish *cacao*), (Theobroma cacoa, L.), cacao or chocolate tree.

Palms and bamboos

The *bowá* (Arecga catechu, L.), betel palm or areca palm.

The *lítag*, wild betel palm, occasionally cultivated.

The *alimmuxā́yān*, a variety of betel palm with very small nuts.

The *lańpá* or *labíd* (Livistona rotundifolia, Mart.), a kind of fan palm whose leaves are used for raincoats, thatch, etc. Its fruits are called *kulḗbań* or *kulalbáń*.

The *kawā́yan* (Bambusa blumeana, Schultes. f.), the ordinary spiny bamboo.

The *pasíńan*: A kind of spiny bamboo whose walls are lined with a membrane. It is used in basketwork, in the building of huts, in traps for catching wild boars, etc.

The *pa-lí*: A kind of slender spiny bamboo, mostly used in basketwork.

The *bólo* (Schizostachyum mucronatum, Mack.), the ordinary unarmed bamboo. Occasionally cultivated.

Cultivated for their perfume

The *alańíxān* (Canangium odoratum [Lam.] Baill.), ylang-ylang.

The *bańńáw*: A shrub with round brown fruits. Its leaves are used for perfume.

The *sapitā́n* (Andropogon citratus, DC.), lemon grass. Sometimes planted in the *kómān* (rice field).

Cultivated for ornamental purposes

The *sarawénes* or *barawénes* (not genuine Isneg), (Delonix regia [Boj.] Ral.), peacock flower, flame tree or flamboyant.

The *lăyańā́* or *ăyańá* (Hibiscus rosa-sinensis, L.), China rose or shoeblack plant.

The *malmalókoń* (Northopanax cochleatum [Lam.] Miq.), saucer-leaf.

The *dummariyá* (from the Spanish *Doña María*, "Lady Mary"),

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241 (Codiaeum variegatum [L.] Blume), croton. Leaves very variable in
824 form and color.

The *patoddóń* (Euphorbia neriifolia, L.), a fleshy shrub.

The *sinandilá*, (Nopalea coccinellifera [Mill.] Salm-Dyck.), cochineal fig.

The *binaág* (Helianthus annuus, L.), sunflower or turnsole.

The *tugnúr*: A herb about half a yard tall. Its red fruits, strung on
[301] a thread, are worn around the head by boys and girls.

The *báoń* (Crinum asiaticum, L.). Flowers white and fragrant.

The *katańláy* (Alosia cristata, L.), cockscomb.

The *batónit* (from the Spanish *botones*, "buttons"), (Gomphrena globosa, L.), globe amaranth.

The *apasopáso* (Alternanthera versicolor, Regel). Leaves green and red or purplish.

And several others mentioned before, chiefly when treating tobacco amulets.

Cultivated for other uses

249 The *zawád* (Piper betle, L.), betel or betel pepper.
824 The *dilawá*: A variety of domesticated betel with large yellow leaves.

The *túba* (Croton tiglium, L.). Its fruits are used for poisoning
[226] fish.

The *sańláy* or *kápat* (Ceiba pentandra [L.] Gaertn.), God tree, ceiba tree, Bombay ceiba, silk-cotton tree or kapok tree.

[291] The *arinosó*: A tree whose bark is used for G-strings, headbands, strings, etc. Its leaves are very large.

The *darapiniyá* (derived from *piniyá*, Spanish *piña*, "pineapple"), *magí* or *amaxáy* (from the Spanish *maguey*), (Agave cantula, Roxb.),
[283] maguey, sisal hemp or century plant. Its fiber is used for thread to sew clothes.

The *lubixán* (Sansevieria zeylanica [L.] Willd.), bowstring hemp. It prevents smallpox from entering the village.

226 Sometimes the fish are poisoned with tobacco
[827] for the juice derived from the berries of the *tuba* bush. Also several types of fish traps are used.

224 Deer and wild pigs are hunted with dogs. Wild pigs are also trapped in their runways. The meat thus obtained is divided with fellow hunters and among neighbors. The hunting technique is quite communistic.

SOCIETY

621 The government of the Apayaos is simple. In
622 each family the man rules supreme and orders his wo-
[593] man what to do. This is the unit.

[361] A group of from 15 to 30 families build their houses near each other, *babalay*, being joined together for mutual aid and protection under one head man,
[57] *maingel*, who holds his position because he is the na-
[554] tural leader, is wealthy, and is the stongest and fiercest
622 warrior. The *maingel* wears a red turban on his head
624 and his arms are tattooed to the shoulders. He is absolute ruler; but has several advisory assistants, *pangmarwan*, who likewise have won their position through ability. The next best man to the *maingel*, is his number one assistant and so on. The common man may advise a *pangmarwan*. Upon the death of the *maingel* the number one *pangmarwan* takes his place.
627 The *maingel* and *pangmarwans* sit as a court to judge
692 any one who has broken the common law. Disputes between individuals are settled by intermediary peace
681 makers. It is notable that the fines are not paid to the government, but to the injured party, who receives the suitable indemnity. This may be in the form of jars, beads, animals, and other valuables.

The Common Law enjoins that man must not: steal, tell false stories of others, court the wife of another, nor make trouble at a feast. It further enjoins that a man must respect the rights of individuals, give food to visitors, give aid to neighbors, and that parents shall teach children the old customs and legends, as well as correct them in order that they may grow up properly. 685 683 684 687 867

The Apayaos have a very complete system of social etiquette which might be characteristic of a high culture. It displays a nice sense of fitness and an innate kindliness of nature. Hospitable customs make the visitor's stay a happy one. There is even no embarrassing sense of indebtedness for gifts of service or materials to be expressed: for the people have no word meaning "thank you" in their dialect. When one goes on a journey, there is no word meaning "goodbye": no sad word of farewell. One just walks away as if he were going down to the river to take a bath. When he returns, even after a long absence there is no word of greeting. He is treated just as if he had only come back from taking his bath. As a matter of fact he may have; for it is the custom to take a bath in the last river crossed before reaching home. 576 192 515

The people keep their houses and surrounding grounds clean and neat. Clothing is kept washed, and daily baths in the river are taken. The bark of the *taplet* tree is used for cleansing purpose. 356 575 [824]

The Apayaos are remarkedly modest about their persons. A woman must not allow her legs to spread when squatting to a sitting position nor allow her tapis to go above her knees. Even when there are no 516 834 834

776 The *Danag* live in trees and act like fairies. If
[824] a tree is cut down and it does not fall, a *Danag* inhabits that tree. *Danags* enjoy playing practical jokes. If something awkard happens on the way, a *Danag* did it. Or sometimes, when some priestess is calling her *anito*, a *Danag* will show up instead.

782 The usual method used to gain the favor or help of an anito is to give him a feast. This may vary in name, size, details, and extent, according to the occa-
796 sion and wealth of the party who gives the feast. The
574 general procedure; however, at a feast is about as follows:

[791] The relatives and family giving the feast gather in the house one evening while the priestess, *durarakit*, performs a ceremony in which she calls the suitable *anito* and invites it to enjoy the feast. She spreads a mat near the door, places on it a bundle of unthreshed rice, some *buyo*, with possibly other articles, and ties a small chicken near by. The priestess stands on the mat and, to the cadence of the drum and bronze gongs, side shuffles her feet and waves her extended arms, at the same time calling in an old chant for the *anito* to come to the feast. In a few minutes her eyes dilate and she begins to tremble in a trance. The *anito* has come. She continues talking to it, telling it to be happy and to please help as desired. After a while she comes out of her trance and starts placing *buyo* with leaves and lime, together with grass bundles, on the jars of *basi* and on the animals which are to be killed. (Dogs and pigs are eaten only at feasts.) The *durarakit* performs this that there may be peace at the feast.

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
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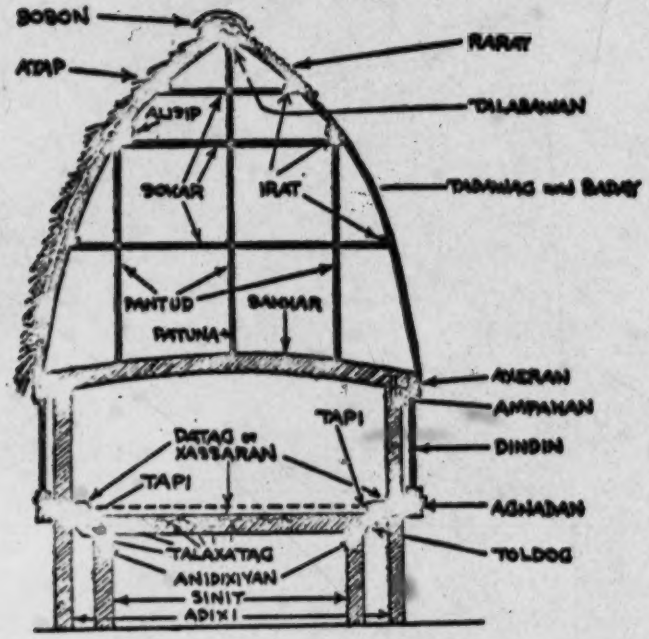

Fig. 6. — Isneg *binuron*-style house. The diagram is a composite of an unoccupied house built about 1905 in *barrio* Magabta, Kabugao, and another unoccupied house in *sitio* Malitaw, Namultugan, examined on 18-20 April 1956; terminology taken from "Isneg Buildings" by Morice Vanoverberg, CICM, *The Philippine Journal of Science*, Vol. 82, No. 1 (March 1953), pp. 77-108.

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[113]

Southern Strain. Each of these two long girders (*anadixiyan*) is mortised into the top of three posts (*sinit*) which elevate the floor to about the height of a man's shoulder, and across these girders are eleven floor joists (*toldog*). The actual flooring (*datag* or *xassaran*), however, is a mat of bamboo grass or rattan, and it rests on a series of thin laths (*talaxatag*) mortised into the upper surface of the joists, parallel, therefore, to the girders beneath. Also riding on the joists are two longi-

[824]

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
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tudinal beams or stringers *(tapi)* whose top surface is about three inches higher than the flooring and into which are mortised, at the same level, four longer crossbeams *(agnadan)*—two at one end of the house and two at the other—which protrude a foot of more beyond the ends of the joists. Mortised into the outer ends of these crossbeams are their horizontal equivalent, sills into which the base of the wall-boards *(dingding)* are rabbeted; and between these sills and the parallel stringers short laths are also mortised to support a sort of flooring platform or seat about a foot wide along both sides of the house.

A remarkable feature of the Isneg house is the way in which the roof is supported on posts which are set in the ground *outside* the floor-supporting posts but *inside* the wooden walls of the house, passing up through the little side platforms. These six posts *(adixi)* carry two longitudinal beams *(ampakan)*, while three crossbeams *(sakkar)* are mortised into either the posts themselves or the *ampakan*-beams. Fitted into the outer ends of these crossbeams are longitudinal beams serving both as a base for the rafters *(tadawag* and *baday)* and as the upper track for the wall-boards, the appropriate groove being deep enough to allow the boards themselves to be lifted up and slipped out of the lower groove so that the house can be converted into a kind of open covered platform. From the crossbeams also rise a kingpost *(patuna* or *pantud)* and two queenposts *(pantud)*, across which are three tiebeams *(sokar)* terminating in three purlins *(irat)* on each inner face of roof, which is a base of reeds *(rarat)* to which the grass roofing *(atap)* is lashed. The rafters themselves, alternately wood and reed, are bowed into a graceful arc, and rise to a ridgepole *(talabawan)*

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
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342 336 192 -824 341 342 335 [824] [513] [562] 342 [417] [113]

which protrudes beyond the ends of the house to protect the smoke holes in the gables.

The Isneg house not being square in plan, its opposite ends are quite different from one another. At one end, just outside but a bit higher than the transverse beam into which the upper ends of the wall-boards are rabbeted, is another transverse beam whose upper edge is grooved to receive a second tier of wall boards which close the upper section of the gable save for a few feet at the top which are left open as a smoke hole or only loosely covered with horizontal bamboo. The other end of the house terminates in a kind of transverse platform or annex with a lean-to roof up against the gable itself; at the outer two corners of this little annex, in line with the full width of the building, are two more *sinit*-posts under the wall itself, a circumstance which has led some observers to report with slightly dramatic exaggeration that the floor, walls and roof of the Isneg house are supported on three separate sets of posts. The floor of this annex is slightly higher than even the little side platforms of the house proper; Cole reported fifty years ago that it was a special sleeping area for men,[104] and H. Otley Beyer recalls that women were not even allowed to set foot there.[105] In the long sides of the house three or four windows are produced simply by omitting some of the wall-boards; since the door opens into one of these sides, however, it might be more appropriate to refer to it as the "front" rather than "side". Entrance is gained by means of a permanent short flight of steps or ladder.

[104] Cole, Fay-Cooper, "Distribution of the Non-Christian Tribes of Northwest Luzon," *American Anthropologist*, new series, Vol. XI, No. 3 (July-September 1909), p. 347.

[105] Personal statement during interview in Manila on Feb. 19, 1962.

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
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for you if you can show the girls an *andôri* tattooed on your arm; will they not be eager to get the attentions of such a warrior? Will they not vie with one another in making themselves attractive and pleasing to him? Such a man will be renowned all over the country, and at every public *aly-ám* sacrifice he will recount his brave deeds. Even when he is tottering with old age, people will respect him as they will nobody else, and after he has long been dead, his name will still be pronounced with reverence and given to children as a remembrance of his great deeds, so that his spirit will continue to live on earth in the members of the younger generation who are called by his name. In the realm of the dead his soul will live encircled by the same aureole of a glorious and immortal fame. It is true that actually you can hardly aspire to such great glory: strangers have taken possession of the land, people who know nothing about Isneg heroism and justice, people who would punish you for such an act of courage, people who do not understand that an enemy has no rights, that his head is acceptable to the spirits. But we of the older generation, we at least should not abandon our glorious traditions; and if it might please the spirits or an all-powerful fate to return to us our lost freedom and rid us of constabulary and judges, then, yes, you should not forget that you are an Isneg, that a head is the most precious offering that you can make to the spirits, that taking the head of an enemy, whoever he be, whether dead or alive, will give you a crown not to be equalled by anything else. You know how often these last years we have been visited by locusts and famine. Whose fault is it? Nobody else's but the cursed Ibanags': they forbid us to propitiate the spirits who are craving for human heads, and what can the *anito* do but punish us for our negligence?"

A couple of years ago, a poor Negrito, Kalisto by name, who had just escaped from jail, from which he would have been released very soon as he was innocent of the crime imputed to him, was killed at Tawit by an Isneg, who gave the pygmy's threatening attitude as a pretext for killing him. But after the body had been disinterred and examined, it was found out that a part of the skull was lacking and that it had been severed from the rest by a cutting instrument: this proved to everybody's satisfaction that the case was a headhunting affair and nothing else.

"Every Isneg child should be obedient to its parents. As long as you are unmarried, you have the bounden duty to comply with the wishes of your parents, and not only with those of your parents, but

44: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1941 OA1 Philippines
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it is made of burnt shells[9] and usually kept in a small calabash (*busiŋán* or *tabáyad*).[10] The betel (*zawád*) may be the same as that used by man (any of several varieties) or it may consist in the very small leaves (*dazupá*) that are absolutely of no use to human beings.

In order to become a proficient farmer it is necessary to have at least a fair knowledge of what the Isneg call the *tazimmatón* or *tazemmatón*, the "signs". Here are a few of them:

The *yaŋyáŋ*, which is supposed to be a small insect: it announces the coming of the dry season, usually some time in March. No Isneg can claim ever to have set eyes upon it, as it is completely invisible: it is known only from its voice, which is very sweet.

The *sibulbúg*, a kind of large bird: its cry announces the arrival of the rainy season, usually some time in November.

The first appearance of the *busúlun* or rainbow, which is one of the multitudinous spirits known by the Isneg: it proves that the rainy season has set in.

The *ariwánat* or Milky Way: if it becomes visible after a prolonged period of rain, it forecasts fair weather for several days to come.

The *bibig*, which is a kind of bird of average size with grey plumage: it foreshadows a period of very heavy rainfall.

Other *tazimmatón* that indicate the time at which some particular kind of work is to be performed, will be mentioned in due time.

As it is exceedingly important for the progress and the final success of any kind of business that all necessary rules be observed, that no taboos be infringed, and that nothing be done that might go counter to the will of the spirits, indicated in various ways, I shall now give a few hints to the farmer with reference to work in the field in general. At the same time, some of these hints may be of use to an Isneg who wants to embark on some enterprise that has nothing to do with farming or gardening.

First of all, the Isneg should be convinced that none of his exertions will be of any benefit to him, if they go on without the blessing and cooperation of the spirits. Therefore, whenever possible, he must recite the following prayer, or a similar one, in the morning, before going to work:

[9] *Dazíkan, azodón*, etc., different kinds of fresh-water gastropods, all of them having a long tapering spire. The *azodón* is larger than the *dazíkan*.

[10] The *tabáyad* is a small white calabash with a very narrow neck, although less narrow than that of the *tagítag*, which is the kind of calabash used by the Isneg when they prepare *inapúran* in honor of the *Pilay*-spirits, at harvesting time.

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Umáńnakami iddaggán kiyá agwiwiliyán (Come to wait for us where we go to work).[11]

The text of this prayer was furnished by *Yadán* from Nagbabalayan (O dialect, K branch).

Very often the spirits give the Isneg warning not to work on a certain day, lest he incur their anger and his work be of no avail or the result of it be destroyed or rendered void. He should heed them and keep a holiday (*magúllin*) whenever it is intimated to him. Here follow some of these warnings:

When you hear the voice of one of the following birds: the *buwákaw*, the *bakákaw*, the *bissaxáw*,[12] or the *púro*,[13] for the first time, you must stay at home for one whole day without going out to work. Should you be on your way in the morning, do not proceed, but come back home, and remain there for the rest of the day. Should you hear it in the evening, stay at home the next day. If you happen to hear it again later on, it does not signify anything.

When you hear for the first time the lowing (*úxa*) of a deer (*ugtá*), whether in the evening or at night or early in the morning, do not go to work in the field the next day, whether you be man or woman, because, if you do, the deer will inevitably consume all your plants (*múla*). In some districts, however, this is observed only by men at the time of clearing the ground for a prospective rice field, which is exclusively a man's job.

In case of hail (*ulalázo*), which the Isneg consider as the substance of the rain (*baggát udán*), the following day should be observed as a holiday. The same obtains during the dry season, when there is a shower of heavy rain (*arnáb*), so that rivers and brooks swell considerably, or when the streams become muddy and swollen (*balanbán*),[14] a sure sign that it rained hard somewhere upstream.

When you go to your work in the morning and you meet an omen bird or *labág*[15] that *magsúńit*, turn back (*mazulli*) immediately lest you meet danger on the way. The *magsúńit*-flying is more or less

[11] Literally: Where we go and from where we come back on the same day.

[12] So called from its cry. It is smaller than the *bakákaw* and is usually heard early in the evening.

[13] So called from its cry. It lives in the bushes and may be heard either in the morning or in the evening.

[14] Not to be confounded with *balańbáń*, which is the name of the temporary fence built around the house of a deceased person.

[15] A small bird with red plumage, black at the throat.

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intricate and obviously of rather rare occurrence: this is probably the reason why such an unusual way of flying has rendered it suspicious to the natives. It happens like this: the bird flies first from right to left, and then from left to right, in front of the person who is on its way to the field; after that it flies first from front to rear, and then from rear to front, at the right-hand side. This fourfold movement of the *labág*-bird is called *magsúñit*.

If, after having begun (*sumikáp*, " to start work ") any kind of work in the field, you happen to see a buzzard (*bukkáw*) for the first time, or a rat (*butit*) any time, stop then and there, return home and stay here for the rest of the day. As may be seen by the above statement, there is a considerable difference between the two: indeed, a *bukkáw* or buzzard sends you home only when it is seen for the first time, while a rat keeps you idle for a day whenever it makes an appearance.

There are a few other things of importance, which it is very useful for the Isneg to know.

For instance, if you happen to meet the spirit *Gabbuwá* on your way to work and he jumps out in front of you, you may be sure that you will become ill in the near future. Then it is up to you to take your precautions as soon as you come back home.

The influence of the spirit *Baróyan* is also very nefarious: should he accompany you on your way, you will be unable to perform anything worth while and your body will be aching all over; in some cases he has even caused people to become completely mad.

Never walk over the first plant or seed which you confided to the soil, whether it be rice or tobacco or anything else, because, if you are careless in this respect, not a single plant will grow in that particular field or garden of yours.

When you reach home, after having planted (*magmúla, muldn*) something, never take hold of a *báña* [16] in such a way as to insert your hand or your fingers (*magkuwál*). When it is absolutely necessary to take up a *báña*, be careful to touch it only at the outside, otherwise whatever you have planted will be consumed sooner or later by wild animals.

An Isneg who wants to become skilled in planting (*aragmúla*) must try as much as possible to observe what follows:

[16] An earthen jar used for cooking rice, etc.

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243 A certain amount of rice (or Indian corn) that consists in a mixture of kernels of different colors, white (or yellow) and red, is said to be *naburábur*.

243 192 While other fields have either a common name, or a special name that is derived from the plants that are grown in them, a rice field is universally known all over Apayaw by the very specialized term *kómān*. This term is never applied to other plantations, even though they were formerly used for growing rice; as soon as they are planted with some other product, they cease to be *kómān* and become something else. The same happens to fallow rice fields: as soon as they have been abandoned, they automatically change their name. A former *kómān* that has been left unproductive for one year, is called *balnás*. Should it have remained in that state for over one year, it is an *ubláq*. In case it has been abandoned for a long time, so that it is already partially covered with young trees, it is known as a *bannuwáq*.

In the same way, the sides or edges of a field (whether rice field or not), a garden or an orchard, are known under the general name of *bíkat*, whereas a rice field has the distinction of possessing two sides or *bíkat* that are clearly differentiated by name. The lower part, or rather the edge of the rice field where the man starts his clearing of the ground, is called *atád*; and the opposite or upper edge is the *arpád*; while the common name for both the *atád* and the *arpád* is *nami-tán*. The two other sides, the one to the left and the one to the right when going up from the *atád* to the *arpád*, have to content themselves with the common appellation: *bíkat*.

A *kómān* in which both man and woman have the time of their life to make it productive, is said to be *napgús*, which I am tempted to translate "recalcitrant", or, if you prefer a milder term, "unresponsive". Clearing such a field, weeding it, fencing it, reaping it, every single piece of work that has to be done in it, can be brought to a successful issue only with the utmost difficulty.

317 825 Should it happen that your rice field is situated far away from any kind of source or brook, whether you overlooked this item when making your choice of a patch of ground to be turned into a *kómān*, or because it nevertheless seemed to be the best available for this time, there is an easy way to supply that deficiency: look for a *kumó*, a kind of crab speckled yellow and red, and when you have found it, dig a hole in the ground somewhere at or near your field, and thrust the crab into

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it; after a comparatively short time the hole will have become a well and, in some cases, even a small pond.

Now before I give a detailed account of the process of growing rice, I shall try to make clear a few things the knowledge of which is of paramount importance to every Isneg farmer.

This has to do with the *Pílăy* or *Ílăy*. Merely to say that they are the tutelary spirits of the palay would be putting it much too mildly, as will be seen presently. The *Pílăy* (in some places called *Ílăy*, in others known by both names) are spirits, some of them female, others male, and all of them young, in fact mere children, but they have a tremendous power either for good or for evil. Here are some names of *Pílăy*-spirits: *Aggăyén, Kano-nít, Darikokkó, Kópań, Rukkiná-, Lapindy, Dapindy, Ruppitá-, Alindodóăy*, etc. The latter is a female *Pílăy*, as she is said to carry palay on her head (*magtotón*), which is the way for women to carry loads; men carry theirs on their shoulders (*mańagtó*). These *Pílăy* will be mentioned over and over later on, but here I shall give their special characteristics, their habitat, a few general means for winning their favor, etc.

Although there are many of them, the *Pílăy* are never gregarious, and so it never happens that two of them are met together in one and the same spot: each of them keeps to his or her own place. Some of them protect the *kómăn*, others reside in granaries, and in every Isneg house a *Pílăy* takes his abode near the post of the house that is next to one of the four corners of the hearth, either at its base, just above the floor, or more especially on the *páxa*, a shelf that is fixed over the hearth.

Pílăy (a term that also means "lame") is not the name of any of the ruling spirits, nevertheless he it is who guards your rice and punishes with lameness any stranger who dares touch a granary that does not belong to him, even though he does so without any malicious intent. Not only does *Pílăy* guard your palay, but he even causes it to increase, and, to accomplish this, he does not shrink from stealing rice for you from people who are not his votaries. One of these *Pílăy* rice thieves is called *Ruńád*. Whosoever is not able to walk, whosoever walks with difficulty, is supposed to have been struck by *Pílăy*, who punishes people not only for touching their neighbor's granary, but also for other acts that may be displeasing to him. Some of *Pílăy*'s victims are *madapindy*, one of their legs is shorter than the other; others are *pákań*, these can hardly walk and their pace is quite irregular; others again are *dapilán*, they crawl over the ground on their

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knees; and finally there are the *páńol*, who are expressly believed to have been punished by *Pílăy*, not for having trespassed on somebody else's property by touching palay which was not their own, but for havine done something of which he does not approve: the *páńol* are unable to walk or almost so on account of their legs being swollen at the knees.

Whenever an Isneg prepares rice pudding or sweets made from *díkat*-rice, he never fails to give a share to the *Pílăy* who resides in the shelf over the hearth: usually a very small portion is sufficient. Should a shaman do the cooking and at the same time pronounce the following words:

"*Batbattuxám ni N.*" (Satiate N.), *Pílăy* will throw things (pebbles, etc.) at the boy or girl in question as soon as the sweets are being cut into pieces, and this will prove a blessing to the child, as, with *Pílăy's* help, it will be favored with an abundance of palay at the next harvest.

One of *Pílăy's* assistants is the *agammáy, ag-agammáy* or *ugammáy*, a kind of mantis, which usually lives in rice fields, where it helps *Pílăy* increase the palay. These mantes thrive in full security as no Isneg would dare kill such valuable insects.

Here follow a few formulas of prayers that may profitably be addressed to the *Pílăy* at any time, provided they be accompanied with the offering of sweets, that are usually made from *díkat*-rice with the addition of sugar, coconut meat, etc.:

Ne uwámo pílăy séno batbattuxánnaami páyań (Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you be always satiating us).

Ne uwámo pílăy ta dímo pagtaitán de balbalásań (Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you do not make the girls sick).

Ne uwámo pílăy ta tuplámmo ka ammáy dăyá ómănmi (Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you fill our rice fields with rice).

Ne uwámo pílăy ta pannowámmo peyapéyań dăyá álańmi (Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you always fill our granaries).

Ne uwámo pílăy dínaami pagtaitán (Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you do not make us sick).

Ne uwámo pílăy aduwámmo ya ammáymi ya ómăn se ya álańmi (Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you increase our rice on our rice fields and in our granaries).

Ne uwámo pílăy dímo balbalsiánan dăyá tólăy no umáń kiyá síxăy (Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you do not make the persons sick when they come to the hut [in the field]).

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[534] under it and that produces a slight sound when pinched on either end. 243 It is also absolutely forbidden to pare one's nails in a new-made 784 *kómān*.

A very favorable omen is the meeting of a nest of *amsí-* in the future 243 rice field. The *amsí-* is a stinging medium-sized red-and-black ant, 825 very thin between thorax and abdomen. Such a find forebodes the 787 lusty growth of rice and of all plants that may subsequently be raised in this field.

Another happening that is eagerly looked for is the finding of a jungle fowl's nest. At such an occurrence all work is momentarily stopped and the only concern of the Isneg is to count the number of eggs it contains, each egg presaging the harvest of one hundred bundles of rice.

[534]

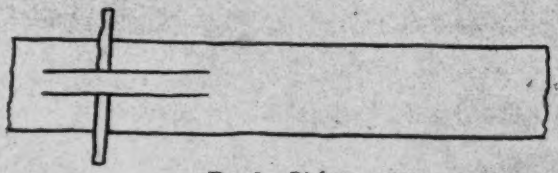

Fig. 3. *Pirây*.

243 When the day's work is over, the Isneg goes home to enjoy a well-262 deserved rest. Here, however, he should be careful, when partaking of a meal, not to eat the crust of the rice (*assíp*), that is, the rice that is next to the pot and has become brown and hardened, because, if he did so, the palay on the field would *umsíp*, which means that it would refuse to grow after having sprung up lustily, and would then wither and become yellow and die. This taboo, however, has to be observed only at the beginning of the *mañumá* or clearing of the field. 243 On subsequent journeys to the field for the purpose of continuing 824 the clearing of the ground, it may happen that one sees along the road a *bitál* (also called *bitúl* and *binitulán*), that is: a cluster of vines or rather a considerable amount of strong vines that have become so intertwined as to form a huge knot. This knot could not have been there before, as it could not have escaped observation, so it is only reasonable to conclude that it has formed after the *mañumá* has been started. In this case the Isneg should retrace his steps and make that day a holiday (*ńílin*). If met in the rice field itself, however, such a knot may remain unheeded, as it has not the slightest influence on the man and his *kómān*.

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crowning of all efforts, the *xáni* (reaping). Like the *tognó*, the *ballát*[1] is performed exclusively by women. The particular implement used for the purpose is the *paló*- or hoe, although the *ikó*-knife, which never leaves a woman's headband, may be resorted to occasionally.

Magballát means "to weed the field": this is a general term that is also applied to a man who cuts out weeds with his *aliwá* (hatchet). When referring to a more thorough cutting out of weeds, the Isneg use the term *magkirkér*, "to grub up weeds roots included".

There is no special *taximmatón* or sign for this kind of work. The size of the paddy is the only criterion, and everybody must use his own judgment, lest beginning the *ballát* too early, fresh weeds are allowed enough time to grow strong and harm the crop, or lest postponing it too long, some of the paddy has either been exhausted beyond recovery or has become too old and consequently unable to lift up its head after having been trampled upon by the weeders.

After it has been decided to start the weeding, the woman proceeds to the field, usually in the afternoon. Before reaching her *kóman*, she closes the road with a *waláwal*, lest somebody come and unknowingly trespass (*mananút*) on forbidden ground. The *waláwal* consists in a couple of sticks that are placed in the form of a St. Andrew's cross somewhere across the path that leads to the field. Once there, she puts down the amulet called *tapuyá*-, a very low herb that grows in forested areas, and weeds a small patch. After that she comes home and stops there the next day. In the meanwhile nobody is allowed to wander about that particular rice field.

On the third day the *waláwal* is removed and the weeding begins for good. From now on it will be continued until the whole *kóman* is thoroughly cleaned.

The weeds that have been removed are thrown over the fence, at regular intervals, by means of a stick (*magtuwál*), except where it is easier to dispose of them in some other way, for instance by throwing them into a nearby precipice.

Among the insects that are come across in the field at the time of the *ballát*,[1] the following are noteworthy:

The *kibbótot*, a leaping insect, much smaller than the locust: its color is brown except the wings, that are black. It makes a person who eats it sick with the colic, and chickens who feed on it get a swollen belly.

1 [i.e., weeding -- Analyst]

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825 The *pāyakán*, a kind of winged ant, that builds its nest preferably in clusters of young bamboo grass. This insect is edible, and even considered as a dainty by the majority of the Isneg.

The *ag-agammáy*, a kind of mantis, mentioned before. If you get hold of it at the time of the *ballát*, take its neck between your fingers, turn it with the legs upwards, and say: "*Pixá ya ammáy-o* (How much palay will I have?)." If it moves one leg, it means *mǵpo* (one hundred *ísiń*-bundles); if two legs, *duwá ńǵpo* (two hundred bundles); if it moves all its legs, it means *annám ńǵpo* (six hundred bundles). One hundred *ńǵpo* is *matúńal* (ten thousand bundles).

776 At this time of the year one should beware of the spirit *Dalánap*, who kills people during the *agbablát* (weeding time).

243 789 As soon as the weeding is over, place some *ibasán* in your field, so that the paddy grow up into sturdy and robust stalks. The *ibasán* is a kind of grass that resembles the sugar cane, but yields no sugar, and grows in abundance all over the district.

After that make a minute inspection of the whole field, and cut down all weeds that may have been overlooked. This second cleaning is called *manábal*, a term also used to mean "putting the finishing touch to the *umá* (clearing the ground)", as has been mentioned before.

The *agbablát* (weeding time) is followed by the *dawdáwat*, when people occupy themselves with the weaving of baskets (*magláza*). Although this business may be accomplished at any time of the year, nevertheless the period that elapses between the *agbablát* and reaping time, is the most suitable, and consequently it has been set aside by custom for that kind of work, and it has been given a special name: *dawdáwat* or *aglaláza*.

All through the *dawdáwat* a diligent Isneg does not fail to *magso-bán* (a term never used for the same kind of work done before weeding time) or go and see if perchance some palay has been harmed through one cause or another. Indeed from now on everything depends on the vigilance of the farmer, as a legion of enemies are ready to pounce upon the field, especially at the time the ears begin to form. But let us not anticipate.

When the paddy is about half grown, it is advisable to place some *apniyán kapónan* in the field, in order to cause the rice to reach its full height quickly and also to keep away harmful insects. The *apniyán kapónan* is a kind of rattan whose bark is reddish and whose leaves are very white underneath.

then went to the plate of bones. He heard a voice which said. "Do not uncover the plate yet, because I have no tapis." Anoy took a tapis and then uncovered the plate. A woman arose from the plate and that woman was Ayu, his own wife. Anoy felt very, very happy because his wife came back to life. This couple lived happily ever after.

WHY THE CROW CHASES THE ORIOLE

825 People say that many years ago, the *dulao*, (oriole) and the gayang (crow) were very good friends. They schemed and made an agreement that each should paint the other in the best color which he could. The oriole said: "My friend crow, will you kindly paint me first?" The crow consented. So the crow painted the oriole first. Then the crow said to the oriole: "All right, now go ahead and paint me also the best that you can." The oriole painted the crow with black only. The crow did not like its color. From that time until now, whenever we see an oriole and a crow, they are chasing each other.

THE DEER AND SNAIL RACE

One day a deer noticed how slowly a shell was walking, and he laughed. The shell was vexed and asked the deer for a race. The deer consented; so they arranged the race. The shell followed the stream; but the deer took the short cut over the hills. Everytime the deer called the shell, it answered from ahead. Finally the deer became tired and angry. He asked the shell to stop. When he reached the shell he kicked

it, but his hoof was divided into two and that was 825
the cause of his death. That is why, when we see
a deer today, each hoof is divided into two.

WHY THE DOGS CHASE THE DEER

In the old days deer and dogs liked each other and wanted to be friends. One day the dogs invited all the deer to come and cement their friendship. All the deer were gathered near the bank of the river. The dogs were there, and they cautioned the deer not to laugh if they happened to see any odd thing: for if they should laugh, it would lead to killing each other. One dog sat down and his penis came out. A small deer saw it and laughed. The dogs did not like this; so they killed the small deer. Since that time dogs and deer kill each other.

Then a deer saw a frog. The frog advised: "If the dogs run after you, then you must dive into the water so that the dogs can not see you. Just watch: I will dive." And then it said: "Did you see me?" The deer replied that he had not. "Now you dive and I will watch you," said the frog. It could see the deer; but it only tricked the deer into thinking that it could not be seen under the water. Since then a deer always runs to the river when it is being chased by a dog.

WHY THE SIGUCOC DOES NOT FLY HIGH

(Nabuangan River Dialect)

000 *Negyan issa ñga an-ance nu kumayab datñgan naya Lañgit. Ked no nagawi-a panpanas kan ya dinmumsag na kia guinat. Aggina ya ñga ñgammin daya Sñigucoc nec-lot ya didut da ta nagabi dakano. Madida makakayab ke issa ñga kilometro onno doapolo ñga metres kataknang na. Ta nepapas dakano ya kataknang ya Lañgit."*

825 One there lived a bird, *Sigucoc.* The Sigucoc is a very intelligent bird. One day she flew and tried to reach the sky. But when she came down, her beauty was faded because she was very tired. And from that time, we cannot see a Sigucoc having nice feathers. It can only fly a short distance and not very high. This bird is still tired from the time when she went up to the sky.

Ananoc Nga Kokling

HOW A BIRD GOT ITS NAME

(Bayag River Dialect)

825 ——*Ito nona ñga aldao owad da ano ananoc ñga nahamo.*

——During the olden days, it was believed that there were many untamed and nameless birds.

——*Isa ñga aldao owad ñga bacbaccat ñga nagnangan ka ne Digaya ñga magloto ito nmoblan a linañgac.*

825

——One day a woman named Digaya was cooking molasses in a caldron.

——*Kaneno maggorgoroc to sinoblan owad da ñga dua ñga ananoc ñga inombet ito giyanna ñga maglato.*

——While the caldron of water was boiling, two birds came fluttering around the smoky place. The two birds fought with their bills.

——*Iton ñga pinagsimtoc da nepesok to isa.*

——During their fight with their bills, one of the birds was partly submerged in the boiling caldron so that its head was completely scalded.

——*Panda ito nin atan ñga ananoc ñga coleo ya alintotogo na.*

——From that time until now, we find this bird having no feathers on its head.

——*Tolalahan na ñga idi ñga anoc nagnangan ka kokling ata auan na doddat ya alo na.*

——That was how this bird "*kokling*" got its name—which means in the dialect: "featherless on the head" or "having no hair".

WHY THE CROW SINGS WACK-WACK

In the days of long ago, the crow (*gayang or oqwack*) used to be the best singer of all birds.

One day she was singing in a tree top near the home of a monkey mother. The monkey invited her to her home to sing for her children. The crow was so delighted that she accepted the invitation at once. The crow thought to herself that that was her chance to exhibit her beautiful voice. When all the

825 other monkeys should have noticed how sweetly she sang, they would surely always call upon her to sing again and again for them.

Not knowing the deceit in the monkey's invitation, she promptly presented herself before the mother monkey. After she had sang several songs, father monkey appeared and took hold of the crow. He patted her and said: "You sing so well." Then he began to choke her until she became unconscious. Father monkey let her loose and said: "Now you may sing. I think that you can sing better now." The crow tried to sing; but all she could utter was "wack-wack": so that all the monkeys laughed at her.

Up to this day the crow still sings "wack-wack."

THE ORIGIN OF THE HAWK

Many, many years ago there was an only child of a man and a woman. The child was about six years old. This small boy became very hungry and went [855] to his father, asking for sugar cane. His father was very angry at being disturbed in his work; but he had to get the sugar cane because his son cried so. Then the boy asked his father to peel his sugar cane; but the man refused and instead, sent him to his mother to do it. The small boy ran to his mother to get it done; but she sent him back to his father to do as he wished. The child was kept running back and forth.

The sixth time that the child ran, he become very tired and began to cry bitterly. Then he said to himself, "How I wish that I would become a hawk so that

my parents can often see me crying in the air." Instantly, the boy became a hawk and flew away with his sugar cane. When his parents saw their son in the air, they were very sad; but it was their fault Now-a-days, when we hear the cry of the hawk in the air, it seems to say: *"Ko-wittannmu."* 325

THE ORIGIN OF THE BALSIT

(A Bird Of Omen)

(Nabuangan River Dialect)

"To issa ñga algao negyan napia ñga babay. Ado kano ya molog ñga mangasdwan ñga mamempolo ñgan matay kammin ya asawana. Negyan issa ñga manadog kagginà. Madi ya waqui na ya lalaki ta matay kammin ya asawana ñgen adi magalis ya lalaki ta kayat na ya babay. Mammat ko basi kia sobwab. Ado ya manalan kia allam y abalay. Lumañgad ya tolay kia allam ya balay nasingan naya oki naga domandami. Nodoho-e na kano ya bolo kia allam ya oki na. Nelelyao ya babay ay nagtawang kia naggad. Kiddenin ta nebabainak kia ko tawanga-c ikao ñgem no manalan na-c kia dalan nadake-c. No awad objas ta nadake-c ya anggac co adim ibalin. Kimmayab ya babay ta nagbalin ke balsit."

Once there lived a beautiful woman. She was so beautiful that everybody admired her. She married ten times; but all the husbands died soon after the marriage. There was another who desired to marry her. The brother of the woman hesitated to let him since all the previous husbands had died. However,

825 as the man insisted, the brother (allowed the marriage to go on and) went under the house to get wine. Some persons in the house happened to walk so heavily
[83] that he look up. There he saw that the dilating vulva of the woman had sharp teeth (the cause of the former husbands' death). The woman was so ashamed that she ran outside. She said: "You made me so ashamed that I am going to leave you. When I pass across your path, you must return because it signifies ill. If you do something else and I sing in a scolding voice, you must discontinue your work." The woman then became a bird, *balsit*, and flew away.

THE ORIGIN OF MONKEYS

One summer day some women were planting rice in their kaiñgin. At noon while the sun was hot, they rested in the shelter erected in the kaiñgin. They amused themselves by telling many stories. They slept after telling their stories. The sun was very hot. The ground was very hot, too. They could not work well in that heat. Their backs and heads would suffer in the heat of the sun. So they slept.

After awhile they woke up, prepared, and chewed *buyo*. They drank much water. The sun was still very hot. It was ont yet time for them to plant rice. They had nothing to do in the shelter. Then they thought to catch the lice in each other's hair. Each sat behind another while she hunted and caught the lice on her head. There were many lice in their hair. There were big lice and small ones, too. One of the women said, "Let us play with these lice." "Oh, yes,"

said all the others. They began to hunt for the biggest lice on the heads of their companions. All of them had big lice. They placed the lice on a piece of board. They let the lice fight. It was great fun for them. The lice fought, while they shouted and laughed. They enjoyed watching the lice fight, biting and killing each other. 825

But something was happening outside. The light began to fade as if the sun was going down. Thick clouds were in the sky. A strong wind began to blow. After a while there was both a heavy rain and strong wind. The wind increased in violence. The streams all became swollen. All around was darkness. The women in the little shelter became greatly frightened. They cried very loudly. Then all of a sudden there was a loud noise. The hill above where they were, burst open and there was a big landslide down upon their shelter. Some of the women were buried under the earth.

Those who were not buried were frightened out of their wits. They ran to the forest nearby. They could by now no longer talk. They started to climb the trees Their bodies were changing; hair grew all over their bodies. The wooden sticks which they had used to make holes in the ground when they planted the grains of rice, became their tails. They all became monkeys and so they remain to this day.

Nagganayan na ya Carat

THE ORIGIN OF THE MONKEYS

(Bayag River Dialect)

825——*Ito nabayagen ñga aldao owad da ano anam ñga magwawagi.*

——A long, long time ago, there lived in a settlement named Sidaga, six sisters.

——*Tungal aldao mapan daydi ñga magtogno ito oman ne amada.*

——Everyday, these six sisters would enter their father's kaiñgin to plant rice.

——*Ngam owad isa ñga aldao napalutan to sinag nagimang da tagdan na ya ayo ñga dahal.*

——One day, when these six sisters were planting in their father's kaiñgin, the sun was so hot that they decided to rest. There they rested under a big, shady tree.

——*Iton ñga pinaggimang da naglalangod da ñga nagiihoto. Nagtogao da ito ballang da.*

——While they were resting under the shady tree, they decided to pick each other's lice. So they sat one before the other, on their iron planting sticks.

——*Caneno owa nahasmac isa bagida a dahal ñga gagana. Idi ñga oto pinaglahal da laton.*

——While they were picking (lice) from one another's head, one of them found three big lice. They furnished fun with these lice by making them fight with each other.

825

——*Sinan da ñgela magsatan ka kalac.*

——Because of the funny thing which they had done with the big lice, they laughed and laughed, until a tiny man appeared before them.

——*Idi ñga tolay-mona—pagbalinan tahayo iyan ka sabali ñga kita ta negagala no ya ota.*

——The man stood before them having a queer voice and being angry in appearance. They recognized that it was mystical.

——*Accan pam nagbayag panda iton nagpasiñgam nato melekay agida nagbelin to dua bagida ñgin.*

——Not long after that, the strange man disappeared and two of the sisters were changed into monkeys. (This was repeated until all the other four were changed into monkeys).

——*Ito saguac da ñga nagtotogauan da ta da nag balin ke ipot da.*

——Their iron sticks (used for planting the rice seeds) on which they had sat down, became by a change, their tails.

——*Ito lahan na ñga attan ramay naya carrat se ipot da atta babbay da etta babbay da ito nona ñga aldao.*

——That is why the monkeys nowadays are found with tails. They have fingers like human beings because previously they were maidens.

WHY THE BIRDS EAT THE RICE AND CORN DURING THE HARVEST

(In the Nabuañgan River Dialect)

000 *"Negyan na lalaki ya nagan na Lipliput. Ya ibagana awan na pules sa ammay ey maiz, ñga imola da kanu. Awad ammay ey maiz ñgen natacnang ya gian da kano ñga gadday aggina ya aoan makalac kidaya tolay. Issa ñga sassa-joc kummay yal kan de Bignas en gayang ke balay da. Ey awayya da alak kan ya ammay ey maiz ta kumayab da kano. Melbet da kammon kidaya gian naya tolay ñgem panda kianin ya Dignas makikkan ka ammay ya gayang konwa pe kia maiz."*

825
241 There was a man whose name was Lipliput. He reputed that there was no rice nor corn except that upon a high, rocky precipice, which people could not climb; and even animals could not get to the rice and corn. One morning the rice-bird and the crow flew to the house of that man and told him that, if he would share with them, they would go and get the rice and corn. Of course the man was pleased and said: "Yes, I will share with you accordingly as you wish." Then they flew to the high, rocky precipice: the rice-bird got the rice, while the crow got the corn and brought them to the man. The man was pleased: thinking that the birds would have no more to do with the rice and corn. But the reason why from that time on during harvest, rice-birds are accustomed to damage rice and crows damage corn is because they were the ones who brought the seeds which (Lipliput) planted.

000 Dumallawi hung the G-string on the spear: for he had forgotten the order which had been given him. Instantly, there was a big fire and all the houses were burned. All the beautful flowers were turned ugly. For this reason the people abandoned Buneg, their home.

WHY SOME FISH HAVE SCALES

825 Once upon a time a husband and his wife had an only daughter. She was so beautiful that her parents adored her so much that they spoiled her as much as they adored her. Everyone admired her for her beauty; but they hated her for all her pride and vanity.

One day she was taking a walk along the bank of a river. When she became tired, she sat down on a big stone where her beautiful face was reflected in the clear, running water. When she saw her image, she said to herself with pride: "I am the most beautiful girl in the neighborhood and no one can surpass me." While she was talking to herself, the chief of the crabs, named Bonowag, came and sat by her side, unnoticed by her. When she noticed that someone had been sitting by her side, she got up and said angrily: "How dare you to come near me, as ugly as you are. I never in my whole life saw such a creature as ugly as you." Bonowag became angry in turn and said: "For all your pride I'll add some more to your unsurpassed beauty." Then he scratched her face: whereupon scales began to grow on it. The girl, upon seeing what had happened to her once beautiful face, was so enraged that she took a stick and struck the chief

of the crabs right on his forehead. Bonowag, because he had suffered so much pain and humiliation, grabbed the stick and struck the girl once and said: "From now on you will be a member of the river family (the fish with scales); but, not of the crabs. 825

To this day the beautiful girl still bears the scales.

THE FOOLISH MOTHER

Long, long ago there was a woman whose name was Sibbara-yonan, and her daughter was Dommaria. 000

One day they went to the forest to obtain bark for G-strings. When they were in the middle of the forest, the mother told her daughter that they would gather as much bark as they could carry home. When the mother had gathered bark enough for herself to carry, she went home without her daughter.

The daughter was thus left in the forest collecting her own bark. When she had gathered bark enough for herself to carry home, she shouted for her mother, calling: "Mother, wait for me; mother." The mother was not there any more. As nobody answered her, Dommaria thought that her mother was still there gathering her bark. "Maybe she is looking for some more," she said. So she continued to go along humting bark for her G-strings until she met a big snake. The big snake told Dommaria to follow it to its cave. "Oh no," she replied. "I cannot follow you for I am afraid that you will eat me." "No, I will not eat you," said the snake. "Come to my house and, after a few days, I will take you home to your mother." So Dommaria followed the snake to its cave.

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Anything fragrant, as pineapples, etc.; also cakes, native Isneg sweets, on account of their fragrance, lest her weakness increase.

She is also forbidden to eat any kind of fish for three days after the birth of her child If both she and her child have enjoyed good health so far, she is allowed to partake of it, after the third night provided it as cooked outside the house and brought in only art it had cooled down. Should she infringe any of these taboos, she liable to become sick, which in this case is called *madawig*.

All Isneg parents are very anxious to give the head of their babe the right shape: so, if the little poll is much too markedly oblong, the grandmother or, in her absence, any other woman lightly presses on of her heels (*túmań*) against its soft part, on top, while the little patient is sprawling on the floor; this is called *tumńán* (past tense: *sinúmań*; from *túmań*, "heel"; in Iloko, *túmeń* means "knee"). In other places, for instance at Bayag, they use another means in order to make the head of the newborn child nicely round: a small squash, duly hollowed out and thoroughly dried, is placed over it in such a way as to fit it exactly.

The period of confinement differs in duration from place to place, and it probably depends very much on the state of the mother; this is perhaps also the reason why the number of days during which some taboos have to be observed, is not always and everywhere the same. In general, however, it may be said that the period of strict confinement does not go beyond one week; after that time, the mother first does some light chores in and around the house, and later on proceeds to her ordinary duties.

In some places she goes to the river (*mamáwa*) two days after the birth of her child; but usually this necessary formality is performed on the fifth day, even though for the rest she continues to remain at home for a much longer period. At Bayag, for instance, it takes her one month before she is allowed definitely to leave the house and to start cleaning the yard, although she made her ceremonial visit to the river on the usual day, the fifth after her delivery When going to the river the mother protects herself from either rain or sunshine by means of a *sarikaw* (a kind of large round flat hat made from palm leaves) In most places she goes there alone; in Bayag, however, she is accompanied by her husband, who also watches her while at work.

But what happens at the time of that visit to the river? What is meant by *mamáwa*? Here is what was told me by the generality of my informants, including Bayag people: the woman goes to the river

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584 me by the girl herself, and she did not seem to take the whole affair as at all serious; she did not look as if she was inclined to allow the boy to take possession of her heart, let alone of her whole body.

Marriages between grown-up boys and girls that are arranged by the parents without consulting the interested parties, or at least without the said youngsters having taken the first steps in that direction, are much more frequent, and in many cases the young people readily agree, either because they are not so particular about the qualities of their future partner, provided there be one, or because they are otherwise loath to go against the wishes of their elders. But as in the case of infant marriages, objections on the part of either of the two may be sufficient to prevent either the first proposal or all further developments.

The usual way, however, among our Isneg, is that the young man looks for the girl of his choice, wins her consent, and then informs his parents about the matter. After that the elders of both boy and girl take upon themselves the responsibility of all further transactions and ceremonies.

581 832 •826 461 Now what qualities are supposed to make the perfect girl in the eyes of an Isneg boy, or at least what is the boy looking for in the girl to whom he will give his heart? She should be handsome (*napiyá*) of course, which means that her skin should be clean, smooth and light-colored; the darker the uglier, the whiter the prettier, is a common Isneg criterion. If possible she should be fat and plump; in the eyes of an Isneg, lean girls are not the acme of beauty. But all this is only of secondary importance; she should be *nalaggát*, "diligent, active", and that is more necessary than anything else: all other qualities are subordinate to this one, and the most handsome flirt will be discarded at once for a diligent girl, be she ever so ugly and as thin as a bean stalk.

And so also in the eyes of a girl, a boy be he ever so handsome (*natáram*),—a quality which however is never despised, provided it goes together with the most important one,—will never make a desirable husband if he is not *nalaggát*. He must not necessarily be a *mánal*, a brave, but he should love work: that is what counts.

581 171 461 It might be wondered why the question of diligence is by far more important among the Isneg than among other tribes, to whom other qualities look much more valuable. Indeed in Bontok, for instance, at least formerly, a boy would rarely win a girl, if he had not yet shown some sign of courage, either by taking the head of an enemy

THE ORIGIN OF THE ANUS IN THE PEOPLE OF MADATAG

827 In the early days when life was at its beginning,
826 it came about that a man from Madatag met and wooed
● a woman named Pakiyan, who came from another place. They were married and went to live in the husband's house in Madatag.

Pakiyan noticed a strange custom which the people there had. They ate only the vapor which comes off of cooked rice. She became consumed with curiosity as to why they followed this custom. Finally she thought that maybe their bodies were different. So one night, full of curiosity, she went over the body of her husband and examined it. To her surprise, she found that there was no hole where the anus should be.

Pakiyan was very sorry for her husband and wanted to help him. So she took her sharp stick and made an anus for him. In the morning they found that he could now eat just as Pakiyan herself could. The other people saw the husband eating rice and asked Pakiyan how it was done. She told them and showed them how to make an anus.

So now the people of Madatag are just the same as other people.

(This tale must be true for a woman told it to me.)

THE ORIGIN OF FIRE

ooo Lutoy was a hunter. One day he told his wife to prepare tobacco and betel nut. "I am going out today to hunt," he told his wife.

"Here are your tobacco and *buyo*," said his wife.

181 or if they
152 acquire money unfairly and buy rice with it, the rice,
157 when eaten, will give them no strength. As born psy-
[577 chologists, they enjoy working on you so that you will
●827] think and act as they desire. They like a practical
[522] joke even when it is on themselves. In fact, even accidents are taken as jokes and the one who has been injured is the one who laughs the hardest. When going through hardship, they show real endurance. Their code is to laugh and joke near the end just as if they had only awakened from a good sleep.

181 The Apayaos are courageous and lovers of free-
175 dom. The Spaniards never did conquer them, and even we Americans had a difficult time establishing our benevolent government. It was necessary to continue the military control for many years; and only in 1923 was civil government established. During the first part of the Japanese occupation, Apayao was a place of refuge for fleeing Americans and, after the fall of Corregidor, Cabugao was made the headquarters of the USAFFE of Northern Luzon. The Japanese did not establish themselves here in these mountain fastnesses until March, 1943. They did not find the people at all willing to collaborate and left in August, 1944. When the Americans returned, the Apayaos volunteered, almost to a man, to assist in defeating the Japanese. Many acted as "bolo men" without pay, and served as cargados, messengers and laborers. Thus they neglected even their farming, so that this year their crops are small.

101 These people call themselves *Isnegs* and are so known by the neighboring *Ibanags*, whose language is related to theirs. Probably they are called Apa-

THE ORIGIN OF THE ANUS IN THE PEOPLE OF MADATAG

827 826 In the early days when life was at its beginning, it came about that a man from Madatag met and wooed a woman named Pakiyan, who came from another place. They were married and went to live in the husband's house in Madatag.

Pakiyan noticed a strange custom which the people there had. They ate only the vapor which comes off of cooked rice. She became consumed with curiosity as to why they followed this custom. Finally she thought that maybe their bodies were different. So one night, full of curiosity, she went over the body of her husband and examined it. To her surprise, she found that there was no hole where the anus should be.

Pakiyan was very sorry for her husband and wanted to help him. So she took her sharp stick and made an anus for him. In the morning they found that he could now eat just as Pakiyan herself could. The other people saw the husband eating rice and asked Pakiyan how it was done. She told them and showed them how to make an anus.

So now the people of Madatag are just the same as other people.

(This tale must be true for a woman told it to me.)

THE ORIGIN OF FIRE

000 Lutoy was a hunter. One day he told his wife to prepare tobacco and betel nut. "I am going out today to hunt," he told his wife.

"Here are your tobacco and *buyo*," said his wife.

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meaning, but is very popular. I know of five men called by that name: two at Bayag, one at Dagara, one at Karagawan and one at Baliwanan. 551

2. Names of renowned warriors, *mẽńal* (brave), men who have taken many heads. So a Karagawan boy was called *Mañazó* after a Bolo warrior, although both villages are rather far apart from one another; a Musimut boy was called *Pátań* after one of his ancestors, also a renowned head hunter. Both names have no known meaning. 551 789

3. Names of people who have attained a ripe old age. The Isneg, to use their own expression, "are loath to relegate those names to oblivion" (*magkekḱńa*, from *kḱńa*, "alas"). Names of children who have died a premature death are never chosen, at least when the fact of their short lives is known to the interested party; indeed it may happen that in a certain locality a person called by a certain name has become very old, while another one born in some other place and called by the same name has died an early death, and that the people who have to choose the name for a newborn babe do not know of both cases: then of course only the fact known to them is taken into consideration.

At this juncture it should be noted that the same names recur at every step all over the Isneg district: they are probably very popular for one of the reasons given above, and the personality and inherent qualities are supposed to be transferred to the child together with the name. Nevertheless it should not be inferred from this that the Isneg believe in metempsychosis: no such belief exists in the whole Apayao district. [828]

Just to give a few examples. M stands for "male"; F for "female". 551

Sabadáw (M): at Bayag, Madatag, Pili, Musimut, Nagsimbanan, Kumaw, Agnoan (Kabugaw), Magububung.

Púdo- (M): at Abbil, Musimut, Nagbabalayan, Baliwanan, Genned, two at Alumani.

Dẽmáy (F): at Musimut, Dagara, Nagbabalayan, Baduat, Karagawan, Bolo.

Agsḍyań (M): at Mayaw, Musimut, Nagbabalayan, Nagsimbanan, Baduat.

Alób (M): at Madatag, Dagara, Pasiyab, Nagsimbanan.

Búsiń (M): at Nagsimbanan, Magapta, Bolo, Katablangan.

Kabagiyát (M): at Baliwanan, Kumaw, Karagawan, Bolo.

Lẽyláy (M): at Madatag, Musimut, Kabaknan, Bolo.

Asóp (M or F): at Nagilian (Namaltugan), Madatag, Baliwanan, Alumani.

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584 832 594 [828] 1. The use of musical instruments, which he plays at the house of the girls, usually while lying down in the evening, and which are supposed to have a very soothing influence on the mind of any member of the weaker sex. As this is not the place to describe these instruments at length, I shall merely enumerate them and add a few of their most outstanding characteristics:

The *kuribów*, a kind of Jew's-harp, entirely made of bamboo, whose tongue is struck by the finger at its fixed base.

The *aziwáń*, another kind of Jew's-harp, partially made of bamboo, whose metal tongue is moved by a string.

The *balikiń* or nose flute, which consists of a slender tube of bamboo, open at both ends, and provided with holes along its length, three at one side and one at the other.

584 832 533 2. The singing of love songs (*magdaldallán*). This is done in the daytime as well as in the evening, whenever the boy is moved by concupiscence (*makibabbáy*). Such songs, however, are not the exclusive property of the male sex.

584 834 192 3. The pronunciation of special terms, otherwise meaningless, that are supposed to have a magical influence on the female sex. These are interwoven in the verses of the song and more or less connected with the rest of the sentence. Such terms are: *dumaripón, dumiñidiñ, dumardarobó*, etc.

584 832 302 824 4. The use of perfumes (*bañúg*), usually consisting of fragrant herbs or leaves stuck in the headband; although unseen by the girl in the evening, these perfumes forcibly strike her nostrils in an agreeable manner. Any kind of perfume may be used for the purpose, but the most esteemed on such occasions is the *malindáw* (called *indáw* at Bolo). The *malindáw* is a small tree covered with spines and provided with very aromatic leaves. The *Andn* brook near Dangla flows through a thicket that is renowned for the abundance and variety of its odoriferous plants: *sildyon* (aromatic leaves, parasitic on trees), *ditán* (aromatic seeds, a kind of rattan), *malindáw*, etc.

584 832 776 Here two spirits occasionally play an important role: both of them are supposed to spread a very agreeable odor, and they sometimes accompany the boys on their courting expeditions, although nothing is done by the latter to attract them. They are:

Asináw: a spirit who lives in the hills and always wears very nice apparel; he is supposed to be visible at times. He merely accompanies the boy and through his fragrance influences the girl in behalf of her lover.

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577 portant and whenever it is customary to do so; in a word, you should
771 lead a good religious life. Indeed what can you expect from a man who does not live according to his convictions, or rather to the convictions of the generality of his tribesmen? Do you think that the spirits will leave you at rest if you do not do what is necessary, either to propitiate them or to put them to flight? Do you think you will be fortunate in your enterprises if you fail to observe, either the usual signs that will prevent you from entering upon dangerous enterprises, or the taboos which custom has told you not to transgress? It would be considered as the acme of bad behavior to live as a freethinker in matters religious. You may say you do so to a stranger, you may appear not to believe our laws any more, when in the presence of an Ibanag,[2] otherwise he might laugh at you; but among us these things are very serious and they should be observed by all means. If you are a true Isneg, believe as an Isneg and practise your religion".

577 The Isneg, however, seem to be much less fanatical in matters reli-
177 gious than the Kankanay, the Bontok Igorot, and others. I have
771 known Kankanay men to whip their Christian children for refusing to attend heathen sacrifices; such things would rarely, if ever, happen here. I shall come back to this again when comparing theory with practice.

577 "Headhunting is a glorious practice. If you are a real Isneg,
829 you should take a few heads during your lifetime or at least help
721 your companions in doing so. Never forego the occasion of participating in a raid planned by your friends, whether into the lowlands among Christian Iloko and Kagayan, or among Negritos, Kalinga and other Isneg at enmity with your people. If you have the opportunity to take the head of an enemy unawares, be it that of a woman or child, there you have a splendid occasion of becoming a *máñal*, a brave, without too much trouble and with very little danger. Not everybody has that chance, not everybody will become a brave, but you should at least try your very best to be one. What a glory

101 [2] Ibanag is the language of the Kagayan, but in an Isneg mouth the term means
192 "anybody who is not an Isneg". What we express by saying "to become a Christian" is translated by the Isneg as "to become an Ibanag". It is almost impossible to convince them that an Isneg can become a Christian and remain an
104 Isneg. Similar ideas obtain among the Christian tribes: they call themselves *Christiano* whatever tribe they belong to, and all pagans in their eyes are Igorot, Kalinga, Itneg or Isneg; once baptized the latter have ceased to be anything like that; they have become Christians pure and simple.

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for you if you can show the girls an *andôri* tattooed on your arm; will they not be eager to get the attentions of such a warrior? Will they not vie with one another in making themselves attractive and pleasing to him? Such a man will be renowned all over the country, and at every public *say-ôm* sacrifice he will recount his brave deeds. Even when he is tottering with old age, people will respect him as they will nobody else, and after he has long been dead, his name will still be pronounced with reverence and given to children as a remembrance of his great deeds, so that his spirit will continue to live on earth in the members of the younger generation who are called by his name. In the realm of the dead his soul will live encircled by the same aureole of a glorious and immortal fame. It is true that actually you can hardly aspire to such great glory: strangers have taken possession of the land, people who know nothing about Isneg heroism and justice, people who would punish you for such an act of courage, people who do not understand that an enemy has no rights, that his head is acceptable to the spirits. But we of the older generation, we at least should not abandon our glorious traditions; and if it might please the spirits or an all-powerful fate to return to us our lost freedom and rid us of constabulary and judges, then, yes, you should not forget that you are an Isneg, that a head is the most precious offering that you can make to the spirits, that taking the head of an enemy, whoever he be, whether dead or alive, will give you a crown not to be equalled by anything else. You know how often these last years we have been visited by locusts and famine. Whose fault is it? Nobody else's but the cursed Ibanags': they forbid us to propitiate the spirits who are craving for human heads, and what can the *anito* do but punish us for our negligence?"

A couple of years ago, a poor Negrito, Kalisto by name, who had just escaped from jail, from which he would have been released very soon as he was innocent of the crime imputed to him, was killed at Tawit by an Isneg, who gave the pygmy's threatening attitude as a pretext for killing him. But after the body had been disinterred and examined, it was found out that a part of the skull was lacking and that it had been severed from the rest by a cutting instrument: this proved to everybody's satisfaction that the case was a headhunting affair and nothing else.

"Every Isneg child should be obedient to its parents. As long as you are unmarried, you have the bounden duty to comply with the wishes of your parents, and not only with those of your parents, but

THE STORY OF THE PRIMITIVE ISNEGS

Once upon a time in the olden time, the Kalag- 829
tappan Isneg did not have *aliwas*: they used only crude pieces of iron as their *aliwas*. These people were the most primitive Isnegs in Apayao because they could do very little with their irons. They dug under the ground and lived in their dug-outs and ate only the fruits of the trees. One day the Dibolo people made a trap with sharpened bamboo in which to kill deer and wild pigs. Shortly thereafter the Kalagtappan Isnegs came out from their caves to find fruits for food. It so happened that the trap had caught a wild pig. The Kalagtappan people took the pig and began to butcher it with their irons. But that day was the day for the owners of the trap to come. So they discovered that it was their trap which had caught the pig that the Kalagtappan people were butchering. However, they were having a hard time butchering the pig because their *aliwas* were only crude irons. So the owners of the trap kindly butchered the pig and gave all the meat to them.

Then the Dibolo people went back to their homes and told the story about what they found in the thick forest.

The following morning, after Garabel of Anagdong, husband of Palidiyan, had heard about this incident, he went to hunt with his dogs. When Garabel came to the place where the trap was set, one of his dogs was killed by the trap. While Garabal was calling his dog, named Somari, he saw the smoke of fire coming out from the ground. So he dug and dug in

829 the ground and found that there were many people down in the ground. So he lifted them out of the ground and brought them all to Anagdong. While they were in Anagdong, Garabel made enough *aliwas* for them and also built houses for them.

All the necessary things needed in the house were also given them by Garabel. So the Kalagtappan Isnegs lived there happily, due to the great help of Garabel and his wife, Palidiyan.

"THE FALL"

(Nabuañgan River Version)

000 There was a time when the sky world was close to the earth and the people used to go there to trade. These people were well-to-do, for Ewagan, the powerful, handsome, shining *anito*, was taking especial care of them. Through his magical powers it was not necessary for them to work. If a man wanted to start a new kaiñgin, all that he had to to was to start his *aliwa* in the place selected, and the *aliwa* would automatically cut down the vegetation. Or, if the kaiñgin needed cultivation, he just set the hoe in position and it would do the rest.

The mightiest warrior on the earth at that time was Songan, the *maiñgal* of Gayanan, which was the greatest *barangay*. Songan was very powerful as he had the same magical power as Ewagan. In order that the relationship between the earth people and the sky people might be perfected, the people of Gayanan requested Songan to go to Ewagan and arrange for a peace-pact between them.

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deed done but the relatives of the dead soldier mustered together, went to Nagbabalayan, entered the house of the poor involuntary killer and rifled whatever they found of value.

A few months ago at Nagilian (municipal district of Namaltugan), a man ascended a coconut tree in order to gather a few nuts. Unfortunately, while he was dropping them on the ground, a child came running along and received the thump of one of the huge nuts on its head: the child fell down of course and lay unconscious. So soon as the parents and relatives heard about the whole affair, all head-axes were unsheathed, and terrible things might have happened, if the sanitary inspector, who was present at the time, had not assured the people that the child would live.

According to the Christian code, God rewards or punishes thoughts as well as deeds. Ordinary human justice does not bother about mere intentions that are not followed by deeds, but it recognizes the act of a man as a human act, it distinguishes an act done intentionally from one done involuntarily, it differentiates between culpable negligence and unavoidable accident. The Isneg code knows no such distinctions: an act is an act; the result is the only thing taken into consideration. The Isneg language has terms for "doing purposely, intention", and so on; but in practice the fact that something was done unintentionally makes little difference: it is not the guilt of a person that is considered, but only the result of his act.

"Adultery is a shameful crime, especially in women. An Isneg man should content himself with the wife or wives who have been paid for: avoid mixing with other women, such habits bring only woe in their wake. Take care never to make a young girl pregnant; whether the person who commits such a mistake be a married man or a young unmarried man, the result is the same, so I have not to insist upon the matter. Be not less careful when the woman in question is married: to excite the anger of her husband may have dire consequences. If you are caught in the act, who will blame the offended man for killing you? The right will ever remain on his side.

"An unfaithful wife is a thorn in the flesh; keep to your husband, never allow any other man to share your affections. No true Isneg will stand an adulteress: your husband will divorce you and you will have no recourse, your parents will be in duty bound to give back the price they received for you. Who will respect a woman who respects neither herself nor her husband? No excuse will save you from infamy. Your husband may be inclined occasionally to have

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837 intercourse with other women, that is natural, although it is a danger-
684 ous affair; but remember that he is a man, and that you are a woman:
[562] between the two there is no possible comparison. A man may take
many liberties, while a woman may take none. What are peccadilloes in a man, are crimes in a woman. Beware of deceitful men
831 who would come to entice you away from your rightful owner. Take heed in time, since once the thing is done, there is no longer a remedy, and repentance is too late".

831 At my first visit to Nagbabalayan, a companion of mine wanted to
834 take the picture of an Isneg woman who was pounding rice near
837 her house. When he invited her to pose for him, she quickly demurred and added: "I am a married woman". She evidently misunderstood him, but the answer sufficiently proved what was her opinion about her responsibilities.

On a certain occasion my catechist, an Ilоko Christian, went to light his cigar at that of a woman, who came smoking to the river, in order to draw water. Not knowing about his intentions, I was not able to warn him. Fortunately as he was my servant and a stranger at that, everything went on smoothly, although the woman at first strongly objected. The point was that she was married, and no Isneg is allowed to take such liberties with the wife of another man: in the eyes of an Isneg, acting that way means much more familiarity than an uninitiated person might suspect. This shows how strictly a married woman is hedged in, and how easily a man may be offended by an action that implies the smallest degree of familiarity with his wife.

836 On my second visit to Bayag, in July 1929, I met there an Isneg
831 policeman, who was an acquaintance of mine and who was a married
562 man. On the day I was leaving Bayag, he also had to go to a neigh-
661 boring settlement; so he accompanied me for a part of the road. Here
554 I quote textually what he told me on that occasion, apparently indignant at the occurrence: "This morning I met with a strange case: a Bayag-Isneg was scolding his daughter in my presence for having slept with me last night. I asked him if he objected to my using the girl, when she consented. He answered me he did not, of course, but he merely wanted to scold the girl; he said he had nothing against me, his intention was to teach his daughter decent manners. That was all right, of course, but why should he have done so while I was around and could hear him? He should have scolded the girl at a time I was out of earshot. Why! That fellow seemed to resent

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the fact that I had used his daughter. Can you beat it?" Needless to say, the conversation was practically a soliloquy on the part of the policeman. I do not believe though that his action was consonant with the Isneg code of morals; but this incident, and especially the answer of the girl's father, shows clearly how different is the state of man and woman among the Isneg, with reference to sex morality.

It should be added here that the father would probably have objected much more strongly to the man who took such liberties with his daughter, if he had not been a policeman. The latter are supposed to be more or less immune and may take liberties not accorded to others, probably on account of their position. Isneg in general resent that: I have heard them say so more than once; but they are afraid to object too strongly, and so policemen mostly do what they like: their reputation is far from clean all over the district, although I do not believe that they are all equally blamable. Later on I heard that, at the time of the above occurrence, the policeman had intended to make the girl his second wife, an engagement which had been broken off at a subsequent date.

It may be noted in this connection that among the Isneg a man, whether single or married, who commits adultery with a married woman (*manalódog*) is thought to be driven to his crime by some evil spirit. In such a case his guilt would be considerably lessened in our point of view; not so, however, in that of the Isneg: in his eyes, it is only the ultimate act that counts, as has been stated before.

"A fit of anger usually makes a man ridiculous in the eyes of the bystanders. It is true that when there is question of a rightful quarrel, you should never fail to sustain it; to be meek and patient under the circumstances would be mere cowardice. Nevertheless everybody is inclined to laugh at the behavior of an angry man: so, although you be strictly in your right, try to control your anger sufficiently not to cause others to laugh at you.

"You know our belief with reference to people who are wont to laugh at the defects of other persons (*magdóla*): if such people are married, they will be punished by having their children suffer the same defect; if they are still young, the children who will be born to them in the future will be misshapen (*pákuá*).

"A certain amount of *bási* is not to be despised, but drinking to excess is always bad. Who respects a drunken man? Besides, think about the consequences: quarrels, fights, bloodshed, revenges, etc. As soon as you feel that you have enough, go away and sleep it off, lest

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up a good many friendships, and it is the starting point of not a few quarrels among them. Voluntary talebearing, by which I mean here reporting to the interested person the gossip that somebody has spread about him, is, as far as I can judge about the matter, rather rare, at least among men.

Drunkenness is a vice that is mostly indulged in only at the time of some *sáy-du* or other sacrifice, and this mostly by old men. Comparing their use of intoxicating drinks with what I have seen in civilized countries, I should say that the Isneg is a temperate man. Nevertheless theory is stricter than practice, except in the case of youth.

Three points are still to be considered now, namely: chastity, honesty and truthfulness.

And first as to chastity and the virtues related to it. Complete nudity is habitual among youngsters under six years of age; the little coat usually worn even by small boys, is not sufficiently long to cover them decently. Such nakedness is not considered shameful as long as the children are small; nevertheless there is some ground for concluding that it may have an effect upon sex behavior. Indeed small children are very after tickled (*magkuriro-*, *kurirkón*) in order to cause them to laugh, and this tickling is very commonly practised on or near the genitals, not only by the parents, but also by young boys and girls; especially in the case of small boys, the principal use of their penis seems to be that of being fingered by every passer-by.

As soon as the child is able to lisp a few words, the pronunciation by the child of any obscene term that finds its way into the child's vocabulary is greeted with laughter; and if later on foul language is heard to proceed from the small boy's mouth, he is applauded for his cleverness instead of being chastised for his forwardness. Little girls are usually brought up in a less dirty atmosphere, as the mother takes care of them almost exclusively as soon as they are able to walk; but little or no separation of the sexes at night is insisted upon during the first years of the little Isneg's life.

Everything considered, the sight of nudity in both sexes, touching of one another's genitals without reproof, the early excitation of the boys' genitals through indecent handling by older children and adults, the use of dirty speech without the least restraint and almost with encouragement, all these combined can do nothing else but detract from the efficiency of subsequent teaching on sex morality. The existence of the term *kasadr* seems to support my inference; *kasade*

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592 wife. Especially when the women have attained a more or less ad-
562 vanced age, their tongue usually rules the household; and in this
578 they have a very sharp-cutting instrument indeed. The husband
may occasionally vindicate his authority, but most of the time he
[201] shrinks from the women's displeasure. Besides, as a last resort, they always have their tears ready at hand; I have assisted more than once, although involuntarily, at family scenes in which the quarrel ended with a flow of tears on the part of the wife and subsequent awkwardness in the manner of the more or less aggressive husband, who finally could find no other way out but meekly to explain, to try to soothe, and to submit. An old woman, be she married or widowed, has generally more than one say in the family. And if a woman has been consecrated a shamaness while in her early childhood, then she commands the respect not only of the household but of her neighbors as well, or rather inspires them with a kind of reverential awe, especially if she is advanced in years.

To resume, both parties help each other in their own way: the husband has a woman to look after his daily needs, and the wife, although taking the lion's share of the work, does not lack compensation in the fact that from now on she has a ready listener whenever she wants to pronounce one of her philippics.

837 As has been amply shown in the preceding pages, and as will appear even more clearly from what will be said of divorce, there can be no question among the Isneg of allowing anybody access to one's wife or of exchanging wives with another man.

831 Do Isneg husbands and wives love each other? It has been said
593 about other tribes, here in the Mountain Province, that in their case marriage is nothing else but a juxtaposition of two people, a man and a woman, that the husband is more like a stranger to his wife, that mutual love between husband and wife is something completely unknown. This may perhaps be true with some of them, although I doubt very much if such sweeping statements are entirely consonant with the facts. But does it apply to the Isneg? It must be conceded that in the question of marital love, just as in that of gratitude, outward manifestations are exceedingly sparse among the Isneg. It is also a fact that husband and wife never or almost never work together, which after all is not exactly peculiar to primitive people. But can we truly say that mutual love is unknown between an Isneg husband and his wife? I should answer most emphatically in the negative: Isneg man and wife most certainly love each other. Nevertheless it

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is not an easy matter to prove the statement by concrete instances, as such a thing as marital love,—which by the way is rarely manifested outwardly among the Isneg, as has just been stated,—is usually not patent to every passer-by, to whatsoever tribe or race the people in question may belong.

A few previous statements referring to the position of husband and wife in the Isneg family, may suggest that mutual love between both exists to a certain degree. One concrete example to be cited will, however, go farther as evidence, the more so that at the time the couple in question were already advanced in years and of an age at which marital love is usually on the wane, at least as far as outward manifestations are concerned. Now, one cannot deduce from a single example that all Isneg husbands and wives are exceedingly fond of each other: *ab uno disce omnes* may sometimes be considered as a rough working rule, but it will hardly do as a scientific principle. But this instance clearly shows at least that mutual love between husband and wife is not something unknown among the Isneg, and, although Isneg families differ very much the one from the other, one will be forced to conclude that, if such mutual consideration can be found so clearly and patently with an old couple, there will probably be found among the Isneg at least a certain proportion of young married people to whom marital love is not an unknown quantity. I myself, who have been living among them for a considerable period (some five years at the time this is written, early 1931), am convinced that Isneg husbands and wives usually love each other very much; but it should never be forgotten that it is very hard to cite striking examples of such love that may have come to the notice of an outsider, when one remembers how little demonstrative the generality of Isneg are.

Let us come to the anecdote in question. In February 1926, on the day I left Butaw for Solsona, *Balúkat*, one of my carriers, a man about fifty years old, came to me before we started on our journey and entreated me to allow him to lead me by a little detour instead of following the straight path. The evening before, he said, he had been talking to his wife about my appearance in those quarters, and she had evinced much eagerness to see me. Now if I would kindly follow him, we should not lose very much time, and it would allow him to grant the wish of the old girl. I consented to the proposal, and when we arrived at the place where the woman had promised to meet us when coming from her field, *Balúkat* had barely espied her,

825 as the man insisted, the brother (allowed the marriage to go on and) went under the house to get wine. Some persons in the house happened to walk so heavily [83] that he look up. There he saw that the dilating vulva of the woman had sharp teeth (the cause of the former husbands' death). The woman was so ashamed that she ran outside. She said: "You made me so ashamed that I am going to leave you. When I pass across your path, you must return because it signifies ill. If you do something else and I sing in a scolding voice, you must discontinue your work." The woman then became a bird, *balsit*, and flew away.

THE ORIGIN OF MONKEYS

One summer day some women were planting rice in their kaiñgin. At noon while the sun was hot, they rested in the shelter erected in the kaiñgin. They amused themselves by telling many stories. They slept after telling their stories. The sun was very hot. The ground was very hot, too. They could not work well in that heat. Their backs and heads would suffer in the heat of the sun. So they slept.

After awhile they woke up, prepared, and chewed *buyo*. They drank much water. The sun was still very hot. It was ont yet time for them to plant rice. They had nothing to do in the shelter. Then they thought to catch the lice in each other's hair. Each sat behind another while she hunted and caught the lice on her head. There were many lice in their hair. There were big lice and small ones, too. One of the women said, "Let us play with these lice." "Oh, yes,"

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584 me by the girl herself, and she did not seem to take the whole affair as at all serious; she did not look as if she was inclined to allow the boy to take possession of her heart, let alone of her whole body.

Marriages between grown-up boys and girls that are arranged by the parents without consulting the interested parties, or at least without the said youngsters having taken the first steps in that direction, are much more frequent, and in many cases the young people readily agree, either because they are not so particular about the qualities of their future partner, provided there be one, or because they are otherwise loath to go against the wishes of their elders. But as in the case of infant marriages, objections on the part of either of the two may be sufficient to prevent either the first proposal or all further developments.

The usual way, however, among our Isneg, is that the young man looks for the girl of his choice, wins her consent, and then informs his parents about the matter. After that the elders of both boy and girl take upon themselves the responsibility of all further transactions and ceremonies.

581 Now what qualities are supposed to make the perfect girl in the
832 eyes of an Isneg boy, or at least what is the boy looking for in the
826 girl to whom he will give his heart? She should be handsome (*napiyd*)
461 of course, which means that her skin should be clean, smooth and light-colored; the darker the uglier, the whiter the prettier, is a common Isneg criterion. If possible she should be fat and plump; in the eyes of an Isneg, lean girls are not the acme of beauty. But all this is only of secondary importance; she should be *nalaggát*, "diligent, active", and that is more necessary than anything else: all other qualities are subordinate to this one, and the most handsome flirt will be discarded at once for a diligent girl, be she ever so ugly and as thin as a bean stalk.

And so also in the eyes of a girl, a boy be he ever so handsome (*natáram*),—a quality which however is never despised, provided it goes together with the most important one,—will never make a desirable husband if he is not *nalaggát*. He must not necessarily be a *mánal*, a brave, but he should love work: that is what counts.

581 It might be wondered why the question of diligence is by far more
171 important among the Isneg than among other tribes, to whom other
461 qualities look much more valuable. Indeed in Bontok, for instance, at least formerly, a boy would rarely win a girl, if he had not yet shown some sign of courage, either by taking the head of an enemy

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or by some other brave deed. Why is love of work an almost necessary requisite in Apayaw, where the natives are renowned for their laziness? Or is this almost proverbial love of idleness the reason why future partners look for the contrary virtue in their mates? Is the boy perhaps convinced that he will never be able to earn a decent livelihood, if he is not assisted by a woman who is active and industrious? Does he perhaps know all too well that his hatred of exertion and hard work will never lead to anything, if the girl of his choice does not make up for his deficiencies? And does the Isneg girl perhaps look for an active husband as for a jewel of great price, knowing that the scarcer an object is, the costlier it becomes? I do not think so. The Isneg certainly lack all means of comparison between themselves and members of other tribes, and besides they rarely believe that they are lovers of leisure and idleness, as they usually resent very much hearing outsiders say so. I think that the whole question fits in with the social reason for marriage as given above. Boys marry in order to be helped by a woman, and so they necessarily look for an active one first of all; and girls know that they will carry a heavy burden, so they prefer somebody upon whom they can rely in time of need, somebody who will lend them a helping hand and do his full share as far as custom allows. This I believe to be the explanation of the whole situation.

As soon as a boy has attained the age at which marriage may be contemplated in the not too distant future, he passes most of his evenings at the house of marriageable girls, and he usually has little difficulty in knowing more or less intimately any girls that might possibly be conquered by him. He sees them at home, chats with them, sometimes plays with them, and, except when the parents of a girl definitely object to his suitability as a future partner for their daughter, even passes the night sleeping at their houses.

A few girls are real flirts (*aŋkár*); they are, as the Isneg puts it, fond of men, and if such a situation continues for a considerable time without any prospect of marriage in the near future, they may become broken-hearted and even lose their minds. Nevertheless such cases are the exception, and active courtship (*mamabdy*, from the stem *babdy*, "woman") is generally the exclusive occupation of boys, while the girls, at least outwardly, usually seem to be very hard to please. But a boy has many ways of attracting the attention of the girls. Just to enumerate a few of them:

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584 832 534 [828] 1. The use of musical instruments, which he plays at the house of the girls, usually while lying down in the evening, and which are supposed to have a very soothing influence on the mind of any member of the weaker sex. As this is not the place to describe these instruments at length, I shall merely enumerate them and add a few of their most outstanding characteristics:

The *kuribáw*, a kind of Jew's-harp, entirely made of bamboo, whose tongue is struck by the finger at its fixed base.

The *aziwáń*, another kind of Jew's-harp, partially made of bamboo, whose metal tongue is moved by a string.

The *balikiń* or nose flute, which consists of a slender tube of bamboo, open at both ends and provided with holes along its length, three at one side and one at the other.

584 832 533 2. The singing of love songs (*magdaldallán*). This is done in the daytime as well as in the evening, whenever the boy is moved by concupiscence (*makibabbáy*). Such songs, however, are not the exclusive property of the male sex.

584 834 192 3. The pronunciation of special terms, otherwise meaningless, that are supposed to have a magical influence on the female sex. These are interwoven in the verses of the song and more or less connected with the rest of the sentence. Such terms are: *dumaripón, dumiñidíñ, dumardarobó*, etc.

584 832 302 824 4. The use of perfumes (*bañúg*), usually consisting of fragrant herbs or leaves stuck in the headband; although unseen by the girl in the evening, these perfumes forcibly strike her nostrils in an agreeable manner. Any kind of perfume may be used for the purpose, but the most esteemed on such occasions is the *malindáw* (called *indáw* at Bolo). The *malindáw* is a small tree covered with spines and provided with very aromatic leaves. The *Andn* brook near Dangla flows through a thicket that is renowned for the abundance and variety of its odoriferous plants: *silóyon* (aromatic leaves, parasitic on trees), *ditán* (aromatic seeds, a kind of rattan), *malindáw*, etc.

584 832 776 Here two spirits occasionally play an important role: both of them are supposed to spread a very agreeable odor, and they sometimes accompany the boys on their courting expeditions, although nothing is done by the latter to attract them. They are:

Axináw: a spirit who lives in the hills and always wears very nice apparel; he is supposed to be visible at times. He merely accompanies the boy and through his fragrance influences the girl in behalf of her lover.

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Iwazán: a spirit who formerly was a man, assiduous in courting the girls and very clever in causing the latter to allow him to perform coitus with them. If the boy who goes to court the girls happens to have a small bottle of coconut oil on his person, which is quite customary, *Iwazán* sometimes enters the bottle, so that the girl may smell the fragrance he emits and fall in love with the boy.

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5. The wearing of beads. The most powerful in this line are the *buláwan*, round beads, varying much in size, of the color of silver, and possessing a kind of silky lustre. They appear in strings that are worn as necklaces or as ornaments around the headband. Although they prove very attractive to the girl when worn by the boy who comes to court her, these beads are not the exclusive property of the male sex: both men and women make use of them for ornamental purposes.

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6. The giving of presents, as rings, trinkets, clothes, and so on. Isneg young men of marriageable age very often carry their articles for chewing betel nut in a pouch (*kélăy*), a rather large and generally multicolored handkerchief, hanging from the neck and dangling on the chest; two ends are knotted immediately over the contents with a large double knot, the other two are joined at the top and reach the neck of the wearer. All along both sides, from the receptacle up to about half-way between the latter and the neck, a series of rings (*sañkilát*) covers the cloth. The girl takes betel nut, etc., out of the pouch, and both, boy and girl, occasionally interchange rings, the boy detaching one of his own from his *kélăy* to give it to the girl, and the latter adding one of her rings to those of the boy's *kélăy*. Such an interchange of rings, however, is not always necessarily a sign of consent on the part of the girl to the advances of the boy: this in modification of a statement made by me in a previous paper (CAC–P, 1:226).

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Incidentally it should be noted here that lovers' gifts are never returned, even though no further steps be taken or though some obstacle come in the way of the realization of the young people's dreams; such gifts always remain the property of the donee.

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7. The use of love charms (*mañímud*) to force the girl to think of him. This item is so exceedingly important that I feel obliged to devote a few paragraphs to the same.

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Love charms are used exclusively and very often, if not universally, by young men, never by girls. They usually consist of some herbs

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832 [435] (*kaddát*), which are bought from the shaman and remain her own secret. A jacket or something of equal value is the usual price paid by a lover to the old woman who furnishes him with the much-coveted [278] charm. These herbs are either ground into powder or otherwise pressed and crumpled until they are unrecognizable, and then mixed with coconut oil (*dénu*), lest an uninitiated person get to know them, and their virtues disappear: indeed, a love charm whose ingredients, the oil excepted, have been called by name, be it by the shaman herself or anybody else, is completely valueless. This is certainly a wise precaution, otherwise the shaman would not receive many presents of jackets and so on: Isneg youngsters would be able to find the herbs without anybody's help, as they are undoubtedly very common plants, although I am ignorant of their identity; they also probably differ from shaman to shaman. Anyhow if this supposed loss of virtue through the pronunciation of the name of the herbs in question is not a shaman's trick, it certainly serves the latter's interests perfectly well.

[293] Once the boy has obtained his love charm, which he places in some small receptacle, usually a small bottle, he generally carries it along at least when he goes to court the girl of his choice, and he usually keeps it all the time either in his *túput* (belongings rolled up in an *amakattán* kerchief and carried on the back at the waist) or in his *kélay*, lest he lose it or somebody else lay hands on it. Whenever an Isneg lover goes to see his girl in the evening, he does not fail to pour some of this precious ointment on the palms of both hands and pass the latter over his hair, so that the girl may be forced to love him,—at least if he can do so unobserved, that is if there is no light to betray his actions. This, however, might be called only a measure of precaution or something to be done by all means, lest perchance a better and surer way be wanting. And indeed the love charm is considered as almost irresistible if it comes in mediate or immediate contact with the girl's body.

832 276 576 The inveterate custom of chewing betel nut, betel pepper and lime is not confined to the older people among the Isneg: youngsters very soon learn to imitate their elders in that respect. The asking and giving of the necessary ingredients is, if not the only, at least one of the most usual forms of salutation, and no polite Isneg will forego either to ask or to proffer these precious chewing materials, whenever he happens to meet somebody, and more especially when he is conversing with somebody who is more or less familiar with him, for instance, a relative, a partner in some kind of work etc.

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instance, a relative, a partner in some kind of work, etc. And so a boy who goes to court a girl may expect to be asked, if not for all three ingredients, which is the usual case, at least for one or two of the same. Now here he has a nice opportunity of putting his love charm to good use; both the latter and the chewing material being carried in the same pouch, it is not hard for him to place a little of the precious ointment, under cover of darkness, either on the nut or on the leaf of betel pepper that is handed to the girl. Contact could hardly be more immediate, as the girl will not only touch the love charm, but even chew it, and perhaps swallow it with a part of her saliva.

Another way almost equally efficient is to dip his little finger in the oil of love, and, while proffering a leaf or a nut to his girl, to push the same finger into her extended hand: the girl takes hold of it and forcibly comes in contact with the charm, while the boy, merely to dissimulate, usually asks her: "Why do you take hold of my finger?" In my humble opinion such a stereotyped question, if often repeated, can hardly fail to expose the lover's artifice, and so excite the girl's suspicions, with the possible result of seeing his further attentions definitely rejected; but the Isneg strongly believes that his love charm has real power, and so he is convinced that the intended result will have been obtained as soon as the girl touches his finger, even though afterwards she may understand the stratagem: she will already have fallen under the spell, and the deceit will have become quite unobjectionable to her. Or, and this is perhaps the true explanation, the girl may be very willing to accept the boy's advances, and so any amount of tricks on the part of the boy to win her love can do nothing else but please her, as in this way she will not be obliged to confess her own love toward him, and the blame of the whole affair will be borne by the innocuous love charm. Indeed, once matters have come to such a pass that the boy is received with pleasure by the girl in question, so much so that she asks him for chewing materials in her own home, it is quite reasonable to suppose that the lady is very willing to cast in her lot with that of her suitor.

If neither of these two ways is in the young man's reach, for the obvious reason that the girl does not care for his betel nuts, he has a few other means at his disposition. He may put some of the ointment on the girl's blanket, and make it touch her mediately, with at least some probability that it will sooner or later come in contact

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832 with her body. Or he may resort to a stratagem very often used in
789 magic, namely, he may place a drop of the oil in question on one of
171 the girl's footprints. Belief in the efficacy of such actions is not confined to the Isneg. Many Iloko, all of whom were converted to Christianity in Spanish times, believe that the caudal spine (*burábur*, in Iloko) of the sting ray thrust into the footprint of a person or in the place made wet by the latter's urine, invariably causes the death of the person in question.

832 Sometimes, instead of this ordinary love charm prepared by a shaman, the boy uses one of his own choice: he tears off a diminutive section of a thread from one of the fringes at the hind part of his G-string, and mixes it with the betel (betel nut, leaf of the betel pepper, and lime) which he prepares for his girl to chew.

832 I have also been able to obtain the names of a few herbs, used for
824 love charms, which were known to the boys who gave me this infor-
278 mation. It goes without saying that the shaman is completely left out in such cases. These herbs, none of which I have been able to identify as yet, are:

sagúbây: a small herb, the leaves of which are used to win a girl's love;

tagalomá- and *tañnó-:* small herbs, to be mixed with oil, as explained above;

añimud: a small herb, to be mixed with the betel given to the girl;

añam-ámo: a small herb, placed either on the girl's mat or under her nose so that she can smell it;

danórán, *tagiámo* and *pa-paámo:* small herbs, the first two growing on trees. The boy does nothing else but put one or more of them in his pouch when he goes to court the girls: they merely serve him as an amulet in order to win his girl's love. *Amo* in the last two of these three names, and in the preceding one, means "taming";

dalúpa-: a small herb, to be put secretly in the pouch of a girl who is "wild" to you.

The use I give for each of the above herbs is simply the one that was given to me by my informants, and I repeat it exactly as I heard it, without any addition or explanation on my part.

A Tawit boy gave me the following recipe, which works both ways: If you want to win the love of a girl who is engaged to some other boy, gather a few *tama-dây* herbs (a creeping herb growing in the forest), and mix some part of them with the betel nut you hand to

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the girl in question; as soon as she swallows a part of the juice of this mixture, her love for the other boy will have disappeared in its entirety, and you will have taken his place in her affections.

To complete the account I shall add here the means used by a spurned lover in order to revenge himself on the girl who despises his love. The first thing to do is to obtain another kind of herb or mixture of herbs from the compliant shaman. After that the boy pays a last nocturnal visit to the house of the girl who has definitively refused his advances, and throws a part of this charm, which in this case is not a love charm of course, at the girl in question. If it sticks to her body or to her clothes, the Isneg firmly believe that she will conceive through the sole adherence of the herbs thrown at her; in such a case she will forever be scorned by other young men, and the young man's revenge will be complete. If the charm falls down and does not stick to the girl, she will escape unscathed. Similar [171] beliefs are to be found among other Mountain tribes; in certain Kankanay tales, for instance, there is question of a girl who crosses a brook or takes a bath at a place below the one where a boy has thrown his anklet (Kankanay: *bóyat*) into the water: the latter, having floated down, encircled one of the girl's legs, with the inevitable result, not only that she became pregnant at once, but that her being with child became apparent almost immediately.

All the above information concerning the means used by Isneg lovers to win a girl was given to me by young men who had exactly the required age to know everything about the subject from personal experience. From some of the Isneg boys I have also obtained tests giving typical dialogues between a boy and a girl whom he courts. Owing to their content and length and to the necessity of prefacing them with certain linguistic data of a more general nature, they are given as an appendix to the present paper (pp. 261-80).

The Isneg believe that, if the betel (nut, leaf and lime) which a girl prepares for her lover to chew, causes a burning sensation in the latter's mouth, it is a favorable omen for him. In such a case the boy may hope to find his sweetheart ready to accept his suit. So also, if the betel prepared by a lover for his sweetheart burns in the latter's mouth, the girl understands that the boy is really in love with her.

An Isneg lover generally looks for a good omen before going to court the girls, at least when the affair has become serious or when he takes the necessary steps to know definitively whether his feelings

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832 787 584 [778] are reciprocated by his sweetheart. To do this he proceeds exactly in the same way as does the Isneg who is intending to go on a journey: he observes the flight of the *labág* bird, whose female is called *malaxi-bát*, and if the bird fails to cross his path, the omen is good; if it crosses his path, however, he will wait for another occasion in the not too distant future in order to observe again the flight of the *labág*, and, in case of a favorable answer, to go on with his intentions.

584 The definite steps just referred to consist in the following: the young man takes a bundle of betel leaves, some fifty or more betel nuts, and a ring; he rolls everything in a handkerchief, and carries his precious burden to the house of his sweetheart, some time in the evening. Once there he drops the whole package, called *luptág*, into one of the girl's *aligmamán* baskets, without saying the least word about the same. If the girl brings it back to him, it is a sign of refusal on her part; but if she keeps it, the boy knows for certain that his love has been reciprocated, and both consider themselves as engaged by tacit agreement.

From now on the young man will pay his girl regular visits, even though he may continue occasionally to see other girls. If such visits should stop for a considerable time, although without direct fault of the boy, any Isneg girl would have to conclude that the boy's love had shifted toward somebody else. Should the boy break the engagement, either on his own account or in obedience to the wishes of his elders, he is liable to be fined by the parents of the outraged girl.

To know for sure that the other party's interest has not slackened, Isneg lovers sometimes resort to the proposal of a date for some future meeting. If the girl does not appear at the trysting place, the boy is *maikáwa* (disappointed, annoyed), as this is an unmistakable sign that the girl does not love him any more; if the boy fails to make an appearance, the girl knows that his love toward her has ceased. Although this is done by young people, whether engaged or not, it goes without saying that in the former case it takes place only if some doubt has arisen in the boy's mind or in that of the girl as to the faithfulness of his or her partner.

584 836 As soon as two people have become engaged, actual Isneg custom allows them to have sexual relations, although no ceremonies have been performed and they are not yet living together. This happens very often of course when the boy goes to see his girl in the evening. A boy who passes his evenings or nights at the house of the girl to whom he has become engaged, is said to *maxal-allây* or *maxad-adúg*.

couple. Nothing but joy was displayed in that fare-well party to the departing warriors. 726

With glittering spears, *gaods*, and shields painted red and black, they started for Nagcolman. But soon they must stop for a while at the sacred tree to have their prayers said there; because their guiding *anito* dwelt in that tree. After the prayers, they rose into the air and were soon out of sight. Shortly afterward they were seen in Sagian, a place overlooking Nagcolman. There they must make a generous offering of betel nut to Balaniban, the *anito* in Sagian. The betel nut had to be offered on a shining *aliwa*. Had they failed to do so, Balaniban must deceive them. 726 782

The direction to Nagcolman was then determined, and they vanished into the air; thus arriving by the riverside of their objective. Imlang, the youngest brother and the most handsome, proceeded directly to a certain house in Nagcolman, while the rest stopped at the riverside. Imlang's going to that house was contrary to the brothers' plan; for he himself desired to find a very charming lady who was hidden in the chimney of the house. A great feast was being held there when the invaders arrived; but their arrival was still unknown. Imlang vanished from his seat in the house unnoticed by the people. He was with the fair lady, Naglalanaoan, in the chimney, obtaining her love. No difficulty was offered him in winning the love of the acknowledged belle of the *barangay*. He came to know her by enchantment. 000 [632]

Thereupon, Imlang and his expected bride, as well as the invaders still by the river, prayed that all that was being used in the feast must be brought by en-

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824 842 forest, gathers the herb in question, wraps it in a piece of cloth, and brings it to the woman, who immediately starts chewing it. This is mostly practised only by mothers who have already been blessed with a numerous offspring.

843 811 Both Ilоko and Kagayan attach much weight to the capricious appetite of a pregnant woman, and to whatever she loves or loathes at the time, all of which they believe to have its repercussion on the baby that has to be born. So some years ago a certain Kagayan mother gave birth to a child whose skin was much more lightly colored than that of its brothers and sisters, and everybody explained the occurrence by the fact that the mother, while pregnant, had had a very great devotion to a statue of the Divine Babe, which was either made of white material or at least painted white, and that she had gone almost daily to pray in front of the statue in question. All Isneg, however, whom I questioned on the subject disclaimed both knowledge of such a belief and its existence among their people.

843 776 Whatever may be the reason, the Isneg do not seem to dread the intervention of the spirits (*anito*) before the actual birth of the child. Do they perhaps imagine that the *anito* are ignorant about the ways of the flesh, and that they do not know the meaning of pregnancy? Or do they believe that the spirits have no power on children as yet unborn? The latter is probably the case. I think that in their eyes, as long as a child dwells in the womb of its mother, only what enters the body (food, semen) is able to exert any influence on it, and that outsiders can in no way affect it. And so, except for a few beliefs [833] with reference to food, the only precaution that is taken during the pregnancy of the mother is that the husband ceases having sexual intercourse with his wife so soon as her state is known with certainty, lest, so they say, the babe be injured. For the rest everything runs its usual course, and although such a large number of magical and other practices have come to my notice at every other period of the life of the Isneg, the period that precedes the birth of a child has so far proved to be completely devoid of any belief in the evil influence of one spirit or another.

843 824 In some places a woman who is pregnant for the first time, is believed to assure the good health of her babe after its birth, if she eats *azadi*, which is the fruit of a kind of tree that grows in the forest.

843 262 824 These are the articles of food forbidden to pregnant women which have come to my notice:

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the ginger at the foot of the ladder. If necessary, other herbs and ginger are always available to take the place of the abandoned ones. 846 515

At other places: the young mother goes to the river and takes a bath. Nothing is changed with reference to herbs and ginger, which she took along at the time of her ceremonial bath and which she continues to carry on her person afterwards. 783

With reference to the meaning of *mamáwa*: originally it may have been applied to any kind of ceremonial ablution; later on, it may have been restricted either to the bath of a woman after her delivery (Bayag), or to the ceremony performed after the death of a married woman (Abbil).

While the mother stays inside the house, the other inmates, men not excepted if necessary, take over her ordinary duties, such as fetching water, gathering vegetables, and so on. Bayag is the only place where the husband is forbidden to leave the house for a definite number of days, as has been explained before. 846

The husband does not sleep with his wife for from two to five months after the birth of a child; everything depends on the state of the mother and the strength of the baby. [833]

Should it happen that Christian Iloko merchants from the lowlands come along to sell their wares, which usually consist of clothes, at the time there is a newborn babe in the house, the Isneg father will never fail to get a few strips of cloth as soon as his Iloko friends open their packs, and to burn these rags under the nose of the little one. This ceremony is called *rumidméd*, and not to comply with it is said to be *kaunáw* (bad, taboo). Such burning of cloth for magical and similar purposes is an almost universal custom all over northern Luzon. The Kankanay burn a piece of cloth and throw it outside through the door, at the same time mumbling a prayer, whenever one of their children is addicted to continual crying. The Iloko (Christians) burn cotton or rags not only at the birth of a child, but whenever somebody is sick in the house: they say that the smoke strengthens the breathing of mother and child or of the sick person, as the case may be. When bringing the little one to church for baptism, one of the attending group usually has a burning sliver of cotton in the hand and constantly keeps it as near as possible to the infant that has to be christened, at least if the priest does not object. If they know him to forbid such practices, they try to hide their diminutive torch in time before his coming, somewhere outside the building: the very offensive smell, however, rarely fails to betray them. 852 789 171

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tunate if it stopped at that, as the whole affair usually became a 684
casus belli.

This whole state of affairs tends very much to make one believe that solitary vice is considered as lawful and not at all forbidden to young men. One day while listening to a conversation among Isneg [177 833] boys, I heard them talk about flashlights, which at the time had a very great vogue and were very much sought after. The youngsters in question wanted such a light in order to find their way when going to have sexual intercourse with girls in the evening: this was literally what they said. But would they really dare do it so often as they seemed to imply? In many cases would it not be rather to indulge themselves in company with the girls, without always taking the risk of making them pregnant?

On a similar occasion I saw a young man stretch himself out upon [834] a heap of sand and mimick the conjugal act in the presence of several other young men who merely smiled at his behavior.

Would it be possible for young men to live chastely on such a principle namely, that the only crime in that line is making a girl pregnant? And this seems to be the Isneg view about the matter. With girls, I repeat it, the code is much stricter: they are allowed nothing. They should conserve their body pure and undefiled, even from the mere contact of young men. It is true that the only punishment, in case of pregnancy, would be a severe scolding, but their conduct is censured whenever something untoward happens, and besides the ultimate result, that of being rejected as a prospective bride by any decent young man, must certainly serve as a powerful deterrent.

"Honesty is an imperative virtue for every Isneg. 'Stealing should 577
be loathed by all right-minded people. Never touch the property of 421
others, do not take what does not belong to you. Why should you 685
covet your neighbor's goods? Did you work in order to obtain them? Would you like others to rob you of the fruit of your labor? Another man's property should always be safe in your hands. Never allow anybody to suspect you of being dishonest; a thief is branded with an indelible mark that will make people distrust him at his mere approach. Never destroy the property of your neighbor; you have no right to do so: revenge would quickly follow your rash deed. If you find something that does not belong to you, give it back to the owner, it is still his, unless of course you know positively that it has been abandoned. Should the owner find his lost goods hidden in your

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In a certain place, not so long ago, they had a teacher whose moral conduct was, to say the least, rather objectionable. When policemen raided the houses of the Isneg in order to hunt up all children of school age, several Isneg parents bluntly told them that they would gladly send their sons, but with reference to their daughters, as long as that teacher remained in charge, never; and they were perfectly right. That man has since been dismissed from the service.

A few defects, which will be recorded in due time, occasionally mar the picture of Isneg family life; but on the whole, it must be said that the Isneg commonly live up to their comparatively high standards with regard to this most important unit of society. Nevertheless the whole life of the Isneg, from the cradle to the grave, is dominated by the fear of the spirits; superstition, magic and spirit worship are inextricably interwoven with their whole life. If a Caucasian or, to take an example from people born, living and dying in the same surroundings, a Negrito had to live under such a continual fear of the supernatural and to comply with such a large number of practices in order to propitiate higher beings or to elude their malevolent intentions, I think his life would be simply miserable. The Isneg, however, do not seem to mind, and although always on the lookout for disagreeable interventions from above, they live a life free of care and are never anxious about the future. They rarely concern themselves with what the next day might bring them, and live happy and content if to-day their immediate wants are provided for: to-morrow will take care of itself.

This seeming contradiction pervades their whole life. On the one hand, they have to take innumerable precautions for the future with regard to superior beings. On the other hand, they do not seem to care a jot for the days to come even with reference to such essential needs as food and raiment. The solution of this apparent puzzle seems to me to be found in the fact that the Isneg do conscientiously every day what they think they have to do and leave the rest to fate. With reference to the supernatural, if they take all possible means to propitiate the spirits, and disregard no taboos, and so on, they feel assured that nothing untoward will happen to them on the part of the spirits. With reference to daily sustenance and the rest, they feel no such assurance, as they know by practical experience that they cannot control the forces of nature, rain, storms, the growth of plants, etc. By strictly observing all injunctions of the shamans and all traditional rites and practices, they believe it possible to control the

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"As soon as an Isneg boy knows the meaning of shame, he should wear a G-string. From then on never go around stark naked, at least under ordinary circumstances. But if there is danger of your clothes getting wet, you can take them off of course: for instance, when mounting a raft, and sometimes also when riding a canoe, more especially when you have to tow the latter and enter the water at every turn, or when you have to cross rivers and brooks that are comparatively deep. You should not even take the trouble to put your G-string off and on at every step, provided of course you are alone or among your own people, and in the latter case provided you are circumcised, otherwise your companions would laugh at you. It is not shameful for a circumcised man to expose his genitalia and to walk along in a state of complete nudity, when there is a reason for doing so: nobody will be scandalized at that. Be very careful though never to appear naked when women may be espying you; there is no excuse for any man to expose his naked body to the gaze of women. That should be avoided by all means: would not these chatterboxes go around and tell everybody about it and make you the laughing stock of all the girls of the neighborhood?

"A girl should be modest. Do not fail to wear your G-string under your tapis as soon as you have attained a certain development: indeed, it might happen that your outer garment gets loose, and even in your ordinary movements it might sometimes be hard not to bare your body indecently, if no G-string is worn. A woman should always wear all her lower garments, except of course when she has to cross a deep stream or to take a bath, but then she should put them on again immediately afterwards. However, if men, her husband excepted, or strangers are around, she should prefer to wear wet clothes rather than take them off even for a single moment. Grown-up girls should always wear their jacket; they should never expose their breasts to the gaze of anybody. If you are a married woman, you need not be so meticulous; but cover yourself though when leaving the house, at least when strangers are around. Exposing the breasts from under the jacket is always allowed when giving a baby the breast; nor is it usually shameful to leave the breasts partially uncovered, when you are carrying a child or when a little one is otherwise present. Take this as a rule: except in the case of water sports and so on, and in the exclusive presence of persons of your own sex, never expose your genitalia, and, if you are as yet unmarried, your breasts. For the rest, you need not be very

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577 particular, although it would certainly be utterly immodest for any
834 grown-up woman purposelessly to take off her tapis completely, even
291 though seen only from behind; and going around half-naked is not to be recommended, even to a married woman, when in the presence of outsiders."

In 1927, while on my way to Karagawan, I followed the course of the river which I had to cross at every turn; so my Isneg carrier took off his G-string at the first crossing and did not put it on again, except on a certain occasion, when we were approaching a house. "Wait a moment", he said, "I shall put on my G-string, as who knows but there may be some women at home there espying me".

At the teachers' house I had a talk with the mother of one of the Iloko teachers, and, in the course of the conversation, she related to me how astonished the Isneg women of that place had been, when she had told them that she wore no G-string. "But suppose your saya came off, would not your genitalia be exposed to view?" they had exclaimed, with horror painted all over their faces. The Isneg have a special qualifying term for an Isneg woman who wears no G-string: she is called *pañńáw*.

577 Several years ago, there came an order, I believe from the Bureau
834 of Education, that all school children should pass a physical examin-
291 ation before the physician of the district; but very soon the order had
177 to be revoked, as otherwise it was feared that an uprising would occur among our Mountain people. The Isneg in particular could find no plausible reason for any man causing a girl to take off her garments in his presence.

836 "All Isneg boys should be careful not to render a girl pregnant:
577 this is one of the delinquencies that are abhorred more than anything
684 else among the Isneg. You may be inclined to sow your wild oats; that is but natural, but here you have to look out. You should never under any pretext impregnate a girl whom you could not marry afterwards, and even though you could make her your wife, it would still be a dangerous thing to do; suppose some obstacle comes in the way, you know the consequences; you know very well that the relatives of the offended girl will get the *awát*: they will raid your house and carry away your precious jars, your beads and all that is valuable. There is no mercy for a boy who has committed a crime like that; so do not be rash: fornication is a dangerous thing. When you go to court the girls (*mamabáy*) in the evening, use love charms and try to win the girl you love; to force her against

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836 course, and the distinction seems rather to be theoretical than prac-
673 tical: nevertheless that is what is going on in the Isneg mind as far
684 as I understand it. To them purpose and intention mean very little,
672 as will be shown again very soon when I shall refer to killing as a crime; what counts is the result. If a boy chances to sleep with a girl without rendering her pregnant, the Isneg may perhaps not see anything very wrong in the whole affair, but woe to him if fate is against him.

836 Nevertheless with reference to young women, the code is much
684 stricter, although the boy will suffer a much harder immediate punishment for his delinquency than will the girl. A girl should never think of doing anything in that line; a boy might perhaps be inclined to do it, but he should know the consequences, if the result is what it should not be.

834 I have described in my introduction to this paper how certain
626 Isneg parents refused to send their girls to school on account of the notoriously immoral conduct of their teacher, and here is what we read in a little manual of instructions for soldiers of the Philippine Constabulary: "No Isneg woman should be joked with or touched by anyone. Christian cargadores or servants should be cautioned about this, as serious trouble may result".[1]

836 Once I heard a boy of some twelve years old, who was working for
533 wages here at Kabugaw, improvise a little song, probably in order to render the work less heavy and to relieve his tiredness. The song was not what you would call a religious one, but it served to show very nicely the ideas current among these people, and at the same time it proved that even the Isneg understood the meaning of what is called an "occasion of sin" (in this case: the sin of impregnating a girl). I may be permitted to write the song down exactly as I heard it: "Do not approach my vulva, I do not want you to have sexual intercourse with me, I am afraid of becoming pregnant: so say the women".

836 A boy who has made a girl pregnant has to marry her; if he refuses,
684 the raids just referred to take place without exception, and the family of the boy loses everything. The same happens when a married man commits adultery with a girl and impregnates her; in his case of course there is rarely question of marriage, and the raids take place almost without exception. Formerly the boy must have been for-

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[1] Camp John Hay Guide Book. A Trip to Ifugao and Bontoc. By Captain Harrington W. Cochran, Coast Artillery Corps, 1923, p. 28.

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tunate if it stopped at that, as the whole affair usually became a *casus belli*.

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837 684 [562] 831 intercourse with other women, that is natural, although it is a dangerous affair; but remember that he is a man, and that you are a woman: between the two there is no possible comparison. A man may take many liberties, while a woman may take none. What are peccadilloes in a man, are crimes in a woman. Beware of deceitful men who would come to entice you away from your rightful owner. Take heed in time, since once the thing is done, there is no longer a remedy, and repentance is too late".

831 834 837 At my first visit to Nagbabalayan, a companion of mine wanted to take the picture of an Isneg woman who was pounding rice near her house. When he invited her to pose for him, she quickly demurred and added: "I am a married woman". She evidently misunderstood him, but the answer sufficiently proved what was her opinion about her responsibilities.

On a certain occasion my catechist, an Iloko Christian, went to light his cigar at that of a woman, who came smoking to the river, in order to draw water. Not knowing about his intentions, I was not able to warn him. Fortunately as he was my servant and a stranger at that, everything went on smoothly, although the woman at first strongly objected. The point was that she was married, and no Isneg is allowed to take such liberties with the wife of another man: in the eyes of an Isneg, acting that way means much more familiarity than an uninitiated person might suspect. This shows how strictly a married woman is hedged in, and how easily a man may be offended by an action that implies the smallest degree of familiarity with his wife.

836 831 562 661 554 On my second visit to Bayag, in July 1929, I met there an Isneg policeman, who was an acquaintance of mine and who was a married man. On the day I was leaving Bayag, he also had to go to a neighboring settlement; so he accompanied me for a part of the road. Here I quote textually what he told me on that occasion, apparently indignant at the occurrence: "This morning I met with a strange case: a Bayag Isneg was scolding his daughter in my presence for having slept with me last night. I asked him if he objected to my using the girl, when she consented. He answered me he did not, of course, but he merely wanted to scold the girl; he said he had nothing against me, his intention was to teach his daughter decent manners. That was all right, of course, but why should he have done so while I was around and could hear him? He should have scolded the girl at a time I was out of earshot. Why! That fellow seemed to resent

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up a good many friendships, and it is the starting point of not a few quarrels among them. Voluntary talebearing, by which I mean here reporting to the interested person the gossip that somebody has spread about him, is, as far as I can judge about the matter, rather rare, at least among men.

Drunkenness is a vice that is mostly indulged in only at the time of some *sáy-án* or other sacrifice, and this mostly by old men. Comparing their use of intoxicating drinks with what I have seen in civilized countries, I should say that the Isneg is a temperate man. Nevertheless theory is stricter than practice, except in the case of youth.

Three points are still to be considered now, namely: chastity, honesty and truthfulness.

And first as to chastity and the virtues related to it. Complete nudity is habitual among youngsters under six years of age; the little coat usually worn even by small boys, is not sufficiently long to cover them decently. Such nakedness is not considered shameful as long as the children are small; nevertheless there is some ground for concluding that it may have an effect upon sex behavior. Indeed small children are very after tickled (*magkuríra-, kurírkán*) in order to cause them to laugh, and this tickling is very commonly practised on or near the genitals, not only by the parents, but also by young boys and girls; especially in the case of small boys, the principal use of their penis seems to be that of being fingered by every passer-by.

As soon as the child is able to lisp a few words, the pronunciation by the child of any obscene term that finds its way into the child's vocabulary is greeted with laughter; and if later on foul language is heard to proceed from the small boy's mouth, he is applauded for his cleverness instead of being chastised for his forwardness. Little girls are usually brought up in a less dirty atmosphere, as the mother takes care of them almost exclusively as soon as they are able to walk; but little or no separation of the sexes at night is insisted upon during the first years of the little Isneg's life.

Everything considered, the sight of nudity in both sexes, touching of one another's genitals without reproof, the early excitation of the boys' genitals through indecent handling by older children and adults, the use of dirty speech without the least restraint and almost with encouragement, all these combined can do nothing else but detract from the efficiency of subsequent teaching on sex morality. The existence of the term *kassár* seems to support my inference; *kassár*

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867 means "to suffer erection", and is used only of boys and girls who
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And so we have reached the period between the age at which the
867 little one wears lower garments for the first time and that of puberty.
834 Formal teaching about the first elements of sex morality usually starts
291 about this time, and so little girls of this age are generally very modest, although boys are not so meticulous. Provided they are
858 circumcised, the latter do not mind very much exposing their naked
183 body, and even when as yet uncircumcised, there is no comparison between their behavior and that of their modest little sisters. For the rest much freedom still exists, as my reference to the special term just explained seems to indicate, so that it might be called a miracle if the youngsters live a chaste life once they have attained the age
[835] of puberty. Recently a young man of some eighteen years old was arrested for having violated his little sister who is barely six years old; he said he wanted "to try".

836 Grown-up girls are of course much better in this respect than boys,
183 and both sexes usually observe the laws of modesty that have been taught them by their parents according to the Isneg code; but in general I think that the morals of young people are decidedly loose.
577 *Magdaldalláw* (joking one another, boys and girls), *magkabbál* (to
867 finger a girl's breasts; said only of boys), and similar terms, seem to indicate that the teaching of their elders is not very successful. Add to this that young men have free access at night to all houses where girls of marriageable age may be found, and it will not be wondered at that chastity is a rare flower among Isneg youth.

836 The fear of pregnancy and of its consequences is of course a great
183 deterrent to young people of both sexes, but, even leaving aside the question of self-pollution, simple fornication must not be so exceed-
867 ingly rare after all. It is true that my informants usually assure me that coitus is never practised among unengaged boys and girls of mature age; but this in my opinion cannot be accepted without a grain of salt. Indeed, the same men have also told me at first that continence is imposed upon engaged couples before their marriage, but I have learned since that the latter are free to sleep together as often as they wish even though none of the usual ceremonies has yet been performed,—and this I now know to be a universal custom all over Apayaw.

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584 832 534 [828] 1. The use of musical instruments, which he plays at the house of the girls, usually while lying down in the evening, and which are supposed to have a very soothing influence on the mind of any member of the weaker sex. As this is not the place to describe these instruments at length, I shall merely enumerate them and add a few of their most outstanding characteristics:

The *kuribáw*, a kind of Jew's-harp, entirely made of bamboo, whose tongue is struck by the finger at its fixed base.

The *axiwáń*, another kind of Jew's-harp, partially made of bamboo, whose metal tongue is moved by a string.

The *balíkiń* or nose flute, which consists of a slender tube of bamboo, open at both ends, and provided with holes along its length, three at one side and one at the other.

584 832 533 2. The singing of love songs (*magdaldallán*). This is done in the daytime as well as in the evening, whenever the boy is moved by concupiscence (*makibábbdy*). Such songs, however, are not the exclusive property of the male sex.

584 834 192 3. The pronunciation of special terms, otherwise meaningless, that are supposed to have a magical influence on the female sex. These are interwoven in the verses of the song and more or less connected with the rest of the sentence. Such terms are: *dumaripón, dumińídiń, dumardarobó*, etc.

584 832 302 824 4. The use of perfumes (*bańúg*), usually consisting of fragrant herbs or leaves stuck in the headband; although unseen by the girl in the evening, these perfumes forcibly strike her nostrils in an agreeable manner. Any kind of perfume may be used for the purpose, but the most esteemed on such occasions is the *malindáw* (called *indáw* at Bolo). The *malindáw* is a small tree covered with spines and provided with very aromatic leaves. The *Andn* brook near Dangla flows through a thicket that is renowned for the abundance and variety of its odoriferous plants: *sildyon* (aromatic leaves, parasitic on trees), *ditán* (aromatic seeds, a kind of rattan), *malindáw*, etc.

584 832 776 Here two spirits occasionally play an important role: both of them are supposed to spread a very agreeable odor, and they sometimes accompany the boys on their courting expeditions, although nothing is done by the latter to attract them. They are:

Asináw: a spirit who lives in the hills and always wears very nice apparel; he is supposed to be visible at times. He merely accompanies the boy and through his fragrance influences the girl in behalf of her lover.

The Common Law enjoins that man must not: 685
steal, tell false stories of others, court the wife of an- 683
other, nor make trouble at a feast. It further enjoins 684
that a man must respect the rights of individuals, 689
give food to visitors, give aid to neighbors, and that 867
parents shall teach children the old customs and legends, as well as correct them in order that they may grow up properly.

The Apayaos have a very complete system of so- 576
cial etiquette which might be characteristic of a high 192
culture. It displays a nice sense of fitness and an innate kindliness of nature. Hispitable customs make the visitor's stay a happy one. There is even no embarrassing sense of indebtedness for gifts of service or materials to be expressed: for the people have no word meaning "thank you" in their dialect. When one goes on a journey, there is no word meaning "goodbye": no sad word of farewell. One just walks away as if he were going down to the river to take a bath. When he returns, even after a long absence there is no word of greeting. He is treated just as if he had only come back from taking his bath. As a matter [515] of fact he may have; for it is the custom to take a bath in the last river crossed before reaching home.

The people keep their houses and surrounding 356
grounds clean and neat. Clothing is kept washed, 515
and daily baths in the river are taken. The bark of [824]
the *taplet* tree is used for cleansing purpose.

The Apayaos are remarkedly modest about their 516
persons. A woman must not allow her legs to spread 834
when squatting to a sitting position nor allow her tapis to go above her knees. Even when there are no 834

834 women around, while the men are in bathing and swimming together, they keep thir private parts covered with one hand while they are out of the water.

186 476 342 Community spirit in a *barangay* is strong. They have common interests and often work together in exchange of labor, *pinta*. When one builds a house all the neighbors come and help, making a party of it.

417 628 648 676 672 721 Each *barangay* is surrounded by a heavy bamboo picket stockade. The bamboos are filled with small stones so they can not be easily cut away. A *barangay* has all the other *barangays* as enemies; but a peace-pact, *budong*, is often made between two of them. Peace-pact holders are appointed and held personally responsible that it is not broken. Each *barangay* is held accountable for the acts of any of its members. Then they are allies, helping each other in warfare and being mutually responsible for each other's property and personal safety. There is danger of forays at anytime from other barangays. So war is always imminent. There maybe old feuds to be settled and [554] deaths to be avenged. This is augmented by the fact that each warrior must take at least one head to establish himself, both in society and in the heart of the girl whom he desires.

HEAD HUNTING

721 411 726 When the demand either for revenge or for heads becomes strong, the *maingel* gives the order for a head hunting expedition to the enemy *barangay* selected. He will probably be the leader of the expedition. The warriors who are to go, prepare their weapons: shields, spears, and a special *aliwa*, which has the point on the cutting edge drawn out to make it more effective.

578 ter. Just as the place of Ewagan was being pointed out, all of a sudden, Ewagan was fire under the water. Paliahan, seeing the fire in the water, went at once to lift them up and found out that they still were holding each other tightly. After he had lifted them from the water, Paliahan unfastened the hair from the body of Ewagan and asked which of them was the first to make the attack. The brothers replied that Hinadolan was the first. Then Paliahan explained to them all that they should not fight: for they were all brothers, being sons of Hatan.

834 At this moment Ewagan and his sister Hinalingan suddenly disappeared from the group. After making a search, the brothers found only their bones. Later they discovered that Ewagan and Hinalingan were naked and had already joined their uncle Dalawigan. They had not approached their uncle at once because they were both naked. Dalawigan happened to go to the river where he found the two naked forms. Upon seeing their nakedness, he went back and brought them clothing. When they were clothed, he brought 000 them inside his house. They ate in the house of their uncle. After eating, Ewagan related to his uncle how his brothers had tried to kill him. After relating this, they hurriedly left in fear that their brothers would catch them. The pair promised their uncle that they would never show themselves to Hatan. The uncle insisted upon their remaining; but in spite of this, the pair went and joined their brother Dipparo, who was considered to be a Negrito by his brothers. So Ewagan and his sister flew on a spear through the sky to join Dipparo.

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Namaltugan); but this is certainly not an Isneg custom, and it would not even be true to say that polyandry is sporadic among the natives, as the above example is probably unique in Apayaw.

No Isneg is precluded from contracting marriage or regarded as incapable of the same, and so also there are no marriages that could be said to be enjoined by law or by custom to certain classes of people. The only marriage impediments that exist among the Isneg, besides lineal consanguinity, are collateral consanguinity in the first and in the second degree, and so marriage is forbidden between brothers and sisters, and between first cousins. Marriages between second cousins, although not prohibited, are comparatively rare; they seem to be shunned by the Isneg.

2. Courtship

And now we come to the description of how Isneg boys and girls enter the state of matrimony.

Whereas among the Kankanay and other tribes of the Mountain Province, the groom goes to work for a certain period of time in the house of the bride's parents, in Apayaw the Isneg boy merely buys his wife from her parents.

But first of all, who makes the choice? Are the children free and left to their own devices, or do the parents arrange the whole affair among themselves? Have the children anything to say in the matter, or have they merely to agree to their parents' wishes?

Infant marriages exist in Apayaw, but they are the exception. In such cases the parents arrange everything and perform all customary ceremonies that precede the actual marriage, while the bride and groom are still too young to know anything about the matter, and perhaps before they have ever seen each other. These marriages are never consummated and the final marriage ceremony never takes place before the regular age, which means usually not before the age of sixteen years for the boy and fourteen for the girl. But such marriages are as easily broken off as they are contracted; indeed, either of the two parties or both may have conscientious objections, because they have somebody else in sight or for some other reason, in which case the transactions never go any further. Whatever has been paid to the parents of the bride is returned to the original owners, and everything goes on as if nothing had happened. I know of one such case of infant marriage, or rather of agreement between the parents while bride and groom were still in their infancy: it was related to

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577 834 291 particular, although it would certainly be utterly immodest for any grown-up woman purposelessly to take off her tapis completely, even though seen only from behind; and going around half-naked is not to be recommended, even to a married woman, when in the presence of outsiders."

In 1927, while on my way to Karagawan, I followed the course of the river which I had to cross at every turn; so my Isneg carrier took off his G-string at the first crossing and did not put it on again, except on a certain occasion, when we were approaching a house. "Wait a moment", he said, "I shall put on my G-string, as who knows but there may be some women at home there espying me".

At the teachers' house I had a talk with the mother of one of the Iloko teachers, and, in the course of the conversation, she related to me how astonished the Isneg women of that place had been, when she had told them that she wore no G-string. "But suppose your saya came off, would not your genitalia be exposed to view?" they had exclaimed, with horror painted all over their faces. The Isneg have a special qualifying term for an Isneg woman who wears no G-string: she is called *paññáw*.

577 834 291 177 Several years ago, there came an order, I believe from the Bureau of Education, that all school children should pass a physical examination before the physician of the district; but very soon the order had to be revoked, as otherwise it was feared that an uprising would occur among our Mountain people. The Isneg in particular could find no plausible reason for any man causing a girl to take off her garments in his presence.

836 577 684 "All Isneg boys should be careful not to render a girl pregnant: this is one of the delinquencies that are abhorred more than anything else among the Isneg. You may be inclined to sow your wild oats; that is but natural, but here you have to look out. You should never under any pretext impregnate a girl whom you could not marry afterwards, and even though you could make her your wife, it would still be a dangerous thing to do; suppose some obstacle comes in the way, you know the consequences; you know very well that the relatives of the offended girl will get the *awát*: they will raid your house and carry away your precious jars, your beads and all that is valuable. There is no mercy for a boy who has committed a crime like that; so do not be rash: fornication is a dangerous thing. When you go to court the girls (*mamabáy*) in the evening, use love charms and try to win the girl you love; to force her against

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her consent would be utter recklessness or, rather, out of the question: you would never escape unscathed from the place of your crime. For the rest be careful; even if the girl consents, always remember what pregnancy brings in its wake; so the surest way is to keep oneself free from such entanglements. 836 577 684

"Girls should never be very familiar with young men. Boys will tempt you with fine words and beautiful promises, they will bring you clothes and trinkets as gifts, but beware. Never give yourself over to any boy at night, never allow him to touch you indecently when he comes to talk to you in the evening. Do not even allow him to finger your breasts: all this is dangerous play. Just think what it would mean to have a child before marriage; would that not be an eternal shame? And just imagine the scolding you would get from your parents, the turmoil in which the whole settlement would be thrown, and the difficulty you would encounter from now on in looking for a husband. You are allowed to marry young, so let everything take its usual course. Boys will aways be boys; besides they are men, and so they are allowed a certain freedom; but you are a girl, you are a woman, and in your case nothing is allowed. An Isneg girl should never be a flirt. The boys will try to play with you; it is not for you to allow them to do so. Always show your resentment, when they have touched you the wrong way or been otherwise too familiar with you" [431]

To touch a girl's breasts is *magkabbál* in Isneg, and it is said only of men. The existence of a special term like that serves to show that this must be something like a favorite sport among the Isneg. The following anecdote will help to prove the truth of that statement. On a certain occasion an Isneg boy was explaining to me a native term whose meaning was "purpose, intention", and as he could hardly do so without illustrating it by an example, he told me what follows: "Suppose you touch a girl's breasts and she is angry at you, then you say: 'I did not do it intentionally' ", and here he used the term in question. 836 673 684 672

Chastity is certainly very strictly imposed upon unmarried people, or rather upon people who are not yet engaged, but from the Isneg point of view and with reference to young men, it should rather be defined: not to do anything that might render a girl pregnant. Not that the Isneg know any contraceptive measures, but that the pregnancy of a girl is considered as the thing to be avoided, not fornication as such. Both are very nearly related to one another of [842]

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836 course, and the distinction seems rather to be theoretical than prac-
673 tical: nevertheless that is what is going on in the Isneg mind as far
684 as I understand it. To them purpose and intention mean very little,
672 as will be shown again very soon when I shall refer to killing as a crime: what counts is the result. If a boy chances to sleep with a girl without rendering her pregnant, the Isneg may perhaps not see anything very wrong in the whole affair, but woe to him if fate is against him.

836 Nevertheless with reference to young women, the code is much
684 stricter, although the boy will suffer a much harder immediate punishment for his delinquency than will the girl. A girl should never think of doing anything in that line; a boy might perhaps be inclined to do it, but he should know the consequences, if the result is what it should not be.

834 I have described in my introduction to this paper how certain
626 Isneg parents refused to send their girls to school on account of the notoriously immoral conduct of their teacher, and here is what we read in a little manual of instructions for soldiers of the Philippine Constabulary: "No Isneg woman should be joked with or touched by anyone. Christian cargadores or servants should be cautioned about this, as serious trouble may result".[1]

836 Once I heard a boy of some twelve years old, who was working for
533 wages here at Kabugaw, improvise a little song, probably in order to render the work less heavy and to relieve his tiredness. The song was not what you would call a religious one, but it served to show very nicely the ideas current among these people, and at the same time it proved that even the Isneg understood the meaning of what is called an "occasion of sin" (in this case: the sin of impregnating a girl). I may be permitted to write the song down exactly as I heard it: "Do not approach my vulva, I do not want you to have sexual intercourse with me, I am afraid of becoming pregnant: so say the women".

836 A boy who has made a girl pregnant has to marry her; if he refuses,
684 the raids just referred to take place without exception, and the family of the boy loses everything. The same happens when a married man commits adultery with a girl and impregnates her; in his case of course there is rarely question of marriage, and the raids take place almost without exception. Formerly the boy must have been for-

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[1] Camp John Hay Guide Book. A Trip to Ifugao and Bontoc. By Captain Harrington W. Cochran, Coast Artillery Corps, 1923, p. 28.

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tunate if it stopped at that, as the whole affair usually became a *casus belli*.

This whole state of affairs tends very much to make one believe that solitary vice is considered as lawful and not at all forbidden to young men. One day while listening to a conversation among Isneg boys, I heard them talk about flashlights, which at the time had a very great vogue and were very much sought after. The youngsters in question wanted such a light in order to find their way when going to have sexual intercourse with girls in the evening: this was literally what they said. But would they really dare do it so often as they seemed to imply? In many cases would it not be rather to indulge themselves in company with the girls, without always taking the risk of making them pregnant?

On a similar occasion I saw a young man stretch himself out upon a heap of sand and mimick the conjugal act in the presence of several other young men who merely smiled at his behavior.

Would it be possible for young men to live chastely on such a principle namely, that the only crime in that line is making a girl pregnant? And this seems to be the Isneg view about the matter. With girls, I repeat it, the code is much stricter: they are allowed nothing. They should conserve their body pure and undefiled, even from the mere contact of young men. It is true that the only punishment, in case of pregnancy, would be a severe scolding, but their conduct is censured whenever something untoward happens, and besides the ultimate result, that of being rejected as a prospective bride by any decent young man, must certainly serve as a powerful deterrent.

" Honesty is an imperative virtue for every Isneg. 'Stealing should be loathed by all right-minded people. Never touch the property of others, do not take what does not belong to you. Why should you covet your neighbor's goods? Did you work in order to obtain them? Would you like others to rob you of the fruit of your labor? Another man's property should always be safe in your hands. Never allow anybody to suspect you of being dishonest; a thief is branded with an indelible mark that will make people distrust him at his mere approach. Never destroy the property of your neighbor; you have no right to do so: revenge would quickly follow your rash deed. If you find something that does not belong to you, give it back to the owner, it is still his, unless of course you know positively that it has been abandoned. Should the owner find his lost goods hidden in your

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deed done but the relatives of the dead soldier mustered together, went to Nagbabalayan, entered the house of the poor involuntary killer and rifled whatever they found of value.

A few months ago at Nagilian (municipal district of Namaltugan), a man ascended a coconut tree in order to gather a few nuts. Unfortunately, while he was dropping them on the ground, a child came running along and received the thump of one of the huge nuts on its head: the child fell down of course and lay unconscious. So soon as the parents and relatives heard about the whole affair, all head-axes were unsheathed, and terrible things might have happened, if the sanitary inspector, who was present at the time, had not assured the people that the child would live.

According to the Christian code, God rewards or punishes thoughts as well as deeds. Ordinary human justice does not bother about mere intentions that are not followed by deeds, but it recognizes the act of a man as a human act, it distinguishes an act done intentionally from one done involuntarily, it differentiates between culpable negligence and unavoidable accident. The Isneg code knows no such distinctions: an act is an act; the result is the only thing taken into consideration. The Isneg language has terms for "doing purposely, intention", and so on; but in practice the fact that something was done unintentionally makes little difference: it is not the guilt of a person that is considered, but only the result of his act.

"Adultery is a shameful crime, especially in women. An Isneg man should content himself with the wife or wives who have been paid for: avoid mixing with other women, such habits bring only woe in their wake. Take care never to make a young girl pregnant; whether the person who commits such a mistake be a married man or a young unmarried man, the result is the same, so I have not to insist upon the matter. Be not less careful when the woman in question is married: to excite the anger of her husband may have dire consequences. If you are caught in the act, who will blame the offended man for killing you? The right will ever remain on his side.

"An unfaithful wife is a thorn in the flesh; keep to your husband, never allow any other man to share your affections. No true Isneg will stand an adulteress: your husband will divorce you and you will have no recourse, your parents will be in duty bound to give back the price they received for you. Who will respect a woman who respects neither herself nor her husband? No excuse will save you from infamy. Your husband may be inclined occasionally to have

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intercourse with other women, that is natural, although it is a dangerous affair; but remember that he is a man, and that you are a woman: between the two there is no possible comparison. A man may take many liberties, while a woman may take none. What are peccadilloes in a man, are crimes in a woman. Beware of deceitful men who would come to entice you away from your rightful owner. Take heed in time, since once the thing is done, there is no longer a remedy, and repentance is too late".

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At my first visit to Nagbabalayan, a companion of mine wanted to take the picture of an Isneg woman who was pounding rice near her house. When he invited her to pose for him, she quickly demurred and added: "I am a married woman". She evidently misunderstood him, but the answer sufficiently proved what was her opinion about her responsibilities.

On a certain occasion my catechist, an Iloko Christian, went to light his cigar at that of a woman, who came smoking to the river, in order to draw water. Not knowing about his intentions, I was not able to warn him. Fortunately as he was my servant and a stranger at that, everything went on smoothly, although the woman at first strongly objected. The point was that she was married, and no Isneg is allowed to take such liberties with the wife of another man: in the eyes of an Isneg, acting that way means much more familiarity than an uninitiated person might suspect. This shows how strictly a married woman is hedged in, and how easily a man may be offended by an action that implies the smallest degree of familiarity with his wife.

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On my second visit to Bayag, in July 1929, I met there an Isneg policeman, who was an acquaintance of mine and who was a married man. On the day I was leaving Bayag, he also had to go to a neighboring settlement; so he accompanied me for a part of the road. Here I quote textually what he told me on that occasion, apparently indignant at the occurrence: "This morning I met with a strange case: a Bayag Isneg was scolding his daughter in my presence for having slept with me last night. I asked him if he objected to my using the girl, when she consented. He answered me he did not, of course, but he merely wanted to scold the girl; he said he had nothing against me, his intention was to teach his daughter decent manners. That was all right, of course, but why should he have done so while I was around and could hear him? He should have scolded the girl at a time I was out of earshot. Why! That fellow seemed to resent

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the fact that I had used his daughter. Can you beat it?" Needless to say, the conversation was practically a soliloquy on the part of the policeman. I do not believe though that his action was consonant with the Isneg code of morals; but this incident, and especially the answer of the girl's father, shows clearly how different is the state of man and woman among the Isneg, with reference to sex morality.

It should be added here that the father would probably have objected much more strongly to the man who took such liberties with his daughter, if he had not been a policeman. The latter are supposed to be more or less immune and may take liberties not accorded to others, probably on account of their position. Isneg in general resent that: I have heard them say so more than once; but they are afraid to object too strongly, and so policemen mostly do what they like: their reputation is far from clean all over the district, although I do not believe that they are all equally blamable. Later on I heard that, at the time of the above occurrence, the policeman had intended to make the girl his second wife, an engagement which had been broken off at a subsequent date.

It may be noted in this connection that among the Isneg a man, whether single or married, who commits adultery with a married woman (*manaládag*) is thought to be driven to his crime by some evil spirit. In such a case his guilt would be considerably lessened in our point of view; not so, however, in that of the Isneg: in his eyes, it is only the ultimate act that counts, as has been stated before.

"A fit of anger usually makes a man ridiculous in the eyes of the bystanders. It is true that when there is question of a rightful quarrel, you should never fail to sustain it; to be meek and patient under the circumstances would be mere cowardice. Nevertheless everybody is inclined to laugh at the behavior of an angry man: so, although you be strictly in your right, try to control your anger sufficiently not to cause others to laugh at you.

"You know our belief with reference to people who are wont to laugh at the defects of other persons (*magdóla*): if such people are married, they will be punished by having their children suffer the same defect; if they are still young, the children who will be born to them in the future will be misshapen (*pákaṅ*).

"A certain amount of *básí* is not to be despised, but drinking to excess is always bad. Who respects a drunken man? Besides, think about the consequences: quarrels, fights, bloodshed, revenges, etc. As soon as you feel that you have enough, go away and sleep it off, lest

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obedience forcibly impresses upon their minds at the same time their duty of being diligent at work, as the parents do not fail to take them along when attending to their daily tasks, as soon as the youngsters are able to lend a helping hand.

Modesty, chastity, conjugal fidelity and temperance are virtues that are frequently subjects of very special teaching. Just as obedience is an ordinary topic of conversation when talking with the little ones, so the aforementioned virtues are often mentioned when young people receive some admonition or warning on the part of their parents. Besides, the knowledge of the consequences of immorality with unfortunate results and the punishment it entails helps not a little to deter Isneg youth from indulging in such excesses. After all this, it would be superfluous to tell young people of both sexes to sleep apart: the girls mostly attend to that without any special warning. In Bontok there are common dormitories for girls as well as for boys, and in many other places in the Mountain Province every village has its boys' dormitories. These institutions, which probably were originally planned as a safeguard to the morals of the young on account of the smallness of the huts of the natives, have since degenerated into haunts of vice. Among the Isneg the houses are fortunately large enough to keep the whole family together, so that the parents can watch the youngsters at leisure, if they choose to do so. Nevertheless the absence of rooms renders complete control very difficult. Although the Isneg have not to contend with the Bontok brothels, if I may call these girls' dormitories by such an ugly name, which in my opinion and experience they amply deserve, still they have not yet attained to perfection under this respect on account of the absence of separate rooms in their comparatively large and commodious dwellings.

Temperance in eating and drinking, although perhaps not so frequently inculcated as modesty, chastity and the rest, are nevertheless very clearly taught, especially to the boys; while the teaching of chastity as we understand it is, in the case of the Isneg, reduced to that of decent relations between the sexes. Sins against nature are never mentioned. Self-pollution is probably practised occasionally by some members of the male sex. Of other sins in that line I have never heard anything; by which of course I do not want to deny their existence, but simply to state that they are certainly not indulged in frequently and less so openly, as otherwise they would certainly have come to my notice.

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855 comes for the boys to follow their father and for the girls to be left to her care. The best viands are always reserved for the little ones and dainties are stored away (*maxalúmid*) for their future use. If a child gets sick, the parents will do their utmost to relieve the little sufferer; and if it is its fate, as the Isneg put it, to die, its elders' lamentations will follow it to the grave.

731 In times of famine the children are of course the biggest sufferers, not that the Isneg does not share with them whatever food he can lay
858 hands on, but because growing boys and girls lack the sustenance they badly need at their age, which rarely fails to be followed by
597 results that affect them unfavorably for the rest of their life. I have heard once of a hard-pressed Isneg who sold a child for money: this is certainly a rare exception, and, as all circumstances are not known to me (I am not even sure that it was his own child), I am not free to pronounce judgment on the transaction. What I know is that the family by whom the child was adopted would certainly not cause it to regret its former life, as far as material advantages are concerned; nevertheless this is not a sufficient excuse for such an act.

855 It may be asked if families differ much in their solicitude for the
867 proper moral upbringing of children, if some families are more reli-
184 gious-minded than others, if some families are more concerned than others in watching over their children and in safeguarding them in
124 sex morality. What can I answer to such questions? I should like to make the following invitation to my inquirers: let them choose a certain district of the United States, say in Kansas or in Indiana or in whatever state they prefer, a district where there are no densely populated sections and where some ten thousand people are scattered over a comparatively large area, and then let them tell me the result of their investigations among inhabitants of that district with reference to the above questions. I am sure that their task would not be easier or more difficult than mine, in order to give a satisfactory survey of the situation. Nevertheless I shall try to give a few concrete instances that have come to my personal notice and which I can recall just now, leaving aside the Kankanay, among whom I resided from 1909 to 1915, and confining myself exclusively to the Isneg, with whom I have been living since 1925.

855 Take the settlement of Baliwanan. A Baliwanan girl was living
184 with the family of my catechist at Kabugaw, where she took care of the children, washed the clothes, and did other little chores. On a
836 certain day somebody told her father that a boy had entered the house

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at night and that the owners had allowed him to do so. He immediately set out for Kabugaw, firmly intent in claiming his daughter back, and he only desisted from his purpose after he had been convinced that the rumor was entirely unfounded. On the other hand another Baliwanan girl was allowed to follow a Kagayan into another village and to live maritally with him for a certain period of time, after which she came back home.

Go to another near-by settlement: some parents object to their daughters going to school for reasons given in the introduction of this paper, while others allow them not only to go to school but even to live at the house of the teacher.

Let us pass over to Talifugu. A girl becomes pregnant, and the case is dropped. The same man, a Kagayan, deflowers another girl with the same result, and he is left no peace until he marries her.

At Dagara: a girl has the reputation, which I understand to be deserved, of being of very loose morals; she is left all liberty by her parents; while the generality of the Dagara girls behave as decently as anywhere else.

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I twice assisted at a small Isneg sacrifice, once at Ampaw and once at Abbil. In the former place, everything went on as if it were the most serious and most important act that could be performed by an Isneg: all details were attended to with the utmost earnestness and accuracy; while at Abbil, the whole ceremony seemed rather to be considered as an irksome duty: it looked like a joke when compared with the Ampaw case. It must be conceded that the Abbil people were more or less ill at ease on account of my presence; but I was equally present at Ampaw, and in the latter place I was even sitting much nearer the shaman than at Abbil, nevertheless the shaman and her helpers never flinched.

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I have little chance to read books on anthropology, but I understand it has been stated in some of them that primitives think in common, that among primitives every community has something like one mind for all individuals; how exactly the books express it I do not know, but I am sure that my readers who know about it, understand what I mean. Now, I know nothing at all from personal experience about primitives living in other parts of the world, but with reference to our Mountain people, whether Negritos or Malays, Kankanay or Isneg, I dare say that anybody who would pass a few weeks among them, would not have to take the trouble any more to form an opinion on the subject or to try to frame some theory, the

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867 means "to suffer erection", and is used only of boys and girls who
831 have not yet attained the age of puberty; another term is in use for adults.

867 And so we have reached the period between the age at which the
834 little one wears lower garments for the first time and that of puberty.
291 Formal teaching about the first elements of sex morality usually starts
858 about this time, and so little girls of this age are generally very
183 modest, although boys are not so meticulous. Provided they are circumcised, the latter do not mind very much exposing their naked body, and even when as yet uncircumcised, there is no comparison between their behavior and that of their modest little sisters. For the rest much freedom still exists, as my reference to the special term just explained seems to indicate, so that it might be called a miracle if the youngsters live a chaste life once they have attained the age
[835] of puberty. Recently a young man of some eighteen years old was arrested for having violated his little sister who is barely six years old; he said he wanted "to try".

•836 Grown-up girls are of course much better in this respect than boys,
183 and both sexes usually observe the laws of modesty that have been taught them by their parents according to the Isneg code; but in general I think that the morals of young people are decidedly loose.
577 *Magdaldallów* (joking one another, boys and girls), *magkabbdl* (to
867 finger a girl's breasts; said only of boys), and similar terms, seem to indicate that the teaching of their elders is not very successful. Add to this that young men have free access at night to all houses where girls of marriageable age may be found, and it will not be wondered at that chastity is a rare flower among Isneg youth.

836 The fear of pregnancy and of its consequences is of course a great
183 deterrent to young people of both sexes, but, even leaving aside the question of self-pollution, simple fornication must not be so exceed-
867 ingly rare after all. It is true that my informants usually assure me that coitus is never practised among unengaged boys and girls of mature age; but this in my opinion cannot be accepted without a grain of salt. Indeed, the same men have also told me at first that continence is imposed upon engaged couples before their marriage, but I have learned since that the latter are free to sleep together as often as they wish even though none of the usual ceremonies has yet been performed,—and this I now know to be a universal custom all over Apayaw.

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Not so long ago I opened two dormitories for High School students, one for boys and one for girls. These young people came here directly from their villages, for the most part without having received as yet any serious Christian instruction. Since that time I have been inclined more than once to stop the whole affair; at any rate I shall certainly never again accept them indiscriminately. If I had to watch them strictly only on one side, it would not be so bad; but when even some of the girls have to be kept under close surveillance, the situation becomes almost intolerable. The dormitories had barely been started, when I had to expel one boy and one girl: it was not simply a matter of the boy writing love letters, with the girl answering them; but he openly proposed in writing to sleep with her, and the girl consented, also in writing, and gave a date for their future meeting.

Recently one of the girls from the girls' dormitory told me that, at the time she was still studying in her home village, a few of her classmates had absolutely refused to study the prayers (to prepare for baptism), and this for the following reason: "If we were Christians we should not be allowed any more to sleep with the boys at night [using each other's arm for a pillow; not: performing coitus], and this we cannot endure". The last part of this sentence is here put down textually, just as I heard it.

Coeducation which obtains in the public schools helps not a little to take away the small restraint that native Isneg teaching may have produced, and the example of persons who should show them better ways is sometimes far from being an aid to our frail young people on the arduous path of purity and chastity.

Nevertheless children born out of wedlock are the exception. How can we explain this? There is no question of contraceptive measures or voluntary abortion as far as I know, so the reason has to be found elsewhere. This state of affairs may be explained either by the practice of solitary vice or by marriage subsequent on the pregnancy of the girl in every case. Now the latter explanation is in my opinion more often concordant with the actual facts than the former. The boys go to *mamabdy* (court the girls) early in life, and they may have had sex relations very often before the dreaded result occurred. Besides Isneg boys and girls marry very early, and they are allowed to sleep together as soon as they are engaged, so that it is an easy matter to arrange everything in such a way as not to cause the child to be considered as born out of wedlock. Public education as it is in

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vogue here now tends to retard marriage; but its introduction is still too recent and it is still too much the privilege of the few, to be able sensibly to affect the standard of morality among our Isneg.

As to conjugal fidelity, it may be said that an unfaithful wife is the exception among the Isneg; but with reference to the men, the situation is not so bright. Even polygyny is not always sufficient to put a curb to the husband's license: indeed only the rich can afford to take more than one wife, and these at the same time usually enjoy the greatest freedom on account of their wealth and social influence.

To sum up the situation, it may be said that open immorality and indecency is much less frequent among the Isneg than among several other Mountain tribes, but, although more or less well concealed, loose morals are rather the rule than the exception among young unmarried people, and among married people the state of affairs leaves much to be desired. "Doing that which may make a girl pregnant" is not what the Isneg abhors, but "making a girl actually pregnant".

With reference to honesty, the Isneg generally observes the rules laid down by his own code, and transgressions are rare. Isneg thieves are not at all common, and downright robbery, even from the Ibanag or the *idammán* (enemies of his own tribe), is a rare occurrence. This is true of children as well as of adults, although the former may occasionally try to pilfer fruits or other eatables, in which, nevertheless, they are never encouraged by their elders, who rarely fail to scold them and even to punish them.

Truthfulness also is quite ordinary among adult Isneg, but many youngsters need frequent correction on the subject. In this connection, however, we should bear in mind the existence of two inveterate habits not only among the Isneg, but also among the generality of Malays with whom I have come in contact. And first, whenever he is caught at something that might elicit from you even the smallest reprimand, he has always an excuse ready at the tip of his tongue, and any excuse will do, however preposterous it may be; he never reasons about it, the truth is not what he aims at, but the plain presentation of an excuse, be it real or imaginary. These people are certainly experts in that line.

Just to give a few examples. One day I was very much astonished to find that all my bananas had disappeared, although they were carefully stored away in a closed press, so I suspected, and not without reason, that one of my Isneg boys had found them to his taste. At the first occasion I bluntly asked the fellow what had happened to

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832 are reciprocated by his sweetheart. To do this he proceeds exactly
787 in the same way as does the Isneg who is intending to go on a jour-
584 ney: he observes the flight of the *labág* bird, whose female is called
malaxi-bát, and if the bird fails to cross his path, the omen is good;
[778] if it crosses his path, however, he will wait for another occasion in the not too distant future in order to observe again the flight of the *labág*, and, in case of a favorable answer, to go on with his intentions.

584 The definite steps just referred to consist in the following: the young man takes a bundle of betel leaves, some fifty or more betel nuts, and a ring; he rolls everything in a handkerchief, and carries his precious burden to the house of his sweetheart, some time in the evening. Once there he drops the whole package, called *luptág*, into one of the girl's *aligmamán* baskets, without saying the least word about the same. If the girl brings it back to him, it is a sign of refusal on her part; but if she keeps it, the boy knows for certain that his love has been reciprocated, and both consider themselves as engaged by tacit agreement.

From now on the young man will pay his girl regular visits, even though he may continue occasionally to see other girls. If such visits should stop for a considerable time, although without direct fault of the boy, any Isneg girl would have to conclude that the boy's love had shifted toward somebody else. Should the boy break the engagement, either on his own account or in obedience to the wishes of his elders, he is liable to be fined by the parents of the outraged girl.

To know for sure that the other party's interest has not slackened, Isneg lovers sometimes resort to the proposal of a date for some future meeting. If the girl does not appear at the trysting place, the boy is *maikáwa* (disappointed, annoyed), as this is an unmistakable sign that the girl does not love him any more; if the boy fails to make an appearance, the girl knows that his love toward her has ceased. Although this is done by young people, whether engaged or not, it goes without saying that in the former case it takes place only if some doubt has arisen in the boy's mind or in that of the girl as to the faithfulness of his or her partner.

584 As soon as two people have become engaged, actual Isneg custom
836 allows them to have sexual relations, although no ceremonies have been performed and they are not yet living together. This happens very often of course when the boy goes to see his girl in the evening. A boy who passes his evenings or nights at the house of the girl to whom he has become engaged, is said to *maxal-allây* or *maxad-adúg*.

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This, however, does not necessarily imply that he has coitus with her, nor does it always signify that marriage will take place and that the engagement will not be broken. It simply means that he sleeps with her (*magkadorân*, "to sleep together"). All this goes to show that the parents of the bride generally know about the whole affair long before any steps have been taken on the part of the boy's relatives, so that they have ample time to put a stop to it, if they have any objections to the marriage in question. It is not rare even to hear the girl's parents tell the young couple, while they are together in the evening: "*Arâ, mañipatugnúlkayo no piyânnu ya maxatáwa*", "Hollo, have the *tugnúl* [which will be explained presently] performed if you want to marry".

No sooner has the young man obtained complete assurance of the fact that his love is being reciprocated by his sweetheart, than he informs his parents about the matter at the first opportunity. Should they object, he will of course insist as much as possible, at least if his desire to marry that particular girl is very serious. And if nevertheless his parents obstinately refuse to give their consent, then the boy will either break off all further relations with the girl and try his luck with somebody else, or the parties will elope and wait for better times to perform the customary ceremonies. And for some of them they will not have to wait long, as the parents of the girl will not fail to claim as soon as possible the payment which is their due.

3. Premarital Negotiations and Observances

In case the parents of the boy agree to his marriage with the girl he has chosen for his future wife, which of course is the general rule, they themselves from now on attend to further developments. And so there begins a whole series of transactions and ceremonies which I shall try now to describe as faithfully as possible.

Except where especially noted, everything is performed in the same way for any kind of marriage, whether the man be a widower or a divorcee, whether he be young or married already and attempting a second marriage. Nevertheless if the woman is a widow or a divorcee, marriage is very often contracted as in the case of an elopement, and the payment due to the parents of the bride is made after both husband and wife have been living together for some time.

And first, the *amómân*. *Maxamómân* in general means "to converse, to make a contract". In some districts, instead of *maxamómân*, the Isneg use the term *umunî-*, "to enter the house". In this con-

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fere in the least: consequently she does not *maxanito* or impersonate the spirits of the dead, and remains completely in the background, if indeed she happens to be present. And the same is true with reference to the *ákit* or marriage ceremony: here also there is a feast and a killing of animals, but no *maxanito*. The Isneg probably believe that spirits and ghosts have nothing to do with something that is exclusively the business of living human beings, as an *amómān* or betrothal and an *ákit* or marriage undoubtedly are.

Nevertheless it may happen that the *amómān* takes place at the time a *sāy-ám* sacrifice is in progress at the house of the girl, and then of course the *maxanito* will be performed as usual, as no ceremonies connected with the customary *sāy-ám* are ever omitted; but this *maxanito* will generally be performed before the arrival of the *patúgān*, and in any case it has nothing to do with the *amómān*. The only reason why an *amómān* slightly interferes with the ceremonies of the *sāy-ám* is the fact that on such coincidences the female spirit *Sisína* has to be especially remembered. Two coconut shells, one partly filled with *básí* (a beverage obtained from sugar cane) and another one partially filled with dog's blood, have to be put down in her honor somewhere along the path that leads to the spot where the women draw water for drinking purposes. This is done in order to induce *Sisína* to look after the young couple and to see to it that both are of one mind and avoid all disputes and altercations.

The *amómān*, at least if it has resulted to the satisfaction of everybody, does not interfere in the least with the usual nocturnal visits of the groom to the house of the bride. He continues to *maxal-allây* as before, that is, to sleep with her, and even to have coitus if they so desire. Actually in several districts they even translate the term *maxamómān* by that of *maxatáwa*, "to marry"; and in this case, of course, the subsequent ceremony of the *ákit*, after which the two young people are allowed to live together, must in their minds have lost most of its significance.

B. WEDDING RITES AND CUSTOMS

A certain period of time always elapses between the *amómān* and the real marriage or *ákit*, but it is impossible to determine exactly its length. In some cases a month is sufficient for all interested parties to prepare themselves properly for this most important ceremony; in others, even a whole year may pass by before the marriage finally takes place.

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[586] 585 But then there is always a way open to them, and divorce is not so very uncommon among the Isneg as to be considered an extraordinary event.

[836] Bride and groom having already had coitus more than once, there is no question of course of ceremonial defloration, jus primae noctis, looking for proofs of virginity, and so on. The morning after the *ákit*, the *tádug* is brought over to the house of the girl's parents, and triumphantly escorted by a large group of people. Here a chicken is killed in order to celebrate the happy event, and all present are allowed to partake of it, but some of the blood must be smeared on the objects that make up the *tádug*. This is called *banít:* the girl's parents are those who *mamanít*, they *banítan* the *tádug*.

585 263 One or two days later a certain quantity of sweets is again prepared at the house of the bride's parents, for the ceremony called *lablabág;* but the *pinatarú-* variety of cakes is taboo on this occasion. The reason is that it would cause the future offspring of the newly wed to get sore ears (a kind of otitis with concomitant suppuration).

[805] 585 On the third day, three nights (the Isneg always count by nights, not by days) after the *ákit*, the young couple *maglablabág:* they first go to observe the flight of the *labág* bird. If the omen is bad, nothing will be done and a more favorable occasion will be awaited, because to go ahead under the circumstances would entail the early death of one of the interested parties. The whole *lablabág* ceremony, however, is almost always performed on that day anyhow, as there is more than one hour in a day and more than one *labág* bird in Apayaw. After having obtained a good augury, if the house of the boy's parents is near, the young couple direct their steps toward it in the afternoon; otherwise they start in the morning. The members of their 585 escort carry all eatables prepared for this occasion, and these are 262 then distributed to the people at the house of the groom. These eatables,—sweets, meat, etc.,—are called *talinabáw*, but the cakes are far from being as abundant as at the time of the *ákit*. The whole ceremony, beginning with the observance of the flight of the *labág* and ending with the distribution of the *talinabáw* at the house of the boy's parents, is called *lablabág*.

585 The next day, four nights after the *ákit*, the husband goes to live (*maggiyán*) with his young wife at the latter's house, and stays there as long as has been determined at the *amómán*, after which he takes his wife home to his parents' house, where the woman stays (*maggiyán*) from now on. In case the groom does not stay at the house

727 ally the houses are burnt. The attacking warriors withdraw after a time and start for home with what heads they have secured.

If the warriors have secured some heads, they start shouting in triumph while still some distance from home. The women answer and come out to meet them. There is much victorious clamour. Each successful warrior hacks his heads in pieces and either places them on bamboos in front of his house, or else hangs them in the convenient large tree sacred to his especial *anito*. They are decorated with flowers. Then the people hold a feast, called *boda*, at which they eat and drink; but do not dance. The main event is the [537] triumphal shouting of the warriors. Each relates in a chant the mighty deeds which he has done.

MARRIAGE

582 A youth is free to select and woo the girl of his
584 choice—with his nose flute, *baling*, or a kind of jews-
[534] harp, *oribao*, or by other means common to youth the
[836] world over. If she is agreeable, the courtship becomes serious and they enter into an arrangement, *aluloy*, whereby the sleep together for a period of from three months to a year. They are in earnest in this affair. for they know that, if it does not result in marriage, they must pay a heavy fine. Their object is pregnancy.

583 When the youth decides to have the marriage, he
584 requests his parents to deliver several baskets of rice cakes to the house of the girl. All the relatives of both parties are notified and assemble in the house to arrange for the wedding. They have a feast: rice.

pleasing lilt or perchance composing words in honor of some guest or circumstance. The tune used is called the *salecdomey*. Somewhere a boy may be openly courting the girl of his choice in a characteristic chant *adkaling*, but often composing his own words. Food and sweets may be served two or three times in the night, and the party goes on with increasing excitement, as more and more *basi* is consumed. Drunken quarrels may break out, leading to blows. Killings are not infrequent. One must have had quite a few drinks in order to really enjoy this party.

Along towards morning the music stops and the tired people lie down to sleep—either in that or adjacent houses. If, perchance, a boy has been successful in his courtship, he may follow his girl to where she lies down. After some further discussion, she probably accepts him.

The feast may continue the next day and next, according to the wishes and wealth of the family, and how long the *basi* and food lasts. At the end of the feast, the priestess again calls the *anito*: she tells it that they hope that it is pleased with its feast and will now grant their requests. Then the guests start for home. The relatives are each given some meat to take with them, and soon all is quiet again.

Probably the most popular feast is the *say-am*, given for the *anito*, Pilay, after the harvest. The *dildap* is a small, short feast given for the *anito Kaybacan*, sometimes for the health or welfare of the family, or to clinch some agreement. There is no dancing. The *magboto* is given before, and the *boda* after a head hunting expedition as described elsewhere. The

THE PREGNANT WOMAN

000 There were two brothers, Dinkoan and Linadolan; and two sisters, Dommaria and Lananan. While the two sisters were bathing in the river, it happened that they saw a burning bundle of rice. It was like puffed rice; so Lananan ate some. The burnt rice had been thrown into the river by Enoy, who was taking a bath above them in the river.

684 When the brothers found out that their sister
836 was pregnant, they were ashamed, and they decided
[152] to put her in the thick forest. So they took her to gather bark for G-strings. As Lananan gathered the bark of a tree for the G-string, it became cloth; but the bark which the brothers gathered remained bark. When they saw this, they became jealous and asked her for some cloth. She did not like to share the cloth; so all the rest became angry and ran away from her. She shouted and shouted; but no one answered her. She kept hunting for the way to go home; but could not find it. At night-fall she found a flat stone on which she slept.

789 After sleeping a few hours, she awoke and saw several fine houses nearby and there was a fire burning. When she looked further, she saw a number of granaries full of rice. She entered one of the houses and found a stick of sugar cane. She peeled it, cut it into pieces, threw them out the door, and prayed: "May each of these pieces become a pig." They did so. Thus Lananan become a rich woman.

000 Her brothers became very anxious to see her, as they missed her. They asked their cousins, Ewagan

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deed done but the relatives of the dead soldier mustered together, went to Nagbabalayan, entered the house of the poor involuntary killer and rifled whatever they found of value.

A few months ago at Nagilian (municipal district of Namaltugan), a man ascended a coconut tree in order to gather a few nuts. Unfortunately, while he was dropping them on the ground, a child came running along and received the thump of one of the huge nuts on its head: the child fell down of course and lay unconscious. So soon as the parents and relatives heard about the whole affair, all head-axes were unsheathed, and terrible things might have happened, if the sanitary inspector, who was present at the time, had not assured the people that the child would live.

According to the Christian code, God rewards or punishes thoughts as well as deeds. Ordinary human justice does not bother about mere intentions that are not followed by deeds, but it recognizes the act of a man as a human act, it distinguishes an act done intentionally from one done involuntarily, it differentiates between culpable negligence and unavoidable accident. The Isneg code knows no such distinctions: an act is an act; the result is the only thing taken into consideration. The Isneg language has terms for "doing purposely, intention", and so on; but in practice the fact that something was done unintentionally makes little difference: it is not the guilt of a person that is considered, but only the result of his act.

"Adultery is a shameful crime, especially in women. An Isneg man should content himself with the wife or wives who have been paid for: avoid mixing with other women, such habits bring only woe in their wake. Take care never to make a young girl pregnant; whether the person who commits such a mistake be a married man or a young unmarried man, the result is the same, so I have not to insist upon the matter. Be not less careful when the woman in question is married: to excite the anger of her husband may have dire consequences. If you are caught in the act, who will blame the offended man for killing you? The right will ever remain on his side.

"An unfaithful wife is a thorn in the flesh; keep to your husband, never allow any other man to share your affections. No true Isneg will stand an adulteress: your husband will divorce you and you will have no recourse, your parents will be in duty bound to give back the price they received for you. Who will respect a woman who respects neither herself nor her husband? No excuse will save you from infamy. Your husband may be inclined occasionally to have

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837 684 [562] 831 intercourse with other women, that is natural, although it is a dangerous affair; but remember that he is a man, and that you are a woman: between the two there is no possible comparison. A man may take many liberties, while a woman may take none. What are peccadilloes in a man, are crimes in a woman. Beware of deceitful men who would come to entice you away from your rightful owner. Take heed in time, since once the thing is done, there is no longer a remedy, and repentance is too late".

831 834 837 At my first visit to Nagbabalayan, a companion of mine wanted to take the picture of an Isneg woman who was pounding rice near her house. When he invited her to pose for him, she quickly demurred and added: "I am a married woman". She evidently misunderstood him, but the answer sufficiently proved what was her opinion about her responsibilities.

On a certain occasion my catechist, an Iloko Christian, went to light his cigar at that of a woman, who came smoking to the river, in order to draw water. Not knowing about his intentions, I was not able to warn him. Fortunately as he was my servant and a stranger at that, everything went on smoothly, although the woman at first strongly objected. The point was that she was married, and no Isneg is allowed to take such liberties with the wife of another man: in the eyes of an Isneg, acting that way means much more familiarity than an uninitiated person might suspect. This shows how strictly a married woman is hedged in, and how easily a man may be offended by an action that implies the smallest degree of familiarity with his wife.

836 831 562 661 554 On my second visit to Bayag, in July 1929, I met there an Isneg policeman, who was an acquaintance of mine and who was a married man. On the day I was leaving Bayag, he also had to go to a neighboring settlement; so he accompanied me for a part of the road. Here I quote textually what he told me on that occasion, apparently indignant at the occurrence: "This morning I met with a strange case: a Bayag Isneg was scolding his daughter in my presence for having slept with me last night. I asked him if he objected to my using the girl, when she consented. He answered me he did not, of course, but he merely wanted to scold the girl; he said he had nothing against me, his intention was to teach his daughter decent manners. That was all right, of course, but why should he have done so while I was around and could hear him? He should have scolded the girl at a time I was out of earshot. Why! That fellow seemed to resent

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the fact that I had used his daughter. Can you beat it?" Needless to say, the conversation was practically a soliloquy on the part of the policeman. I do not believe though that his action was consonant with the Isneg code of morals; but this incident, and especially the answer of the girl's father, shows clearly how different is the state of man and woman among the Isneg, with reference to sex morality.

It should be added here that the father would probably have objected much more strongly to the man who took such liberties with his daughter, if he had not been a policeman. The latter are supposed to be more or less immune and may take liberties not accorded to others, probably on account of their position. Isneg in general resent that: I have heard them say so more than once; but they are afraid to object too strongly, and so policemen mostly do what they like: their reputation is far from clean all over the district, although I do not believe that they are all equally blamable. Later on I heard that, at the time of the above occurrence, the policeman had intended to make the girl his second wife, an engagement which had been broken off at a subsequent date.

It may be noted in this connection that among the Isneg a man, whether single or married, who commits adultery with a married woman (*manaládag*) is thought to be driven to his crime by some evil spirit. In such a case his guilt would be considerably lessened in our point of view; not so, however, in that of the Isneg: in his eyes, it is only the ultimate act that counts, as has been stated before.

"A fit of anger usually makes a man ridiculous in the eyes of the bystanders. It is true that when there is question of a rightful quarrel, you should never fail to sustain it; to be meek and patient under the circumstances would be mere cowardice. Nevertheless everybody is inclined to laugh at the behavior of an angry man: so, although you be strictly in your right, try to control your anger sufficiently not to cause others to laugh at you.

"You know our belief with reference to people who are wont to laugh at the defects of other persons (*magdóla*): if such people are married, they will be punished by having their children suffer the same defect; if they are still young, the children who will be born to them in the future will be misshapen (*pákaṅ*).

"A certain amount of *bási* is not to be despised, but drinking to excess is always bad. Who respects a drunken man? Besides, think about the consequences: quarrels, fights, bloodshed, revenges, etc. As soon as you feel that you have enough, go away and sleep it off, lest

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183
178 vogue here now tends to retard marriage; but its introduction is still
177 too recent and it is still too much the privilege of the few, to be able sensibly to affect the standard of morality among our Isneg.

837 As to conjugal fidelity, it may be said that an unfaithful wife is
183 the exception among the Isneg; but with reference to the men, the
184 situation is not so bright. Even polygyny is not always sufficient to put a curb to the husband's license: indeed only the rich can afford to take more than one wife, and these at the same time usually enjoy the greatest freedom on account of their wealth and social influence.

577 To sum up the situation, it may be said that open immorality and
183 indecency is much less frequent among the Isneg than among several
171 other Mountain tribes, but, although more or less well concealed, loose
836 morals are rather the rule than the exception among young unmarried people, and among married people the state of affairs leaves much to be desired. "Doing that which may make a girl pregnant" is not what the Isneg abhors, but "making a girl actually pregnant".

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811

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592 562 578 [201] wife. Especially when the women have attained a more or less advanced age, their tongue usually rules the household; and in this they have a very sharp-cutting instrument indeed. The husband may occasionally vindicate his authority, but most of the time he shrinks from the women's displeasure. Besides, as a last resort, they always have their tears ready at hand; I have assisted more than once, although involuntarily, at family scenes in which the quarrel ended with a flow of tears on the part of the wife and subsequent awkwardness in the manner of the more or less aggressive husband, who finally could find no other way out but meekly to explain, to try to soothe, and to submit. An old woman, be she married or widowed, has generally more than one say in the family. And if a woman has been consecrated a shamaness while in her early childhood, then she commands the respect not only of the household but of her neighbors as well, or rather inspires them with a kind of reverential awe, especially if she is advanced in years.

To resume, both parties help each other in their own way: the husband has a woman to look after his daily needs, and the wife, although taking the lion's share of the work, does not lack compensation in the fact that from now on she has a ready listener whenever she wants to pronounce one of her philippics.

837 As has been amply shown in the preceding pages, and as will appear even more clearly from what will be said of divorce, there can be no question among the Isneg of allowing anybody access to one's wife or of exchanging wives with another man.

831 593 Do Isneg husbands and wives love each other? It has been said about other tribes, here in the Mountain Province, that in their case marriage is nothing else but a juxtaposition of two people, a man and a woman, that the husband is more like a stranger to his wife, that mutual love between husband and wife is something completely unknown. This may perhaps be true with some of them, although I doubt very much if such sweeping statements are entirely consonant with the facts. But does it apply to the Isneg? It must be conceded that in the question of marital love, just as in that of gratitude, outward manifestations are exceedingly sparse among the Isneg. It is also a fact that husband and wife never or almost never work together, which after all is not exactly peculiar to primitive people. But can we truly say that mutual love is unknown between an Isneg husband and his wife? I should answer most emphatically in the negative: Isneg man and wife most certainly love each other. Nevertheless it

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587 Among the Isneg, widowers rarely remain in that state for any
889 length of time, and they never fail to find somebody to share their
887 home for the rest of their days. The same may be said in general
171 with reference to young widows. An elderly widow, on the contrary, is not always so anxious to contract again the bonds of matrimony, but she will not be the less respected for that. Among the Bontok Igorot, a miserable hut, much poorer even than their ordinary dwellings, is built apart from the rest for a childless old widow, and there she lives practically abandoned by everybody. Such things do not happen in the Isneg country: the old women never fail to find somebody who is willing to give them shelter; they are as much respected as anybody else, and if they happen to be shamanesses, even more than the rest. Divorced persons are in the same condition as widows and widowers as far as the question of remarriage is concerned.

765 Widows and widowers, or polygamous husbands who mourn the
587 death of one of their wives, are forbidden to remarry as long as they wear their mourning weeds, and it is only after the ceremony connected with their change of garments that they are again free in this respect.

3. Divorce

586 Much has been said already about questions related to divorce,
684 and I shall not repeat it here. The statement has also been made and the evidence therefor given that, among the Isneg, the absence of children is not a reason for divorce, while the contrary is true with almost all other natives of the Mountain Province, among whom the lack of children is the chief reason for permanent separation with subsequent freedom to marry somebody else.

Among the Isneg the general rule is that people marry and live together maritally until the end of their days; nevertheless divorce is far from being infrequent. The following are the most important reasons for dissolution of the marriage relation:

By the husband:

586 1. Adultery of the woman. Among the Isneg an unfaithful wife is
684 not readily forgiven, and a young husband rarely fails to watch his
837 wife if he has some solid ground for suspecting her fidelity.

586 2. Habitual laziness. At the time of his marriage, an Isneg man
684 is far from expecting to have to do most of the work himself, as the
461 division of labor is ruled by custom, and the share of the women is very considerable, as has been stated in the preceding pages. Be-

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sides, the most cogent social reason for an Isneg to enter the state of matrimony is an economic one, as recorded at the beginning of this chapter: he wants his wife to feed him and to relieve him of most all solicitude and anxiety with reference to his daily sustenance and that of his children. Now if he happens to be frustrated in his expectations, there is no reason why he should not turn his eyes elsewhere and try to make a better choice, abandoning his old love and embarking on a new matrimonial venture. 586 684 461

3. Lack of hospitality. This is another reason why an Isneg man may abandon his wife. He will not suffer the shame of having his house shunned by strangers because his partner does not show the customary courtesy to a guest. This certainly lays a strong curb upon the habitual crabbedness of many Isneg women, who are not renowned for sweetness of temper. Their irritability is understandable, however, as the habitual drudgery, which is their common lot, is far from conducive to softening of temper. 586 684 574

By the wife: 586

1. Adultery of the man. An Isneg husband is allowed much more freedom in this respect than his wife, but things may come to such a pass that even the most patient woman is unable to stand it. Besides, a certain incompatibility may have been present from the beginning, and then of course a husband's mistakes, which under ordinary circumstances are regarded as petty faults, may become a sufficient reason for breaking the tie altogether. 684 837

2. Habitual laziness. An Isneg wife rarely expects too much with reference to her husband's activity. But if he regularly fails to comply with the few duties that fall to his share, and does not give his wife the necessary help without which she cannot reasonably comply with her own part of the work, then of course the easiest way for her is to try her luck elsewhere, or to wait for a better opportunity, in the meantime leaving her former husband to his own devices. 586 684 461

Needless to say, divorce happens much more often in the case of couples who have been forced into matrimony by their parents, than in that of young people who have arranged everything on their own initiative. 586

Again divorce rarely happens late in life, when husband and wife have been living together for many years, and have perhaps married not a few of their children. Indeed, a woman who has proved faith-

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When *Rukkaḍéń* ran homewards in order to fetch his gun, *Kaḍáw* again had followed him hoping to give him the coup de grâce, but when the latter had got hold of his gun, *Kaḍáw* had fled a second time and hid in the municipal building. *Rukkaḍéń* had shown at least that he was not a coward: although wounded to death he had faced his adversary and tried to kill him; he died a couple of hours later. The whole Isneg outfit of policemen and soldiers had not made a very brave stand either, as the last scene of the drama was enacted in the public square, and none of them dared approach old *Kaḍáw*, who had entrenched himself in the building just referred to and refused to lay down his headax reeking with blood. He finally surrendered at the summons of the lieutenant of the constabulary who threatened him with his revolver.

In concluding this account of marriage, the following Isneg expressions may be recorded:

Maṅéń: Menses.

Maratáwa: To marry. Said of both men and women.

Maṅaṭáwa: To marry. Said only of men.

Makiaṭáwa: To marry. Said only of women.

Meaṭáwa: To be married. Said only of women.

Maṅaduwá: To live in bigamy. From the stem *duwá*, "two", and the complex prefix *maṅa*, syncopated for *maṅ* and *ka*.

Maṅa-ló: To have three wives. From the syncopated stem *talló*, "three", and the complex prefix *maṅa*.

Dumaládag: To commit adultery, to be in love with another man. Said of married women.

Manaládag: To commit adultery with a married woman. Said of men, whether married or single.

Sumibná: To separate, to go and live in another house. This does not always and necessarily mean divorce; it may also mean that somebody stops living with a certain family in order to go and live somewhere else; for instance, a young married couple who have built themselves a new house, or who go to live in a house different from the one they have previously lived in, provided the latter was inhabited at the same time by another family, who continue to live there after their former companions went away.

844 woman, making her delivery so hard that she will die. They are kept there until the woman is strong enough to go outdoors again.

846 As soon as she is able, the woman goes to the river to wash, accompanied by a male relative holding an *aliwa* on which is ginger. On the way he must always be in the rear, as the *aliwa* and ginger are guarding the woman from some *anito* which desires to cut off her head and cause her death. If the *anito* succeeds, she will die suddenly upon reaching home.

When they arrive home, the man places the ginger with the *pungan* and *igad* at the door. These are kept there until the woman is strong enough to go to work. During that time it is strictly prohibited that anyone outside of the family shall enter the house. It means death to do so. This strong taboo is observed until the woman says that she is ready to receive a visitor. The wife seldom leaves her home and work.

586 The marriage bond is permanent; but it may be
[461 broken by the man if he finds that his wife performs
684] very little farm labor. Even though they have children, he is entitled to divorce her upon giving her a
[587] small portion of the conjugal property. Both are
[581 then free to marry again. The woman must impli-
837] citly obey her husband and be absolutely true to him:
684 no little flirting with other men. If she is found guilty of any offence, her fine is heavy. If she commits adultery with another man, both should be killed: the man by the relatives of the wife, and the wife by the relatives of the husband. However, if there are extenuating circumstances and the death sentence is not imposed, both guilty parties are sentenced

THE PUNISHMENT OF AN ADULTEROUS COUPLE

837 A long time ago there was a man. His name was Manaboc and the name of his son was Laguesad. The son had a wife, Adud. Laguesad took Adud and went with a party to Sulsuna for trading purposes. One night on the way, at Alisit in Naguilian, one of the men of Alisit went and slept with Adud. He did this for several nights. Manoboc observed that they were together as he saw the smoke of their cigars. One day he went to the river and gathered many leaves which he dried thoroughly. Then that night he piled up the leaves in the house. When he saw the two together, he set the leaves afire. The flame blazed up and disclosed that the two were having intercourse. The man was frightened and ran away, leaving all his belongings, even his G-string.

684 Manaboc and his son agreed to kill the lover and Adud. They called all of the people of Alisit in Naguilian together for a feast. When all the people were in the house, Manaboc ordered his son to fasten shut all of the windows and throw a pot full of water on the fire so that the people in the house would start fighting in the darkness. The son did so, and Manaboc and his son went outside and closed the door. The people shut inside, became panicky and starter a fierce fight against each other. More than a hundred were thus killed. Adud, the adulterous wife of Laguesad, was killed because she was the cause of all the trouble.

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of the hand crosses the palm from one side to the other continuously and without interruption, is absolutely unable to raise a large amount of rice.[4]

Nobody, however, should feel dismayed, as the Isneg possess a cure even for the direst poverty. It consists in having recourse to the use of a very powerful amulet, which has been designed most especially for the needy by the ever merciful spirits, namely the *tara-rút*, a small herb that grows in the forest. The only question is to know it and to find it.

As will be made plain in the course of this paper, the Isneg firmly believe in a strict division of labor. Each sex has its own work to do, and generally no member of the opposite sex would dare encroach upon this age-long custom. Nevertheless there are a few male individuals who form an exception to this rule: these are the *tăyyén* and the *takowáń*. The *tăyyén* (pronounced *tăyyán* in Bolo) do not know how to handle a hatchet, while, on the other hand, they use a woman's *ikó*-knife as easily as if it were a tool specifically their own; even in their gait, they take over everything that is characteristic of woman. The *takowáń* dress like women and perform all kinds of work usually done by the latter: they plant, weed and pound rice as well as the most experienced member of the fair sex. But, I repeat it, these are exceptions.

No true Isneg man goes to work without his headaxe or *aliwá* usually stuck in his G-string from beneath, at one side, with the helve uppermost.[5] This is his constant companion and also the sole tool he needs when at work in the field. It will not be amiss to give here a detailed description of the *aliwá* of the Isneg.

The headaxe or *aliwá* consists of a kind of hatchet with a very broad blade and a comparatively thin long helve (*alupítăn*).

The helve is made of hard wood furnished by several trees that grow all through the Isneg country, for instance the *taggáy* (a kind of molave), the *bańlát*, the *kanúmăy* (a kind of ebony), etc. The end of the helve, opposite to the head in which the blade is fixed, is called *aguwáy*. The blade is attached to the helve by means of a tang or spike (*otáń*) that fits into the head of the helve, which is surrounded by a comparatively long iron ring (*palábo* or *paraddál*).

[4] The *rappád* also easily resorts to murder: he is a dangerous person.

[5] Cf. Publ. Cath. Anthrop. Conf., v. 1, no. 5, Dress and Adornment in the Mountain Province of Luzon, Philippine Islands, p. 217. fig. 36.

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that may occur, as it is the ultimate cause of the anger of the spirits, who are deprived of their usual offerings through the abolition of headhunting.

But let us come back to our original purpose of describing the Isneg life cycle, and leave those digressions about fate and spirits for some other time. I shall first treat birth; second, education and home life; third, marriage; and fourth, death and burial.

I. Birth and Infancy

The birth of a child is as a matter of course a very important event, not only for the individual in question, but also for everybody concerned. Any addition to the household is hailed with delight by each and every member of the family, and children are considered as a very precious asset by all Isneg. Some five years ago, at the very beginning of my residence among the Isneg, while I was chatting one day with the justice of the peace of Kabugaw at the latter's house, an Isneg woman came to see him in order to ask him to allow her to divorce her husband. When the judge remonstrated and tried to convince her not to resort to such a drastic procedure, by describing its bad effects more especially on her own self, the woman merely replied that she could stand anything from now on, as during her short married life she had been given "gain" (she used the Spanish term *ganancia*); and when the judge asked her what kind of gain she meant, she merely showed him her child. While in the eyes of most persons a child would be an obstacle to the easy divorce of its parents, in the eyes of this Isneg mother, the child that had been given to her was considered as a treasure that would compensate all hardships incident on the separation from her husband.

A. Pregnancy and Gestation

In order to promote pregnancy, some married Isneg women buy what some of them call "medicine" either from the Christian Iloko or from other married people among their own tribe. This "medicine" usually consists of one or more kinds of herbs which are the secret of the seller. The buyer carries them on her body, tying them to her girdle in front, either above the right thigh or above the left one. The *aṅananá-*, a herb that grows on trees, is chewed by Isneg women for the same purpose.

A kind of small herb, called *ȧma-dá*, is occasionally used by Isneg women in order to stop bearing children. Somebody goes to the

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824 forest, gathers the herb in question, wraps it in a piece of cloth, and
842 brings it to the woman, who immediately starts chewing it. This is mostly practised only by mothers who have already been blessed with a numerous offspring.

843 Both Iloko and Kagayan attach much weight to the capricious
811 appetite of a pregnant woman, and to whatever she loves or loathes at the time, all of which they believe to have its repercussion on the baby that has to be born. So some years ago a certain Kagayan mother gave birth to a child whose skin was much more lightly colored than that of its brothers and sisters, and everybody explained the occurrence by the fact that the mother, while pregnant, had had a very great devotion to a statue of the Divine Babe, which was either made of white material or at least painted white, and that she had gone almost daily to pray in front of the statue in question. All Isneg, however, whom I questioned on the subject disclaimed both knowledge of such a belief and its existence among their people.

843 Whatever may be the reason, the Isneg do not seem to dread the
776 intervention of the spirits (*anito*) before the actual birth of the child. Do they perhaps imagine that the *anito* are ignorant about the ways of the flesh, and that they do not know the meaning of pregnancy? Or do they believe that the spirits have no power on children as yet unborn? The latter is probably the case. I think that in their eyes, as long as a child dwells in the womb of its mother, only what enters the body (food, semen) is able to exert any influence on it, and that
[833] outsiders can in no way affect it. And so, except for a few beliefs with reference to food, the only precaution that is taken during the pregnancy of the mother is that the husband ceases having sexual intercourse with his wife so soon as her state is known with certainty, lest, so they say, the babe be injured. For the rest everything runs its usual course, and, although such a large number of magical and other practices have come to my notice at every other period of the life of the Isneg, the period that precedes the birth of a child has so far proved to be completely devoid of any belief in the evil influence of one spirit or another.

843 In some places a woman who is pregnant for the first time, is be-
824 lieved to assure the good health of her babe after its birth, if she eats *assán*, which is the fruit of a kind of tree that grows in the forest.

843 These are the articles of food forbidden to pregnant women which
262 have come to my notice:
824

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847 as the victim; the first as well as the second may be considered as the
845 unwelcome guest.

The question is to know why the Isneg kill one of twins. This is no easy matter to ascertain. In general, direct inquiries bring no result and throw no light on the subject; most of the time even the practice itself is flatly denied. This happened, among others, in the case of two of my informants who stated that a woman who partook of a double fruit (two bananas in one skin, two betel nuts in one husk, etc.) would give birth to twins, in which they agreed with the Ilоko, as has just been explained. Both at first denied that the Isneg ever killed one of twins, and even cited the example of two young men, still alive and actually dwelling at Aligawa. When the Isneg see no way out and realize that you know all about the matter, they usually state that they kill one of twins because they are ashamed, and here they probably tell the truth. One informant told me that they did so lest they should have to feed two children at a time, and another one said that if both children were allowed to live, the whole family would die.

In so far as I know the Isneg, I believe the question of having to feed two children at a time to be a small matter, and in this I see no reason for killing one of twins, at least in every case; besides, this does not explain why an Isneg should feel ashamed at such an occurrence; so the explanation must be sought elsewhere. There is also no connection, even in the eyes of an Isneg, between being ashamed and danger of death; so, even allowing that the fear of dying may be one of the reasons for k lling one of twins, some more plausible reason should be sought after in order to explain the shame conceded by the
[848] generality of Isneg to be connected with the birth of twins. I believe I struck the right answer when one of my informants told me very confidentially that one of the two was considered to be the unlawful offspring of some other man, not the child of its mother's husband. In such a case of course there is every reason for both husband and wife to feel ashamed about the whole affair. But much may be said against this explanation; so now I shall try first to answer all objections, and then to give my own idea about the whole custom and the reason given for the same.

842 It should be stated once for all that there is no question of ascrib-
845 ing one of twins to intercourse of the mother with some spirit or ghost; that any Isneg should entertain such an idea was denied most categorically by all my Isneg informants: both infants are always considered as children of woman by man.

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her consent would be utter recklessness or, rather, out of the question: you would never escape unscathed from the place of your crime. For the rest be careful; even if the girl consents, always remember what pregnancy brings in its wake; so the surest way is to keep oneself free from such entanglements.

"Girls should never be very familiar with young men. Boys will tempt you with fine words and beautiful promises, they will bring you clothes and trinkets as gifts, but beware. Never give yourself over to any boy at night, never allow him to touch you indecently when he comes to talk to you in the evening. Do not even allow him to finger your breasts: all this is dangerous play. Just think what it would mean to have a child before marriage; would that not be an eternal shame? And just imagine the scolding you would get from your parents, the turmoil in which the whole settlement would be thrown, and the difficulty you would encounter from now on in looking for a husband. You are allowed to marry young, so let everything take its usual course. Boys will aways be boys; besides they are men, and so they are allowed a certain freedom; but you are a girl, you are a woman, and in your case nothing is allowed. An Isneg girl should never be a flirt. The boys will try to play with you; it is not for you to allow them to do so. Always show your resentment, when they have touched you the wrong way or been otherwise too familiar with you"

To touch a girl's breasts is *magkabból* in Isneg, and it is said only of men. The existence of a special term like that serves to show that this must be something like a favorite sport among the Isneg. The following anecdote will help to prove the truth of that statement. On a certain occasion an Isneg boy was explaining to me a native term whose meaning was "purpose, intention", and as he could hardly do so without illustrating it by an example, he told me what follows: "Suppose you touch a girl's breasts and she is angry at you, then you say: 'I did not do it intentionally' ", and here he used the term in question.

Chastity is certainly very strictly imposed upon unmarried people, or rather upon people who are not yet engaged, but from the Isneg point of view and with reference to young men, it should rather be defined: not to do anything that might render a girl pregnant. Not that the Isneg know any contraceptive measures, but that the pregnancy of a girl is considered as the thing to be avoided, not fornication as such. Both are very nearly related to one another of

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or pulling the ears, in pinching any part of the body. There is no question of kicking, of forbidding to eat, of ordering to abstain from amusements or feasts. A punishment that is rather common among the Isneg is to shame the children by talking to others about their misbehavior or their bad conduct: such a punishment rarely fails to induce the child to amend its ways. Food taboos are very common with reference to women; for men I know none. Thus, women do not eat eels, lest they become blind; they abstain from dog meat, monkey, etc.; but the aim of these prohibitions is certainly not that of influencing their moral conduct or inuring them to hardship: so this is not the place to explain them any further.

Corporal punishments are almost always used when the child, whether a boy or a girl, is caught stealing or lying; it is occasionally resorted to when the child is disobedient or disrespectful. Other more severe punishments, such as the robbing of valuables, divorce, etc., have been sufficiently explained in the preceding pages. Scolding is of course much more frequent than any other punishment. Spare the rod, spoil the child, is a proverb unknown to the Isneg; in my opinion they use the rod very sparingly: it is often sufficient for a child to say: "*Maddiya-* (I do not want)", to be left undisturbed, and to cause the parent to refrain from any further insistence. Here I have to repeat again one of my former statements: it is not the guilt that counts, but the result; so a boy may refuse to obey, and if it really makes no difference, the parent allows him to do what he likes; but if he has stolen something or refuses to help his father, that is another question; here the power of the rod will be invoked almost without exception.

Isneg parents love their children very much, and the easiest way to break down an Isneg parent's stubbornness or aloofness is to show a smiling face to the little ones, to say a nice word to them or to give them a little present. The aim of every grown-up boy and girl is to beget children; his offspring is the Isneg's most precious treasure. A houseful of boys and girls, children and grandchildren, is an invaluable and most esteemed boon; they are a crown avidly coveted by every Isneg man and woman. An Isneg father has a thousand ways of showing his affection to his children: if they are still small he will play with them for hours at a time; later on he will patiently forbear the boy's unhandiness while he is helping him at work, and still later he will see to it that he grows up a virtuous young man. The mother will do the same with boys and girls alike until the time

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Not so long ago I opened two dormitories for High School students, one for boys and one for girls. These young people came here directly from their villages, for the most part without having received as yet any serious Christian instruction. Since that time I have been inclined more than once to stop the whole affair; at any rate I shall certainly never again accept them indiscriminately. If I had to watch them strictly only on one side, it would not be so bad; but when even some of the girls have to be kept under close surveillance, the situation becomes almost intolerable. The dormitories had barely been started, when I had to expel one boy and one girl: it was not simply a matter of the boy writing love letters, with the girl answering them; but he openly proposed in writing to sleep with her, and the girl consented, also in writing, and gave a date for their future meeting.

Recently one of the girls from the girls' dormitory told me that, at the time she was still studying in her home village, a few of her classmates had absolutely refused to study the prayers (to prepare for baptism), and this for the following reason: "If we were Christians we should not be allowed any more to sleep with the boys at night [using each other's arm for a pillow; not: performing coitus], and this we cannot endure". The last part of this sentence is here put down textually, just as I heard it.

Coeducation which obtains in the public schools helps not a little to take away the small restraint that native Isneg teaching may have produced, and the example of persons who should show them better ways is sometimes far from being an aid to our frail young people on the arduous path of purity and chastity.

Nevertheless children born out of wedlock are the exception. How can we explain this? There is no question of contraceptive measures or voluntary abortion as far as I know, so the reason has to be found elsewhere. This state of affairs may be explained either by the practice of solitary vice or by marriage subsequent on the pregnancy of the girl in every case. Now the latter explanation is in my opinion more often concordant with the actual facts than the former. The boys go to *mamabdy* (court the girls) early in life, and they may have had sex relations very often before the dreaded result occurred. Besides Isneg boys and girls marry very early, and they are allowed to sleep together as soon as they are engaged, so that it is an easy matter to arrange everything in such a way as not to cause the child to be considered as born out of wedlock. Public education as it is in

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Among the other tribes polygamy, in the form of polygyny of course, is very rare and almost entirely unknown, while among the Isneg it has become an integral part of their social organization. Although far from universal, it is still frequent enough to allow us to call it an institution, the more so that in the unwritten law of the Isneg we find actually a definite set of rules that govern the contracting of a subsequent marriage before the first one has been dissolved by death or divorce, the inheritance of children born to people living in polygamy, and so on. Expressions like the following, which may be heard very frequently all over Apayaw, go far to show that the Isneg wants the woman more than anything else: "We are poor . . . , we are to be pitied . . . , we are starving . . . , we have no food . . ." (and almost always) "because there are no women in the house . . . , because there is not a sufficient number of women around".

When at the same time we consider that the principal reason for divorce among the other Mountain tribes does not obtain in Apayaw, it becomes more patent that among the Isneg the question of children is only of secondary importance. Indeed among the Kankanay and others it is an almost universal custom for childless couples to separate and try their luck with somebody else, while among the Isneg the absence of children is no reason for divorce: this has been told me consistently by all my informants, and the facts are there to prove it. It is true that sterile marriages are comparatively few, but still they are numerous enough to allow us to see that the lack of children is not necessarily a sufficient reason for divorce. A Bolo man and his wife *Bannáw* have been married for over ten years and still no children are forthcoming. *Tabtábal* and his wife (also called *Bannáw*) at Lettuakan, *Tóriya* and his wife at Turatok, have been married for a long time without having had the pleasure of seeing children born to them. These places are all far apart from one another, and in no case is there even the hint of a possibility of divorce. The other Mountain tribes want the children first of all; to the Isneg, however, the women are more important than the offspring.

And so polygamy or rather polygyny has become an institution among the Isneg, not so much through the desire of the men to satisfy their sexual appetite, as through the absolute necessity of women in the household for economic reasons. As it is not my intention to make a survey of the whole subprovince of Apayaw, I shall

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595 merely cite here a few cases, all of them in the immediate neighborhood of Kabugaw.

The "presidente" or mayor of the municipal district of Kabugaw, an Isneg from Bolo, has been living in bigamy for many years, and recently he has taken to himself a third wife with all the pomp proper to Isneg marriages. *Ilsúy*, a former candidate for "presidente", who lives at the other side of the river from Kabugaw, once told me that formerly he had had six wives, but that unfortunately by this time two of them had died; notwithstanding the multitude of his women, *Ilsuy* has no offspring. A Nagbabalayan man boasted to me of the fact that two of his children of about the same age belonged to two different women. At Lettuakan *Kadáw's* son had three wives until one of them left him, with the direful results previously recounted (CAC-P, 3:146-47): the quarrel between *Kadáw* and *Pa-rdy* and the killing of *Rukkadćń* by *Kadáw*. The late *Rukkadćń* himself, a Baliwanan man, also lived in bigamy, and the chief of the provincial police here, a Musimut man, recently attempted to take a second wife in the person of a Bayag girl, but the affair miscarried. Not so long ago, when I was going from Futtul to Tawit, my canoe was poled up the river by three Isneg: two women and their husband. And so on. Now, when one takes into consideration the multifarious expenses incident to the performance of the marriage ceremonies, it is beyond question that only the comparatively well-to-do can afford to take more than one wife, and so if polygamy is not more frequent, the reason again is an economical one.

[842]

There does not seem to be any difference in the state of the women, in cases of polygamy; all of them are married with the same ceremonies and they mostly live happily together, helping one another in their daily work and each one attending to her own offspring. Quarrels do not seem to be more frequent among them than among any other two independent women living under the same roof, and both enjoy the same rights both during their lifetime, and after their demise with reference to the inheritance of their children from their common father. Not a few Isneg wives are even glad to have one or more other ones to help them in order to alleviate the heavy burden of feeding a much-exacting husband; and so, instead of being a source of disagreement, polygamy often brings contentment in its wake.

I would be inclined to say that polyandry does not exist among the Isneg, were it not that I know of one case: two brothers, *Bundy* and *Pílāy*, married one woman, *Túndy*, at Nagilian (municipal district of

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Accurate notice is always taken of all the items given, their nature and their value, and also of the person who gives each object. On a similar occasion in the future, the donor will be repaid according to his own generosity or closefistedness. An Isneg is a very practical man: a gift as such is barely known to him; "it is better to give than to receive", is not understood by him at all. To an Isneg "to give" always includes the notion of "with the hope of getting back something at least equal in value".

Those of the guests who proffer neither *ákit* nor *tugnúl* are not allowed to partake either of the sweets or of the *bálat* (which is said to be sold); but they can eat any other food that is prepared for this occasion.

And then comes the presentation of the *táding* or price agreed upon at the *amómân*. The *tádug*, which is paid by the boy's parents and becomes the exclusive property of the girl's parents, may be given entirely at this juncture, but it very often happens that only a partial payment is made at this time, and that the rest is paid later, either all at once or in instalments. The latter course very often gives rise to vehement quarrels, as the groom's parents are bent on protracting the payment as long as possible, while those of the bride are anxious to settle the matter without delay.

And all the time bride and groom remain almost completely excluded from all participation in these ceremonies. They do not receive even the smallest present on this occasion, and as far as *ákit*, *tugnúl* and *tádug* are concerned, they are mere lookers-on.

All this goes to show that a girl in the family is a precious asset to the Isneg. Besides the *tádug*, the exclusive property of her parents, there are all the objects that go to her relatives at the time of the *ákit*; and all this in exchange for a pig, the *bálat*, and a certain amount of cakes. All that the relatives of the boy get out of it is partaking of a feast a couple of times, at the *amómân* and at the *ákit*, and eating a few cakes, which after all are not so very highly esteemed. But they will have their revenge in time, of course, as they also have marriageable girls among their relatives. And so, everything considered, nobody is the loser, and certainly not the young couple: although they have received no gifts, their share of the inheritance is handed to them at this time by their respective parents, and then they have one another. Happiness, I dare believe, is very real on both sides, except perhaps in a few instances where one of them or both married merely to comply with the wishes of their elders. But

252 412 [415] then hulls it by pounding it with a wooden pestle in a mortar fashioned of a two-foot section of a hardwood log, set on end and hollowed out. The woman then winnows it by cleverly tossing it in an oval-shaped tray woven of rattan. There will often be a set of these mortars with the women companionably pounding together, using a sort of chant.

593 854 [842] The relatives are affectionate, and family ties are strong all through life. The family life is a happy one. Babies are much desired and receive a great deal of loving care. Their wants are promptly supplied, and no little one cries its heart out for lack 524 of a mother's loving arms. The small girls do not 857 have dolls to play with but use the babies instead. Also, instead of little play houses, they early begin to play house by helping their mothers in the big houses. Many of the small chores about the house are done by the children. But they also have plenty of time for games. [868] swimming, and other amusements. As they grow older, the girls, of course, follow the work of the mother: housework, washing, taking care of the pigs and chickens, carrying water in jars on their heads from the spring, farming, and other duties. The boys cheerfully work with their fathers in gathering wood, building houses, granaries, chicken coops, bamboo fences, etc., and in fishing and hunting. They early learn the lore of the woods; so that a boy of seven here can take much better care of himself in the open than the average Eagle Boy Scout in the United States. [861] The children are taught a proper decorum; but corporal punishment is rare. A little scolding usually keeps them in order.

000 for those old dishes?" he said. The men began to think that probably the pup,y was not really a puppy. They noticed that when it sat down, it always sat beside Enoy, who was his father. He said his name was Magnac. The men divided the meat of the wild pig and went home. But Ewagan, uncle of the boy, stayed behind in order, he said, to help the puppy to carry his share of the meat. Then the puppy changed back into a boy. Ewagan asked: "Where is your share?" The boy said: "Maybe the dogs ate it." Instead he had taken it into the magic house which the men could not see. The boy persuaded Ewagan to go to his house. He followed his nephew and found a wonderful house in the place where they had caught the wild pig. He was ashamed to enter it; but the boy finally persuaded him to go in and told him all about who he was.

The next day Dinkoan and Linadolan and Enoy went hunting for the third time in the same place. The dogs again caught a pig there, and Ewagan came out of the house and explained to Enoy that the puppy was his son. Enoy did not go home that day. Ewagan went home with his cousins. Enoy slept with his
842 son in the house. Ewagan had explained to him how Lananan had eaten the bundle of rice which Enoy had used while bathing and so became pregnant. He advised Enoy to stay there and work and help Lananan and the boy; because they were truly his wife and son.
[152] Enoy was ashamed because the son had not come in the regular way. The woman said that her brothers did not like that way either and wanted a ceremony to be held so that the marriage would be regular. She

She chewed betel nut and threw it out of the window praying: "Some of you will turn into fat pigs and other animals so that there will be many animals for the feast." 842 [789]

The people came to the feast and marveled at the wonderful house which was constructed better than any man could fashion it. The two brothers and the sister made a generous agreement and explained to all the people how the woman became pregnant and that the boy was really the son of Enoy. They were all satisfied.

BEBEROCA

Beberoca was a *anito* who could change himself at will, and he ate people. One day he found many people fishing in the river. He suggested to the people: "You do not have to work hard to make that dam to turn the river. Just stop and I will lie down and be the dam." The people were pleased and got to one side. Beberoca lay down so that the water was turned aside, and the people picked up many fish. For several hours he lay there. But suddenly a crab bit him on the head. It startled him so that he jumped up. The water came on the people, and they were all drowned and were washed away down the stream. 776

Since he got no people there, he went on up stream. While on his way, Beberoca met several women and asked them: "Why are you fishing like that? It is too hard. I will help you." The women were glad and Beberoca lay down. The water became less and less. The women took many fish. After several hours, a crab bit Beberoca on the back; so he yelled:

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824 842 forest, gathers the herb in question, wraps it in a piece of cloth, and brings it to the woman, who immediately starts chewing it. This is mostly practised only by mothers who have already been blessed with a numerous offspring.

843 811 Both Iloko and Kagayan attach much weight to the capricious appetite of a pregnant woman, and to whatever she loves or loathes at the time, all of which they believe to have its repercussion on the baby that has to be born. So some years ago a certain Kagayan mother gave birth to a child whose skin was much more lightly colored than that of its brothers and sisters, and everybody explained the occurrence by the fact that the mother, while pregnant, had had a very great devotion to a statue of the Divine Babe, which was either made of white material or at least painted white, and that she had gone almost daily to pray in front of the statue in question. All Isneg, however, whom I questioned on the subject disclaimed both knowledge of such a belief and its existence among their people.

843 776 Whatever may be the reason, the Isneg do not seem to dread the intervention of the spirits (*anito*) before the actual birth of the child. Do they perhaps imagine that the *anito* are ignorant about the ways of the flesh, and that they do not know the meaning of pregnancy? Or do they believe that the spirits have no power on children as yet unborn? The latter is probably the case. I think that in their eyes, as long as a child dwells in the womb of its mother, only what enters the body (food, semen) is able to exert any influence on it, and that [833] outsiders can in no way affect it. And so, except for a few beliefs with reference to food, the only precaution that is taken during the pregnancy of the mother is that the husband ceases having sexual intercourse with his wife so soon as her state is known with certainty, lest, so they say, the babe be injured. For the rest everything runs its usual course, and, although such a large number of magical and other practices have come to my notice at every other period of the life of the Isneg, the period that precedes the birth of a child has so far proved to be completely devoid of any belief in the evil influence of one spirit or another.

843 824 In some places a woman who is pregnant for the first time, is believed to assure the good health of her babe after its birth, if she eats *asdán*, which is the fruit of a kind of tree that grows in the forest.

843 262 824 These are the articles of food forbidden to pregnant women which have come to my notice:

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From a Dangla informant:

Three kinds of sugar cane:

The *saxádaw*, which has a yellow skin;

The *lokóg*, with a dark-purple skin;

The *banótăn*, with a reddish-brown skin.

Three kinds of bananas:

The *dokkasi*, which is a very large banana with a thick yellow skin;

The *parandn*, which is very small and has a thin yellow skin, its taste is more or less sour, and it grows in very large bunches;

The *lippokán* (Iloko: *alimúkeń*), a small egg-shaped banana with a thin greenish skin.

The terminal bud or cabbage (*baraníbăd*) of the fish-tail palm (*aníboń*, Caryota cumingii. Lodd.).

The *tobál* or soft meat of a sprouting coconut, lest the woman experience difficulty in giving birth to her child.

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From a Nagbabalayan informant:

Legs of a pig, for the same reason as in the case of the *tobál*.

It should be noted in this connection that taboos are not always universally observed all over the district of Apayaw. For instance, a certain article of food may be forbidden over a comparatively large area, while everywhere else such a taboo is unknown and consequently unobserved.

B. CHILDBIRTH AND POST-NATAL CARE

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A pregnant (*nabu-sit*; *bu-sit*, in Isneg, means "fetus"; *buksit*, in Iloko, means "belly, abdomen"; "fetus", in Iloko, is *sikúg*) woman goes about her ordinary duties up to the last moment. I have known a Kankanay woman who gave birth to her child while she was working in an irrigated rice field, and, although I know of no similar cases among the Isneg, it has been told me more than once that an Isneg mother could give birth to her child anywhere, even though walking and at work. On other occasions, while inquiring about their proper names, I was told that a woman who gave birth to a child in the bush, might call her child "Bush" (*sirát*); if she brought forth her offspring near some tree, the name of that particular tree might be given to the newborn babe. All this goes to prove that the intensive care taken by and for a future mother in more civilized areas is entirely absent and considered as quite superfluous among our sturdy mountaineers.

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843 Nevertheless such extreme cases are the exception, as may be readily understood. Under normal conditions an Isneg mother is delivered at home surrounded by persons who are in a position to assist her and to look out for whatever is necessary or suitable on this important occasion.

843 824 If a future mother is able to secure some *taxańlaká* or *ońlaká*, this is fortunate indeed: in the eyes of the Isneg, this herb exerts a magical influence on the birth of a child, and the mother who carries the *taxańlaká* (in Iloko *laká* means "easiness") on her body will be delivered without the least difficulty. The *máyanów* vine also is supposed to have the same power. Should she happen, however, to meet *ańlóńag* (a small herb), the Isneg are firmly convinced that a single look at these nefarious plants will cause her to experience much difficulty in giving birth to her child.

1. Normal Cases

844 I shall first examine the usual case of a single living child that is born to a couple of happy parents; later on a few abnormalities will be considered.

Here, even from the beginning, I am confronted with contradictory statements, namely with reference to the place of the house where the mother gives birth (*maxan-aná-*, from *an-aná-*, "child") to her child. Some say that the mother is delivered near the place of the hearth; others assert that any part of the house will do. From Bayag comes a corroboration of the first statement: at that place the kitchen is usually separated from the house proper, and it was told me that in case a woman was in labor the hearth would be taken out of the kitchen and brought to the house, after which the child would be born near this transferred hearth.

Everything considered I do not think it very difficult to explain the contradiction involved in the above statements and to arrive at the exact truth about the matter. All my informants agreed that the place of a woman after her delivery was near the hearth (*dapúg*) of the house. Now, whereas all these informants were men, and men have no business to be present at the exact moment of child-birth, the real place may very easily have escaped the notice of some of them in every instance, and the subsequent position of the mother may have led them to believe that the actual place was the original one. Besides, it is obvious that, whenever possible, the mother will go near the hearth from the beginning in order to avoid the trouble of being

They always believe that water flows off the earth. 823
Their reason is that, if the water does not flow off the earth, it would have been full of water a long time ago. So it is still believed by some of the Apayaos that water flows off the earth.

DONKOAN AND HIS WIFE DOMMARIA

There was a man and his wife. The name of 843
the man was Donkoan and the wife Dommaria. He instructed his pregnant wife that she should not go to any other house or go any distance as he was going away to trade. He started out; but did not say where, merely telling his wife that he would spend several days on his trip. On the second day, a woman named Malagamsi, a former sweetheart of Donkoan, came and asked Dommaria to go and look for certain sour fruits. Dommaria said: "I cannot go with you, for my husband told me not to go out." But Malagamsi said: "He will not know, and we will only go to the top of that hill." However, Dommaria would not go. Malagamsi came again the next day and tried to persuade Dommaria to go if only to the top of the hill. At first, she refused; but finally, as Magamsi said that she had seen a *balococo* (a very sour fruit tree) on the top of the hill, Dommaria agreed, providing the tree was very near. She said that they must get back soon, for her husband would find out and scold her. So they started out.

They climbed quite a distance up the hill but did not come to the *balococo*. Dommaria said: "where is the tree?" Malagamsi said: "Only a little way further."

843 They went on, and Dommaria said she was not able to go further as her stomach was beginning to hurt. Malagamsi persuaded her to go on and they finally reached the tree. Then they discussed who would climb the tree: for Dommaria said that she should not as she was pregnant. But she was so urged that she finally did climb to the top of the tree. Then Malagamsi started to shake the tree. "Please do not shake the tree, and I will give you a breechcloth," called Dommaria from the top of the tree. But Malagamsi continued to shake the tree. Again Dommaria cried: "Please do not shake the tree or I will hurt my unborn baby. I will give you a ring." But Malagamsi kept on shaking the tree until Dommaria fell out of the tree. She happened to fall into a hole and stuck there. Malagamsi did not help her; but returned home to the house of Dommaria, pretending to be the wife of Donkoan.

That night Donkoan reached home. It was dark and he said: "Please open the door, Dommaria." Malagamsi opened the door and Donkoan went in. Malagamsi put a coconut shell as a pad on her stomach so that Donkoan would think that she was his wife.

000 The following morning a small bird flew to the window saying: "Why are you working for that man, since you are not his wife?" Donkoan asked what the bird was saying. Malagamsi said she did not know and took a fire brand to strike the bird. Donkoan told her to leave the bird alone, as he wanted to hear what the bird was talking about. However, he could not understand it.

kinague na kano yanna keddi. Napanam ne Legayan ooo tahzhepay ya awan.".

Once in the olden times, a man named Lagayan went to hunt in Mount Kalawag. When he reached the top of Mount Kalawag, he found a tree bearing *masihap* (costly beads) as fruit. He took his bag and picked as many as he could. While he was getting the fruit of the tree, his dogs caught a wild pig near him. He set the bag of beads down and went to get the pig caught by his dogs nearby. When he returned to the place where he had found the tree, he could not find it any more. He had only three of the *masihap* which he had put in his G-string. When he returned home, he told the people that he had found a tree whose fruit was all *masihap*. The people did not believe him; but he showed them the three *masihap* which he had put in his G-string. He asked them to go and find the tree again. So they went; but found nothing on the mountain. But a bird came above them singing: "Lagayan comes to get some more of the *masihap;* but it is no more."

AN ANCIENT FISH STORY

Thousand and thousands of years ago there lived a couple in the *barangay* of Maliwatog. The name of the man was Sodac and his wife was Mora. She was [343] pregnant for two years without giving birth. One day they went to take a bath in the brook. When they were beside the brook, they saw a fish, which Mora envied for its earrings. So they tried to catch the fish, but they were not able to do so. Then they went

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transferred afterwards, so that the surmises of our men would seem really to be founded on fact in most instances. The question, however, is to know if this has to be so or if it can be otherwise. 844

Now, it has been proved already to everybody's satisfaction that a woman may give birth to her child anywhere, even in the field; and so I believe that I am justiled in stating that an Isneg woman is usually delivered somewhere in the house, that the exact place is of no importance, and that in case she was not lying near the hearth during the event, she has to be brought there immediately afterwards, or, as in the Bayag case, the hearth has to be brought to her.

The latter case may even help to prove the exactness of my statement. It may happen of course that the hearth is brought into the house before the birth of the child; but that this must be done necessarily is very doubtful. Indeed that bulky piece of furniture has forcibly to be handled by several men, and one wonders how the men would always and in every case be able to proceed to this burdensome operation before all approach to the future mother is barred to them, especially when one considers on the one hand how little the Isneg care for the future, for what is not actually at hand, and on the other hand, how suddenly the occurrence under consideration may startle the whole household.

Consequently it is more than probable that the location of the mother at the time of delivery is unimportant, while her subsequent position near the hearth of the house is required as an absolute necessity.

From now on the mother has to sleep at the same place every night, although she may have been moving around the house or even outside during the daytime. This lasts as long as she is considered too weak to comply with all her ordinary duties. 846

If she should dare leave the house at night, for instance to satisfy the wants of nature, she is liable to meet a certain spirit who is in the habit of coming down from his home in the sky whenever a child has been born. Meeting that *anito* means nothing else to the mother but becoming affected at once with a violent diarrhea. A woman who has been struck with that disease through the action of the spirit just mentioned is said to be *maanikān*. For the rest the Isneg do not know the name of this imp; he is known only by the bad effects that result from a woman in confinement meeting him at night outside her house. Unlike *Talomásim*, who will be mentioned presently, he exerts his influence only at night, and besides, although the Isneg 846 776

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846 776 know how to keep *Talomásim* at a distance, in the case of this nameless spirit they are absolutely powerless: the only way for a young Isneg mother to avoid him is to stay in the house at night.

846 372 Fire (*apúy*) plays a very important role whenever a new Isneg citizen has been born on our planet. Leaving aside the question of the place of the mother near the hearth of the house which has just been mentioned, I should like to draw attention to the following:

1. Although, even under ordinary circumstances, the fire of the hearth is rarely extinguished completely, it is of paramount importance that it should not be let go out for a single moment during the whole period that immediately follows the birth of a child, which period lasts until the mother has recovered sufficient strength to move around freely, in fact, I believe, as long as the mother has to sleep near the hearth at night.

2. At least on the first day, that is before the child is one day old, it is absolutely forbidden for anybody to take fire or firebrands (*alitán*) from the hearth: this is strictly taboo (*kannáw*).

3. No alien fire may be brought inside the house on that day.

4. Three other taboos have also probably to do with the respect shown to fire on such an occasion: again at least during the first day, it is strictly forbidden to use green bamboos (*namáta ńa bólo*) to feed the fire. The same prohibition is extended to the passing of green leaves over the fire in order to soften them: this is very often done with young banana leaves, young palm leaves, etc. that will be used for packing and other purposes; the fire renders them very supple and easily pliable, in such a way preventing them from splitting at every turn. A third taboo concerns anything green (*namáta*), not dry: nothing of the kind is allowed to be brought into [753 856] the house. Should any of these three taboos be infringed, the Isneg firmly believe that the babe will become thin and emaciated, it will be *malandtān*.

844 A woman in childbed, wherever she be situated inside the house, is assisted by all women who belong to the same household, and even little girls are allowed to witness the birth of a child. Experienced old women of the neighborhood are called in to take the lion's share in bringing the event to a happy issue, in some places always, in others whenever the inmates of the house prove incapable of the task or when the mother has much difficulty in bringing forth her baby. Midwives are called *mańa-lón* in Isneg.

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All men who do not belong to the family are forbidden to enter the house, and even those who live there, whether small boys or adults, have to keep away from the mother,—a prohibition which is easily complied with, as Isneg houses are very roomy. The husband alone forms an exception to this rule in a few places, Bayag for instance, where he is allowed to assist the women; but in most other localities, he himself, although permitted to stay in the house, has to turn the other way and is forbidden to witness the birth of his offspring. Nobody, however, is allowed to remain at the door (*zagiyáńán*): this is strictly taboo; all persons have either to enter the house, provided of course they belong to that set of people who are not forbidden to be present on such an occasion, or to stay outside below the ladder.

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The Isneg mother brings forth her child kneeling down on the floor of her house. In order to facilitate the birth of the child, the Isneg sometimes place one or more *pulpultóg* (a fungus in the shape of a small round white ball, growing on wet soil) on the body of the future mother. If she experiences unusual difficulty, the *bańsdl* (a thorny woody vine) is used for the same purpose. Occasionally some *kalobbazá* (small herbs) are placed over the place of her lungs, lest the latter move. Lung is called *bazá* in Isneg.

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A small section of light bamboo (Schizostachyum mucronatum), on which a razorlike edge has been cut by means of a headax, is a very appropriate instrument for the severance of the umbilical cord (*púsag*). The afterbirth, to which has been tied some kind of herb (*kaddát*) known to the shaman as an amulet (*tánib*), is placed either on a *duyát* (wooden plate), or in a *bali-lukú* (spathe of the betel nut) or a *tázo-* (coconut shell), and then buried either far away from the house (at Bolo, etc.), or under the house, immediately below the hearth (at Musimut, Bayag, etc.).

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A Bayag man told me that, in case the child was born still enveloped in a membrane, which he said was a very rare occurrence, his people rolled the latter up in a piece of cloth and stowed it away somewhere in one of their trunks; they considered it as a very powerful amulet in business: it would enable the owners to buy many things. He also stated that the newborn babe was bathed immediately in ordinary cold water; in other places, however, and this I consider to be much more general, the child gets its first bath only when it is able to turn itself upon its mat without assistance, or to creep over the floor on hands and knees (*maxaddń*).

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764 When the first outburst of lamentations, in the case of our dead
292 Isneg, has come to an end, the bystanders at once proceed to the preparation of the *innát* or corpse. The latter is first stripped of its old clothes, and carefully washed and cleaned; after that it is wiped dry and finally dressed up in the best clothes available. Some natives do not even shrink from clothing the corpse in silk, if their means allow such luxury; at any rate, it would be utterly shameful to the Isneg not to dress a dead body decently. This latter performance is called *magpaar-armát* (transitive: *paarmattán;* from the stem *armát*, "garments"). As has been stated before, each garment is partially torn (*maxăyxăy*) at one side.

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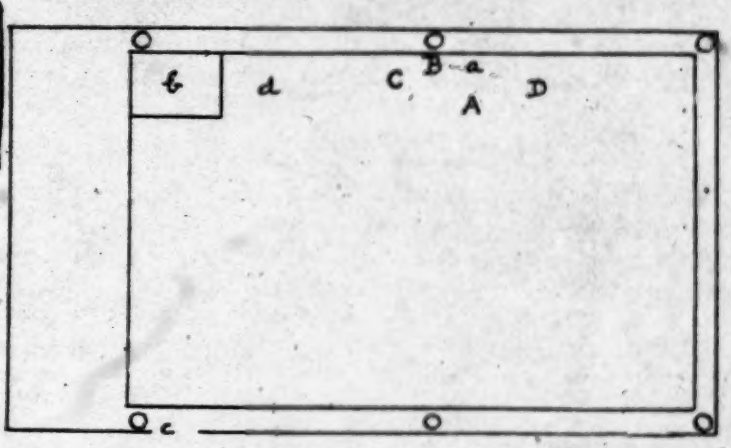

FIG. 3. FLOOR OF AN ISNEG HOUSE

A, Place of bier; a, place of the head of the *innát*; B, place of the *innát* in sitting posture; C, place of the *aróbon;* D, place of mourning relatives; b, hearth; c, door; d, place of woman in childbed.

764 In some places they insert a few *líbnó* herbs in the clothes of the
775 *innát* for the following reason: on its way to the realm of the dead,
772 the *kaduduwá* is supposed to pass through a camote or sweet-potato field, in which there is a hut inhabited by an old woman, who is intent on taking away from all passers-by their provisions and all their belongings; but if the latter have *líbnó*-herbs about their person, the old woman is powerless and they pass along unscathed.

764 In the meanwhile some others have been preparing the *tádag* or bier. The *tádag* consists of a certain number of entire bamboos, tied

They have a feast: rice
basi, and the greater part of a pig or dog are served. 584
Then business begins. The parents and relatives of 583
the youth, arrange the amount of the dowry, *todog*. [574
If it is of less value, the youth must stay in the house 242]
of the girl. When the contract is agreed upon, it is strictly adhered to; and the youth and girl are said to be married.

The real ceremony, *aqueb*, then follows. The pa- 585
rents of the girl bring pigs and baskets of rice-cakes to the house of the youth. The girl comes in company with several old women. They all stop about one hundred yards from the house of the youth. There they are met by the parents or mother of the youth, bearing valuable gifts for the parents of the girl. The youth's mother then requests the girl from her parents. Upon approval, the whole company moves to the house, where the mother presents her gifts to the parents of the girl. The rice cakes are sold to the re- [735]
latives of the youth, the nominal price being P1.00 per basket. Then the merry-making starts and con- [784]
tinues through the night. The youth and girl must not eat the sweets, as one of them would die. In the morning final payments of the dowry are made and distributed. Then the young couple are considered to be properly married, but still controlled by their parents.

When the young woman feels that she is about to 844
give birth, either the husband or the mother-in-law will twist a piece of cloth, light one end, and place it, [42]
the *pungan*, at the door. With it is the coconut shred-
der, *igad*. These guard the woman while delivering so that no *anito* can come into the house to annoy the

844 woman, making her delivery so hard that she will die. They are kept there until the woman is strong enough to go outdoors again.

846 As soon as she is able, the woman goes to the river to wash, accompanied by a male relative holding an *aliwa* on which is ginger. On the way he must always be in the rear, as the *aliwa* and ginger are guarding the woman from some *anito* which desires to cut off her head and cause her death. If the *anito* succeeds, she will die suddenly upon reaching home.

When they arrive home, the man places the ginger with the *pungan* and *igad* at the door. These are kept there until the woman is strong enough to go to work. During that time it is strictly prohibited that anyone outside of the family shall enter the house. It means death to do so. This strong taboo is observed until the woman says that she is ready to receive a visitor. The wife seldom leaves her home and work.

586 [461 684] The marriage bond is permanent; but it may be broken by the man if he finds that his wife performs very little farm labor. Even though they have children, he is entitled to divorce her upon giving her a [587] small portion of the conjugal property. Both are [581 331] then free to marry again. The woman must implicitly obey her husband and be absolutely true to him: 684 no little flirting with other men. If she is found guilty of any offence, her fine is heavy. If she commits adultery with another man, both should be killed: the man by the relatives of the wife, and the wife by the relatives of the husband. However, if there are extenuating circumstances and the death sentence is not imposed, both guilty parties are sentenced

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All men who do not belong to the family are forbidden to enter the house, and even those who live there, whether small boys or adults, have to keep away from the mother,—a prohibition which is easily complied with, as Isneg houses are very roomy. The husband alone forms an exception to this rule in a few places, Bayag for instance, where he is allowed to assist the women; but in most other localities, he himself, although permitted to stay in the house, has to turn the other way and is forbidden to witness the birth of his offspring. Nobody, however, is allowed to remain at the door (*xagiyáńān*): this is strictly taboo; all persons have either to enter the house, provided of course they belong to that set of people who are not forbidden to be present on such an occasion, or to stay outside below the ladder.

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The Isneg mother brings forth her child kneeling down on the floor of her house. In order to facilitate the birth of the child, the Isneg sometimes place one or more *pulpultóg* (a fungus in the shape of a small round white ball, growing on wet soil) on the body of the future mother. If she experiences unusual difficulty, the *bańsdl* (a thorny woody vine) is used for the same purpose. Occasionally some *kalobbará* (small herbs) are placed over the place of her lungs, lest the latter move. Lung is called *bará* in Isneg.

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854 times spread under them, clothes used to wipe or clean them, occasional wrappers, etc., have to be washed inside the house. If they were washed in the river or brook, which is the customary place for that kind of work, the Isneg firmly believe that the child would die a premature death.

855 291 Later on, when a few years old, the child wears a little dress, whenever possible, and when a girl has attained perhaps her fourth or fifth year, the first piece of the customary Isneg outfit that is given to her is the *kalaṅkáṅ*, a string around the waist, which she wears under her little dress if she has any, and which will be used afterwards to insert the *talút* or G-string. In many cases a boy will be given an ordinary Isneg *bádo* or coat long before he wears the *abág* or G-string. But more of this for some other chapter.

2. *Abnormal Cases*

845 I shall now consider a few extraordinary cases.

Posthumous children, which of course are comparatively rare, are, as far as I have been able to ascertain, treated in exactly the same way as other children, and the Isneg do not seem to look upon the matter as anything out of the ordinary.

Nothing special is to be noted with reference to a child who dies in its mother's womb, and with reference to a mother who dies before her child is born; in such cases the Isneg have no means of saving the survivor, and the same rites are observed as in the case of the death of an ordinary adult. A mother who cannot bring forth her child is said to be *matalánān* or *masaltân* (the latter term also means "to be stopped", for instance, a bottle, etc.). The only practice the Isneg resort to in such a case is the *maxaníto*, which is cutomary with any kind of sickness.

847 Voluntary abortion seems to be neither known nor practised. Here of course one is treading upon dangerous ground when inquiring into the matter, but nevertheless it was told me very emphatically by persons whose entire confidence I possessed that such practices were never resorted to. Do not some Isneg at least know about it, and does it not happen occasionally in some spot or another of the extensive Apayaw district? I do not know. It should be taken into consideration though that to the Isneg all children are welcome, and even in the case of a child that would be born out of wedlock, its premature death would not save the girl from the anger of her parents, nor the boy from his duty to marry the girl or to suffer some terrible punish-

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ment, so that as far as I understand the Isneg mind, a living child will result more to the satisfaction of everybody concerned than a dead one. A 847

I just stated that to the Isneg all children were welcome; this should, however, be understood of children who come into the world unaccompanied: twins (*sisin*; also called *sagdappilan*, from *dappil*, "being pressed against one another face to face") are a different matter. Except in the case of the Negritos, I have not met with a single Filipino tribe who had not one or more superstitious beliefs connected with the birth of twins, and in case of pagan tribes worse than that. A 845

While I was living among the Iloko, who have been Christians for many centuries, I heard them say more than once that a woman would not eat a double banana (two in one skin), lest she bear twins; and it often became a matter of jest when a double banana appeared either at the table or otherwise, whenever some young woman, whether married or single, was present. All this goes to show that the Iloko consider that the birth of twins is, to say the least, not a thing to be desired. This is nothing else but the remnant of a former belief, as will be proved presently in the case of the pagan tribes N 845 A 171

In general among the pagan tribes all over the Mountain Province, the natives kill one of twins, and to this rule the Isneg are no exception It is only natural that in many instances this custom tends to disappear, as the natives have to reckon with the vigilance of the authorities, but nevertheless the custom is still there, and it is a very deep-rooted one. I know of only two cases of living twins among the Isneg and they came to my notice only very recently, whereas I know positively that the custom of killing one of twins exists at least in the municipal district of Conner and in that of Kabugaw, while there is no reason to believe that it does not exist actually, or at least did not exist originally and until recently, among the inhabitants of the other municipal districts. A 845 171

In the municipal district of Conner, pagan girls who had received a superior education told us freely that in case they gave birth to twins they would never allow both children to live. In the municipal district of Kabugaw not so long ago a male child, one of twins, was killed at Alumani, and I know of a similar case in another locality.

As far as I have been able to ascertain, the infant is buried alive immediately after birth; this was told me by my informants, and so it happened in the Alumani case. Either of the two may be chosen A 847 845

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847 as the victim; the first as well as the second may be considered as the
845 unwelcome guest.

The question is to know why the Isneg kill one of twins. This is no easy matter to ascertain. In general, direct inquiries bring no result and throw no light on the subject; most of the time even the practice itself is flatly denied. This happened, among others, in the case of two of my informants who stated that a woman who partook of a double fruit (two bananas in one skin, two betel nuts in one husk, etc.) would give birth to twins, in which they agreed with the Ilоko, as has just been explained. Both at first denied that the Isneg ever killed one of twins, and even cited the example of two young men, still alive and actually dwelling at Aligawa. When the Isneg see no way out and realize that you know all about the matter, they usually state that they kill one of twins because they are ashamed, and here they probably tell the truth. One informant told me that they did so lest they should have to feed two children at a time, and another one said that if both children were allowed to live, the whole family would die.

In so far as I know the Isneg, I believe the question of having to feed two children at a time to be a small matter, and in this I see no reason for killing one of twins, at least in every case; besides, this does not explain why an Isneg should feel ashamed at such an occurrence; so the explanation must be sought elsewhere. There is also no connection, even in the eyes of an Isneg, between being ashamed and danger of death; so, even allowing that the fear of dying may be one of the reasons for killing one of twins, some more plausible reason should be sought after in order to explain the shame conceded by the
[848] generality of Isneg to be connected with the birth of twins. I believe I struck the right answer when one of my informants told me very confidentially that one of the two was considered to be the unlawful offspring of some other man, not the child of its mother's husband. In such a case of course there is every reason for both husband and wife to feel ashamed about the whole affair. But much may be said against this explanation; so now I shall try first to answer all objections, and then to give my own idea about the whole custom and the reason given for the same.

842 It should be stated once for all that there is no question of ascrib-
845 ing one of twins to intercourse of the mother with some spirit or ghost; that any Isneg should entertain such an idea was denied most categorically by all my Isneg informants: both infants are always considered as children of woman by man.

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But if the Isneg are very willing to rear a child born out of wedlock, and even an adulterous one, which is a fact, why should they be ashamed of rearing one of twins, who also is supposed to belong to the same category, merely because it is one of twins? In our eyes, supposing the explanation to be the right one, which of course it is not, it would be at least as shameful for a mother to give birth to a single adulterous child as to one that is accompanied by another. But the Isneg viewpoint is different.

I shall wave aside the case of a natural child and confine myself to that of an adulterous one. Indeed in the case of a natural child, after the father has paid the penalty, and he always does, the shame resulting from the birth of such a child will have been practically compensated by the anger of the girl's parents and the satisfaction required from the offender; besides, that shame will be comparatively much smaller than that which is connected with the birth of an adulterous child.

In the case of an adulterous child, if the husband knows that his wife has or has had intercourse with another man, and that the infant that will be born from her is not his own, one of two alternatives presents itself: he may either divorce the woman, or else get some other satisfaction and let nature take its course. But here, in both instances, one sees at a glance that all shame that could be connected in the eyes of an Isneg with the birth of an adulterous child has been completely done away with. In the first instance the guilty woman is free, and in the generality of cases she will already be living with some other man; anyhow the child will be her own, and hers exclusively, and the baby will be welcome to all; nobody will talk about it, as the matter was settled long ago, namely at the time of her divorce from her former husband. In the second instance, no shame accrues to either husband or wife, as nobody is supposed to know anything about the matter and the child will pass as the offspring of its mother by her lawful husband; with reference to those who know, satisfaction has been given or forgiveness has been granted.

But the case is quite different when twins are born, always on the supposition, which to the Isneg is nothing less than positive truth, that one of them is really the offspring of some other man. In this case, the mother is still in the eyes of all the world the lawful wife of her husband, she is not free, and there is no question of satisfaction or forgiveness, as nothing has transpired up till now; so she is caught flagrantly and convicted of adultery (always in the eyes of the Isneg)

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848 as clearly as if somebody had witnessed her having intercourse with
845 her paramour. Hence the shame; and this is, I believe, but natural if considered from the Isneg point of view.

848 But again it might be asked: what is the use of resorting to such
845 a drastic measure, that of killing one of twins? Does the shame
811 not remain the same? Yes and no. She certainly has been caught (I repeat it, always in the eyes of the Isneg), but so far very few people know about it and everybody will keep mum; while, if both children lived, the secret would become public property, and everybody would know about the bad behavior of the mother. Here, however, I am much in doubt if this last answer concurs with the Isneg point of view, and besides, I may urge the matter further and ask: Why is the husband not angry with the real father of the babe? Why does he not divorce his wife? It might be answered that he could not very well know with what man he should be angry, that he might even know very positively that his wife has always been a virtuous woman, and so find no reason for divorcing her. Such answers, however, are evidently very unsatisfactory, and, as I have hinted at in its place, the preceding answer would perhaps never be proffered by an Isneg.

Here then, in my humble opinion, is the core of the whole difficulty, and to me it looks simply like one out of many examples of the reasoning of the Isneg, in which they imitate some Spaniards who are afraid of venturing on a trip on Tuesdays and Fridays (el martes y el viernes ni te cases ni te embarques) and some Americans who nail an old horseshoe to their auto for luck.

Consequently my opinion of the whole matter is this: it is sufficient to have lived with the generality of Christian Iloko for one week at a time, I mean to have lived *with* them, not in their immediate neighborhood in your own house, but in their own abode, sleeping on their mat and eating at their table, it is enough, I say, to have lived intimately with them for a comparatively short time to be convinced that nothing will happen which might be regarded as more or less out of the ordinary without an explanation being sought at once, not an explanation that is natural and quite simple, but one that will touch on the preternatural, if not on the supernatural. Anyhow some explanation will be looked for, and this will rarely or never be the ordinary one, which truly and simply fits the known facts, since it would surely be considered as far from satisfactory, on account of its being quite natural, while the event is supposed to be unnatural. If a leaf moves, an insect hums, a bird flies, etc., and such an occurrence

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is not exactly what is quite ordinary, immediately all sorts of questions are asked: Why? What is the matter? What is the meaning? What might it portend? What secret is hidden behind it? And so on.

Now the pagan Isneg are no better. They also will try to find some explanation different from the natural one for any event that does not look entirely ordinary to them. And so the birth of twins being a rather rare occurrence, there must be something the matter with it. Twins. Who ever heard of two children being born at once from one husband and one wife, without there being a secret behind the whole affair? Twins: this is far from common. And there you are; an explanation has to be found. Now, there is one ready at hand, and to the Isneg mind a very reasonable one, it is not even necessary to enter into the realm of spirits: two children at once must be the product of two men; when one man who lives in bigamy begets two children simultaneously from two women, there are at least three authors, so now also these twins must be the offspring of three persons, —in this case of only one woman of course, and thus necessarily of two men.

Now what to do? Just kill one of them, put it out of the way, and so avoid the shame attached to the whole affair; kill all gossip in the bud. But is every child not welcome? Certainly it is, but a child has no business bringing a companion with it, and the joy of the parents will be complete with the single child; the other one, if alive, will not add to that joy, nor, if dead, detract from it. Here of course the husband is faced with a dilemma: either his wife is a virtuous woman or she is not; if she is, and maybe he knows her to be so, then how can she have a child by another man? If she is not, why does he not divorce her? Yes, but this dilemma does not confront the Isneg, his reasoning does not extend as far as that. If he knew his wife to have been unfaithful, that would be reason enough for him to divorce her without needing the birth of twins to convince him. Here he stands before an extraordinary event, the birth of twins; he has found an explanation for it: the action of a third person. This is a very shameful affair to both husband and wife, but he will eliminate all difficulties at once: one of the twins will be done away with. And there his reasoning stops, the incident is closed.

Here follow a few Isneg expressions with reference to little children:

Babbiń or *ababbiń*, when used by the parents: son, daughter, child.

Ababbiń, when used by the parents: sons, daughters, children.

Ababbiń, when used by other persons: little children not yet able or barely able to walk.

000 back to their home and pounded up tobacco. After pounding it, they returned and put the powdered tobacco in the brook. Thus the fish was poisoned. So they could go home now, with the fish and the earrings. Mora took the earrings and wore them. On account of obtaining the earrings, Sodac and his wife came to think that they should hold a big *sayam*. So they began to call the *anitos* for the fish. First they spread a good blanket on the floor by the door-side and laid the fish on it. They invited many people from far and near. When the guests were all in the house, Sodac and Mora related their fish story.

845 So all the women held an *anito* till midnight. As they were enjoying their *say-am*, the hill behind the house burst open and flowed down and covered the house. Only Mora was not killed, as she was thrown out through the window. Early in the morning Mora miraculously gave birth. The miraculous thing about it was that the babies were twins: one was a small female pig and the other one was a normal male baby.

152 When the two babies were children the pig went
845 to the forest forever; and the boy went also to the forest and joined the other *anitos*. Mora did not know why her babies disappeared: so she kept looking for them; but she could not find them anymore. At last Mora became crazy.

THE MADATAG JUMP

103 Hundreds of years ago there were few inhabitants of Apayao. Madatag *barangay* was the only *barangay* which had many people. At that time they

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transferred afterwards, so that the surmises of our men would seem really to be founded on fact in most instances. The question, however, is to know if this has to be so or if it can be otherwise. 844

Now, it has been proved already to everybody's satisfaction that a woman may give birth to her child anywhere, even in the field; and so I believe that I am justified in stating that an Isneg woman is usually delivered somewhere in the house, that the exact place is of no importance, and that in case she was not lying near the hearth during the event, she has to be brought there immediately afterwards, or, as in the Bayag case, the hearth has to be brought to her.

The latter case may even help to prove the exactness of my statement. It may happen of course that the hearth is brought into the house before the birth of the child; but that this must be done necessarily is very doubtful. Indeed that bulky piece of furniture has forcibly to be handled by several men, and one wonders how the men would always and in every case be able to proceed to this burdensome operation before all approach to the future mother is barred to them, especially when one considers on the one hand how little the Isneg care for the future, for what is not actually at hand, and on the other hand, how suddenly the occurrence under consideration may startle the whole household.

Consequently it is more than probable that the location of the mother at the time of delivery is unimportant, while her subsequent position near the hearth of the house is required as an absolute necessity.

From now on the mother has to sleep at the same place every night, although she may have been moving around the house or even outside during the daytime. This lasts as long as she is considered too weak to comply with all her ordinary duties. 846

Is she should dare leave the house at night, for instance to satisfy the wants of nature, she is liable to meet a certain spirit who is in the habit of coming down from his home in the sky whenever a child has been born. Meeting that *anito* means nothing else to the mother but becoming affected at once with a violent diarrhea. A woman who has been struck with that disease through the action of the spirit just mentioned is said to be *maanikān*. For the rest the Isneg do not know the name of this imp; he is known only by the bad effects that result from a woman in confinement meeting him at night outside her house. Unlike *Talomāsim*, who will be mentioned presently, he exerts his influence only at night, and besides, although the Isneg 846 776

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846 776 know how to keep *Talomásim* at a distance, in the case of this nameless spirit they are absolutely powerless: the only way for a young Isneg mother to avoid him is to stay in the house at night.

846 372 Fire (*apúy*) plays a very important role whenever a new Isneg citizen has been born on our planet. Leaving aside the question of the place of the mother near the hearth of the house which has just been mentioned, I should like to draw attention to the following:

1. Although, even under ordinary circumstances, the fire of the hearth is rarely extinguished completely, it is of paramount importance that it should not be let go out for a single moment during the whole period that immediately follows the birth of a child, which period lasts until the mother has recovered sufficient strength to move around freely, in fact, I believe, as long as the mother has to sleep near the hearth at night.

2. At least on the first day, that is before the child is one day old, it is absolutely forbidden for anybody to take fire or firebrands (*alitán*) from the hearth: this is strictly taboo (*kannáw*).

3. No alien fire may be brought inside the house on that day.

4. Three other taboos have also probably to do with the respect shown to fire on such an occasion: again at least during the first day, it is strictly forbidden to use green bamboos (*namáta ńa bólo*) to feed the fire. The same prohibition is extended to the passing of green leaves over the fire in order to soften them: this is very often done with young banana leaves, young palm leaves, etc. that will be used for packing and other purposes; the fire renders them very supple and easily pliable, in such a way preventing them from splitting at every turn. A third taboo concerns anything green (*namáta*), not dry: nothing of the kind is allowed to be brought into the house. Should any of these three taboos be infringed, the Isneg firmly believe that the babe will become thin and emaciated, it will be *malandtān*.

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844 A woman in childbed, wherever she be situated inside the house, is assisted by all women who belong to the same household, and even little girls are allowed to witness the birth of a child. Experienced old women of the neighborhood are called in to take the lion's share in bringing the event to a happy issue, in some places always, in others whenever the inmates of the house prove incapable of the task or when the mother has much difficulty in bringing forth her baby. Midwives are called *mańa-lón* in Isneg.

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All men who do not belong to the family are forbidden to enter the house, and even those who live there, whether small boys or adults, have to keep away from the mother,—a prohibition which is easily complied with, as Isneg houses are very roomy. The husband alone forms an exception to this rule in a few places, Bayag for instance, where he is allowed to assist the women; but in most other localities, he himself, although permitted to stay in the house, has to turn the other way and is forbidden to witness the birth of his offspring. Nobody, however, is allowed to remain at the door (*xagiyáńan*): this is strictly taboo; all persons have either to enter the house, provided of course they belong to that set of people who are not forbidden to be present on such an occasion, or to stay outside below the ladder.

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A small section of light bamboo (Schizostachyum mucronatum), on which a razorlike edge has been cut by means of a headax, is a very appropriate instrument for the severance of the umbilical cord (*púsag*). The afterbirth, to which has been tied some kind of herb (*kaddát*) known to the shaman as an amulet (*tánib*), is placed either on a *duyát* (wooden plate), or in a *bali-luká* (spathe of the betel nut) or a *táxo-* (coconut shell), and then buried either far away from the house (at Bolo, etc.), or under the house, immediately below the hearth (at Musimut, Bayag, etc.).

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846 778 789 On the wound of the navel the Isneg place some soot and a piece of dried bagasse, in order to scar it and to allow the rest of the umbilical cord to come off easily. The latter (*kázow*) is then placed in a *tázo-* or coconut shell, some ashes are strewn over it, and the whole is buried either at the place of the afterbirth, or somewhere under the house in case the afterbirth has been buried away from it. It seems, however, that in Bayag it serves the same purpose as that of the membrane just referred to, and that it is rolled up in a piece of cloth and stowed away in some trunk belonging to the parents, to be kept as an amulet in business.

846 778 789 The immediate and natural needs of the newborn babe having been attended to, the first concern of the Isneg is to protect the little creature from all possible machinations of the spirits, who seem to have been lying in wait for this new human being to come into the world in order to work their wiles upon it. The Isneg, however, are not backward in finding sure and almost infallible remedies against the machinations of these *anito*, and they usually have the upper hand in this warfare between the world of spirits and that of real men. We have already described how the afterbirth is rendered innocuous or rather how the spirits are obliged to forego all hope of using it as a weapon of offense against the child or its parents; or does the herb that is tied to it force the supernatural world into granting either some of the present wishes of the parents or some of the future ones of the child? Just what is the use of that herb I do not know, and the Isneg will tell you the same; it is the custom, and that is sufficient [811] in most similar cases. Sometimes explanations are given, and I shall not fail to record them in every instance, but these explanations are very often unsatisfactory, and the connection between a certain practice and the reason why it is said to be performed is very often exceedingly loose, and, at least from our point of view, quite inappropriate.

846 789 As soon as a child is born in the house, the Isneg take a coconut shell, place some ashes and some water in it, and put it somewhere near the door, at the inside. After that, the first thing to be done is to forbid access to the house both to the spirits and to people who might bring bad luck to the enriched household.

With reference to the spirits, this is not very hard: there are some objects that an *anito* will never approach even from afar, and provided one knows which object to choose, everything is safe from that side. At Bayag the Isneg place an *ízād* at the door of the house, at

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the outside, immediately after the birth of a child. The *izād* is an instrument that is used to scrape out the meat of the coconut: it mostly consists of a piece of wood fixed upright in a block of the same material, which serves it as a base, and provided at the top with a small tonguelike blade, sometimes more or less in the shape of a half moon, whose edge has been cut out into a row of teeth like a saw. This instrument, according to the Isneg, looks to the *anito* like a frightful dog, at least at the time of the birth of a child, and no spirit will venture to approach the house, as long as that faithful guard remains in position. At Bolo they stretch a *lásiw* (a special kind of vine) crosswise over the entrance. Elsewhere, and this is the most common practice, a spear is stuck in the ground immediately below the ladder, and around the spear are wound two strips of cloth, one red and another one indigo; this contrivance also keeps the *anito* unmercifully at bay. Whether scraper, vine or spear, this guard remains at the door of the house as long as the child is not able to move freely over the floor of the house.

But the ways and means of the spirits are manifold. Although practically no access can be had to the house on account of the spear or the scraper, as the case may be, it might happen that an *anito* uses his evil influence from afar off or approaches the child or its mother by some other way. Therefore to protect the child, a small portion of black wax (*lilín*) is stuck to the hair of the baby, at the whirl somewhere on top of the head; of this, according to the Isneg, the *anito* are much afraid.

The mother, besides inserting some herbs (*kaddáṭ*), the secret of the shaman, in her headband (*laddóṅ*), never fails to stick a small piece of ginger (*basdṅ*) on the blunt projection (*sáwit*) at the back of the small knife (*ikó*), which she always carries stuck in her headband. The shape of the *ikó* is the same as that of the ordinary Isneg headax (*aliwá*), but the latter is much larger; the upper part of the blade of both the *aliwá* and the *ikó* is prolonged at the back into a comparatively long dull pin. That piece of ginger protects the mother from the evil influence of the spirit *Talomásim*. Indeed, as long as she has to sleep near the hearth, she is liable to become sick (*matalomásim*) whenever she leaves the house, even in the daytime; the ginger, however, whose smell *Talomásim* cannot stand, keeps the latter at bay, and the young mother reënters the house without becoming *matalomásim*.

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846 Then men in flesh and bones are to be considered. Now the Isneg do not want to take any chances, and so they forbid access to any outsider, whether a relative or not; nobody is allowed to enter the house, in some places for one day, in others for five days, and in still others (Bayag) for ten days. It is especially and very strictly forbidden, for the same period of time, to any person, whether inmate of the house or not, who has been drinking *básí* (an alcoholic beverage obtained from the juice of the sugar cane), to approach the house where a child has been born. Besides, no inmate of the house is permitted to do heavy work for the same period of time, although he is allowed to leave the house if he chooses to do so, but he may not take anything with him outside. At Bayag, however, the father of the child stays at home for five days; here he is allowed to move around, to occupy himself with light work, etc., but he may not leave the house: this prohibition does not obtain elsewhere.

At any rate frequent visits are believed to be not only harmful, but even decidedly fatal to the young mother; an Isneg woman who dies on that account is said to be *maduńálăn*.

Besides the taboos just enumerated and those mentioned before with reference to fire, the following very important ones should be noted:

No communication of the shaman with the spirits (*maxanito*), no sacrifice, takes place at the birth of a child; all killing of animals in honor of the spirits is strictly *kannáw* (taboo). Is the reason perhaps to be found in the fact that a sacrifice is a kind of invitation to the spirits or at least draws their attention toward the offerers, while they have to be kept away by all means during the first period of the child's life?

For the same reason, namely lest the spirits be attracted toward the house, it is strictly tabooed to bring any kind of light under it (*síduń*) at night, as long as the child and its mother are obliged to stay inside. During the same period of time, no body is allowed to go under the house (*síduń*), whether at night or in the daytime, whether the person in question be an inmate of the house or a stranger.

846 Food forbidden to a woman after her delivery:

262 Fowl, lest she die;

Sugar cane that is provided with buds ready to spring forth into new shoots, lest she remain weak; the *banótăn*, which was forbidden to her while she was still pregnant, also remains taboo;

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Anything fragrant, as pineapples, etc.; also cakes, native Isneg sweets, on account of their fragrance, lest her weakness increase.

She is also forbidden to eat any kind of fish for three days after the birth of her child If both she and her child have enjoyed good health so far, she is allowed to partake of it, after the third night provided it as cooked outside the house and brought in only art it had cooled down. Should she infringe any of these taboos, she liable to become sick, which in this case is called *madawig*.

All Isneg parents are very anxious to give the head of their babe the right shape: so, if the little poll is much too markedly oblong, the grandmother or, in her absence, any other woman lightly presses one of her heels (*túmań*) against its soft part, on top, while the little patient is sprawling on the floor; this is called *tumńán* (past tense: *sinúmań*; from *túmań*, "heel"; in Iloko, *túmeń* means "knee"). In other places, for instance at Bayag, they use another means in order to make the head of the newborn child nicely round: a small squash, duly hollowed out and thoroughly dried, is placed over it in such a way as to fit it exactly.

The period of confinement differs in duration from place to place, and it probably depends very much on the state of the mother; this is perhaps also the reason why the number of days during which some taboos have to be observed, is not always and everywhere the same. In general, however, it may be said that the period of strict confinement does not go beyond one week; after that time, the mother first does some light chores in and around the house, and later on proceeds to her ordinary duties.

In some places she goes to the river (*mamáwa*) two days after the birth of her child; but usually this necessary formality is performed on the fifth day, even though for the rest she continues to remain at home for a much longer period. At Bayag, for instance, it takes her one month before she is allowed definitely to leave the house and to start cleaning the yard, although she made her ceremonial visit to the river on the usual day, the fifth after her delivery When going to the river the mother protects herself from either rain or sunshine by means of a *sarikaw* (a kind of large round flat hat made from palm leaves) In most places she goes there alone; in Bayag, however, she is accompanied by her husband, who also watches her while at work.

But what happens at the time of that visit to the river? What is meant by *mamáwa*? Here is what was told me by the generality of my informants, including Bayag people: the woman goes to the river

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in order to take a bath, the first one after the birth of her child. Now, as to discrepancies in the testimony of my informants:

Only Bayag (Bayag branch of Ô dialect) people, and all of them, called this visit of a mother to the river by the name of *mamáwa*. Others told me either (Abbil branch of Ô dialect) that *mamáwa* was said of a ceremony that takes place at the river after the death of a married woman, and which will be described in due time, or (Bolo, Kumaw: Main branch of Ó dialect; Lettuakan: K branch of Ô dialect; Dibagat, G [Abbil?—Ed.] branch of Ô dialect; Karagawan: Bô dialect) that they knew nothing about its meaning. None of the latter seemed to be cognizant of any special term for the ceremonial bath of a woman after her delivery.

Everybody agreed that the mother took along with her a few herbs (*kaddát*) and a piece of ginger (*basáñ*), articles which have been referred to in a preceding paragraph. But while all others stated that everything was taken back home, one Bayag informant told me that the herbs were thrown into the river and left at the mercy of the current, so that the spirits might smell them and go downstream instead of following the mother. It should be noted in this connection that the smell of ginger is usually loathed by the spirits.

Another Bayag informant included ashes (*abó*) among the articles taken along at the time of the bath in question. He said that a few ashes and a part of the ginger were left at the bathing place and the rest brought home and placed at the foot of the ladder.

The same Bayag man who told me about the herbs being thrown into the river, also emphatically denied the taking of a bath by the young mother. "She goes to the river", he added, "in order to wash her clothes for the first time".

Is it possible to disentangle this whole network of seemingly contradicting statements and to make them all agree? I think so, provided we separate the municipal district of Bayag from the rest of Apayaw. Then we should have something like this:

At Bayag: husband and wife go to the river, take along herbs, ginger and ashes. Once there, the woman takes a bath; but some women may be reluctant to enter the cold water so soon after their delivery and so they may confine themselves to the washing of their clothes. Before leaving the river, they either throw the herbs, whose smell is enjoyed by the spirits, in the river, or leave ashes and ginger, whose smell is loathed by the spirits, near the bathing place, or perhaps do both. Once at home, they put the rest of the ashes and of

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the ginger at the foot of the ladder. If necessary, other herbs and ginger are always available to take the place of the abandoned ones. 846 515

At other places: the young mother goes to the river and takes a bath. Nothing is changed with reference to herbs and ginger, which she took along at the time of her ceremonial bath and which she continues to carry on her person afterwards. 783

With reference to the meaning of *mamáwa*: originally it may have been applied to any kind of ceremonial ablution; later on, it may have been restricted either to the bath of a woman after her delivery (Bayag), or to the ceremony performed after the death of a married woman (Abbil).

While the mother stays inside the house, the other inmates, men not excepted if necessary, take over her ordinary duties, such as fetching water, gathering vegetables, and so on. Bayag is the only place where the husband is forbidden to leave the house for a definite number of days, as has been explained before. 846

The husband does not sleep with his wife for from two to five months after the birth of a child; everything depends on the state of the mother and the strength of the baby. [833]

Should it happen that Christian Iloko merchants from the lowlands come along to sell their wares, which usually consist of clothes, at the time there is a newborn babe in the house, the Isneg father will never fail to get a few strips of cloth as soon as his Iloko friends open their packs, and to burn these rags under the nose of the little one. This ceremony is called *rumídmed*, and not to comply with it is said to be *kanmáw* (bad, taboo). Such burning of cloth for magical and similar purposes is an almost universal custom all over northern Luzon. The Kankanay burn a piece of cloth and throw it outside through the door, at the same time mumbling a prayer, whenever one of their children is addicted to continual crying. The Iloko (Christians) burn cotton or rags not only at the birth of a child, but whenever somebody is sick in the house: they say that the smoke strengthens the breathing of mother and child or of the sick person, as the case may be. When bringing the little one to church for baptism, one of the attending group usually has a burning sliver of cotton in the hand and constantly keeps it as near as possible to the infant that has to be christened, at least if the priest does not object. If they know him to forbid such practices, they try to hide their diminutive torch in time before his coming, somewhere outside the building: the very offensive smell, however, rarely fails to betray them. 852 789 171

844 woman, making her delivery so hard that she will die. They are kept there until the woman is strong enough to go outdoors again.

● 846 As soon as she is able, the woman goes to the river to wash, accompanied by a male relative holding an *aliwa* on which is ginger. On the way he must always be in the rear, as the *aliwa* and ginger are guarding the woman from some *anito* which desires to cut off her head and cause her death. If the *anito* succeeds, she will die suddenly upon reaching home.

When they arrive home, the man places the ginger with the *pungan* and *igad* at the door. These are kept there until the woman is strong enough to go to work. During that time it is strictly prohibited that anyone outside of the family shall enter the house. It means death to do so. This strong taboo is observed until the woman says that she is ready to receive a visitor. The wife seldom leaves her home and work.

586 The marriage bond is permanent; but it may be [461 broken by the man if he finds that his wife performs 684] very little farm labor. Even though they have children, he is entitled to divorce her upon giving her a [587] small portion of the conjugal property. Both are [581 then free to marry again. The woman must impli- 857] citly obey her husband and be absolutely true to him: 684 no little flirting with other men. If she is found guilty of any offence, her fine is heavy. If she commits adultery with another man, both should be killed: the man by the relatives of the wife, and the wife by the relatives of the husband. However, if there are extenuating circumstances and the death sentence is not imposed, both guilty parties are sentenced

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854 times spread under them, clothes used to wipe or clean them, occasional wrappers, etc., have to be washed inside the house. If they were washed in the river or brook, which is the customary place for that kind of work, the Isneg firmly believe that the child would die a premature death.

855 291 Later on, when a few years old, the child wears a little dress, whenever possible, and when a girl has attained perhaps her fourth or fifth year, the first piece of the customary Isneg outfit that is given to her is the *kalaŋkáŋ*, a string around the waist, which she wears under her little dress if she has any, and which will be used afterwards to insert the *talút* or G-string. In many cases a boy will be given an ordinary Isneg *bádo* or coat long before he wears the *abág* or G-string. But more of this for some other chapter.

2. *Abnormal Cases*

845 I shall now consider a few extraordinary cases.

Posthumous children, which of course are comparatively rare, are, as far as I have been able to ascertain, treated in exactly the same way as other children, and the Isneg do not seem to look upon the matter as anything out of the ordinary.

Nothing special is to be noted with reference to a child who dies in its mother's womb, and with reference to a mother who dies before her child is born; in such cases the Isneg have no means of saving the survivor, and the same rites are observed as in the case of the death of an ordinary adult. A mother who cannot bring forth her child is said to be *matalánān* or *masaltán* (the latter term also means "to be stopped", for instance, a bottle, etc.). The only practice the Isneg resort to in such a case is the *maxaníto*, which is cutomary with any kind of sickness.

847 Voluntary abortion seems to be neither known nor practised. Here of course one is treading upon dangerous ground when inquiring into the matter, but nevertheless it was told me very emphatically by persons whose entire confidence I possessed that such practices were never resorted to. Do not some Isneg at least know about it, and does it not happen occasionally in some spot or another of the extensive Apayaw district? I do not know. It should be taken into consideration though that to the Isneg all children are welcome, and even in the case of a child that would be born out of wedlock, its premature death would not save the girl from the anger of her parents, nor the boy from his duty to marry the girl or to suffer some terrible punish-

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ment, so that as far as I understand the Isneg mind, a living child will result more to the satisfaction of everybody concerned than a dead one. A 847

I just stated that to the Isneg all children were welcome; this should, however, be understood of children who come into the world unaccompanied: twins (*sisin*; also called *nagdappildn*, from *dappil*, "being pressed against one another face to face") are a different matter. Except in the case of the Negritos, I have not met with a single Filipino tribe who had not one or more superstitious beliefs connected with the birth of twins, and in case of pagan tribes worse than that. A 845

While I was living among the Iloko, who have been Christians for many centuries, I heard them say more than once that a woman would not eat a double banana (two in one skin), lest she bear twins; and it often became a matter of jest when a double banana appeared either at the table or otherwise, whenever some young woman, whether married or single, was present. All this goes to show that the Iloko consider that the birth of twins is, to say the least, not a thing to be desired. This is nothing else but the remnant of a former belief, as will be proved presently in the case of the pagan tribes N 845 A 171

In general among the pagan tribes all over the Mountain Province, the natives kill one of twins, and to this rule the Isneg are no exception It is only natural that in many instances this custom tends to disappear, as the natives have to reckon with the vigilance of the authorities, but nevertheless the custom is still there, and it is a very deep-rooted one. I know of only two cases of living twins among the Isneg and they came to my notice only very recently, whereas I know positively that the custom of killing one of twins exists at least in the municipal district of Conner and in that of Kabugaw, while there is no reason to believe that it does not exist actually, or at least did not exist originally and until recently, among the inhabitants of the other municipal districts. A 845 171

In the municipal district of Conner, pagan girls who had received a superior education told us freely that in case they gave birth to twins they would never allow both children to live. In the municipal district of Kabugaw not so long ago a male child, one of twins, was killed at Alumani, and I know of a similar case in another locality.

As far as I have been able to ascertain, the infant is buried alive immediately after birth; this was told me by my informants, and so it happened in the Alumani case. Either of the two may be chosen A 847 845

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847 as the victim; the first as well as the second may be considered as the
845 unwelcome guest.

The question is to know why the Isneg kill one of twins. This is no easy matter to ascertain. In general, direct inquiries bring no result and throw no light on the subject; most of the time even the practice itself is flatly denied. This happened, among others, in the case of two of my informants who stated that a woman who partook of a double fruit (two bananas in one skin, two betel nuts in one husk, etc.) would give birth to twins, in which they agreed with the Ilоko, as has just been explained. Both at first denied that the Isneg ever killed one of twins, and even cited the example of two young men, still alive and actually dwelling at Aligawa. When the Isneg see no way out and realize that you know all about the matter, they usually state that they kill one of twins because they are ashamed, and here they probably tell the truth. One informant told me that they did so lest they should have to feed two children at a time, and another one said that if both children were allowed to live, the whole family would die.

In so far as I know the Isneg, I believe the question of having to feed two children at a time to be a small matter, and in this I see no reason for killing one of twins, at least in every case; besides, this does not explain why an Isneg should feel ashamed at such an occurrence; so the explanation must be sought elsewhere. There is also no connection, even in the eyes of an Isneg, between being ashamed and danger of death; so, even allowing that the fear of dying may be one of the reasons for k lling one of twins, some more plausible reason should be sought after in order to explain the shame conceded by the
848 generality of Isneg to be connected with the birth of twins. I believe I struck the right answer when one of my informants told me very confidentially that one of the two was considered to be the unlawful offspring of some other man, not the child of its mother's husband. In such a case of course there is every reason for both husband and wife to feel ashamed about the whole affair. But much may be said against this explanation; so now I shall try first to answer all objections, and then to give my own idea about the whole custom and the reason given for the same.

842 It should be stated once for all that there is no question of ascrib-
845 ing one of twins to intercourse of the mother with some spirit or ghost; that any Isneg should entertain such an idea was denied most categorically by all my Isneg informants: both infants are always considered as children of woman by man.

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Not so long ago I opened two dormitories for High School students, one for boys and one for girls. These young people came here directly from their villages, for the most part without having received as yet any serious Christian instruction. Since that time I have been inclined more than once to stop the whole affair; at any rate I shall certainly never again accept them indiscriminately. If I had to watch them strictly only on one side, it would not be so bad; but when even some of the girls have to be kept under close surveillance, the situation becomes almost intolerable. The dormitories had barely been started, when I had to expel one boy and one girl: it was not simply a matter of the boy writing love letters, with the girl answering them; but he openly proposed in writing to sleep with her, and the girl consented, also in writing, and gave a date for their future meeting.

Recently one of the girls from the girls' dormitory told me that, at the time she was still studying in her home village, a few of her classmates had absolutely refused to study the prayers (to prepare for baptism), and this for the following reason: "If we were Christians we should not be allowed any more to sleep with the boys at night [using each other's arm for a pillow; not: performing coitus], and this we cannot endure". The last part of this sentence is here put down textually, just as I heard it.

Coeducation which obtains in the public schools helps not a little to take away the small restraint that native Isneg teaching may have produced, and the example of persons who should show them better ways is sometimes far from being an aid to our frail young people on the arduous path of purity and chastity.

Nevertheless children born out of wedlock are the exception. How can we explain this? There is no question of contraceptive measures or voluntary abortion as far as I know, so the reason has to be found elsewhere. This state of affairs may be explained either by the practice of solitary vice or by marriage subsequent on the pregnancy of the girl in every case. Now the latter explanation is in my opinion more often concordant with the actual facts than the former. The boys go to *mamabdy* (court the girls) early in life, and they may have had sex relations very often before the dreaded result occurred. Besides Isneg boys and girls marry very early, and they are allowed to sleep together as soon as they are engaged, so that it is an easy matter to arrange everything in such a way as not to cause the child to be considered as born out of wedlock. Public education as it is in

——The following morning the people of the settlement cried with joy when they found Delafigan's body in his house, lying dead. 000

HOW A COUPLE GOT RID OF THEIR CHILDREN

(Bayag River Dialect)

——*Ito nona ñga aldao da mayatawa. Ado da annanoc da ya napubri da ñga tulay.* 847

——In the olden time in Apayao there lived a couple with their ten children. This family was poor, and the father was tired of his children.

——*Isa pagmaat inayaban na da magdadadac iya ginobat. Kana adayo da iya balay domatang da iya liyang ñga nagimaan da.*

——One bright morning, after breakfast, the father told his five older sons to come with him to the forest so as to take a walk. The five sons were very willing. So they went ahead. When they had gone a long distance from home, they came to a cave where they rested.

——*Ka ni ma tudog da nawayen achan na linobog do. Ta cayat na mamanao agida. Ata cayat na iwagiwaga na da.*

——The intention of the father was to lose his children. He told them to sleep. The children were very tired: so they readily slept. When the father saw that they were sleeping soundly, he noiselessly went home, leaving his children behind.

847 ——*Kani maluhag da natudog gidam men. Ay ackan da pay amo to dalan di nalen da. Toto natudog da amin, agidogan da capagnat.*

——When the children woke up, it was already dark. So they did not know which way to go, as it was so very dark. They slept again and waited until dawn. In the morning they started for home. These children had no hope of reaching home, as they did not know the way and they were very hungry.

——*Ito pagmaat mavay dán ca balay da. Am ackan da amo to dalan. Cana mabisan da paang natay da. To nagkatag da to ama da.*

——In the morning they started for home without knowing the way. They walked and walked until they died of hunger.

——*Cani matay da to ananac da nagpatay da paang. Ata bitig ya pananan da.*

——When the parents knew that they were dead, they were very happy: for they now had few children to support.

WHY THE PEOPLE ARE TATTOOED

304 775 If an old man is asked why his hands are tattooed on the back with the boat pattern, he will give the following account of his future life.

When a person dies his soul, *cadudorsa*, goes to live in a lovely place under the earth. It goes down

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847 as the victim; the first as well as the second may be considered as the
845 unwelcome guest.

The question is to know why the Isneg kill one of twins. This is no easy matter to ascertain. In general, direct inquiries bring no result and throw no light on the subject; most of the time even the practice itself is flatly denied. This happened, among others, in the case of two of my informants who stated that a woman who partook of a double fruit (two bananas in one skin, two betel nuts in one husk, etc.) would give birth to twins, in which they agreed with the Iloko, as has just been explained. Both at first denied that the Isneg ever killed one of twins, and even cited the example of two young men, still alive and actually dwelling at Aligawa. When the Isneg see no way out and realize that you know all about the matter, they usually state that they kill one of twins because they are ashamed, and here they probably tell the truth. One informant told me that they did so lest they should have to feed two children at a time, and another one said that if both children were allowed to live, the whole family would die.

In so far as I know the Isneg, I believe the question of having to feed two children at a time to be a small matter, and in this I see no reason for killing one of twins, at least in every case; besides, this does not explain why an Isneg should feel ashamed at such an occurrence; so the explanation must be sought elsewhere. There is also no connection, even in the eyes of an Isneg, between being ashamed and danger of death; so, even allowing that the fear of dying may be one of the reasons for k lling one of twins, some more plausible reason should be sought after in order to explain the shame conceded by the
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But if the Isneg are very willing to rear a child born out of wedlock, and even an adulterous one, which is a fact, why should they be ashamed of rearing one of twins, who also is supposed to belong to the same category, merely because it is one of twins? In our eyes, supposing the explanation to be the right one, which of course it is not, it would be at least as shameful for a mother to give birth to a single adulterous child as to one that is accompanied by another. But the Isneg viewpoint is different.

I shall wave aside the case of a natural child and confine myself to that of an adulterous one. Indeed in the case of a natural child, after the father has paid the penalty, and he always does, the shame resulting from the birth of such a child will have been practically compensated by the anger of the girl's parents and the satisfaction required from the offender; besides, that shame will be comparatively much smaller than that which is connected with the birth of an adulterous child.

In the case of an adulterous child, if the husband knows that his wife has or has had intercourse with another man, and that the infant that will be born from her is not his own, one of two alternatives presents itself: he may either divorce the woman, or else get some other satisfaction and let nature take its course. But here, in both instances, one sees at a glance that all shame that could be connected in the eyes of an Isneg with the birth of an adulterous child has been completely done away with. In the first instance the guilty woman is free, and in the generality of cases she will already be living with some other man; anyhow the child will be her own, and hers exclusively, and the baby will be welcome to all; nobody will talk about it, as the matter was settled long ago, namely at the time of her divorce from her former husband. In the second instance, no shame accrues to either husband or wife, as nobody is supposed to know anything about the matter and the child will pass as the offspring of its mother by her lawful husband; with reference to those who know, satisfaction has been given or forgiveness has been granted.

But the case is quite different when twins are born, always on the supposition, which to the Isneg is nothing less than positive truth, that one of them is really the offspring of some other man. In this case, the mother is still in the eyes of all the world the lawful wife of her husband, she is not free, and there is no question of satisfaction or forgiveness, as nothing has transpired up till now; so she is caught flagrantly and convicted of adultery (always in the eyes of the Isneg)

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848 as clearly as if somebody had witnessed her having intercourse with
845 her paramour. Hence the shame; and this is, I believe, but natural if considered from the Isneg point of view.

848 But again it might be asked: what is the use of resorting to such
845 a drastic measure, that of killing one of twins? Does the shame
811 not remain the same? Yes and no. She certainly has been caught (I repeat it, always in the eyes of the Isneg), but so far very few people know about it and everybody will keep mum; while, if both children lived, the secret would become public property, and everybody would know about the bad behavior of the mother. Here, however, I am much in doubt if this last answer concurs with the Isneg point of view, and besides, I may urge the matter further and ask: Why is the husband not angry with the real father of the babe? Why does he not divorce his wife? It might be answered that he could not very well know with what man he should be angry, that he might even know very positively that his wife has always been a virtuous woman, and so find no reason for divorcing her. Such answers, however, are evidently very unsatisfactory, and, as I have hinted at in its place, the preceding answer would perhaps never be proffered by an Isneg.

Here then, in my humble opinion, is the core of the whole difficulty, and to me it looks simply like one out of many examples of the reasoning of the Isneg, in which they imitate some Spaniards who are afraid of venturing on a trip on Tuesdays and Fridays (el martes y el viernes ni te cases ni te embarques) and some Americans who nail an old horseshoe to their auto for luck.

Consequently my opinion of the whole matter is this: it is sufficient to have lived with the generality of Christian Iloko for one week at a time, I mean to have lived *with* them, not in their immediate neighhood in your own house, but in their own abode, sleeping on their mat and eating at their table, it is enough, I say, to have lived intimately with them for a comparatively short time to be convinced that nothing will happen which might be regarded as more or less out of the ordinary without an explanation being sought at once, not an explanation that is natural and quite simple, but one that will touch on the preternatural, if not on the supernatural. Anyhow some explanation will be looked for, and this will rarely or never be the ordinary one, which truly and simply fits the known facts, since it would surely be considered as far from satisfactory, on account of its being quite natural, while the event is supposed to be unnatural. If a leaf moves, an insect hums, a bird flies, etc., and such an occurrence

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is not exactly what is quite ordinary, immediately all sorts of questions are asked: Why? What is the matter? What is the meaning? What might it portend? What secret is hidden behind it? And so on.

Now the pagan Isneg are no better. They also will try to find some explanation different from the natural one for any event that does not look entirely ordinary to them. And so the birth of twins being a rather rare occurrence, there must be something the matter with it. Twins. Who ever heard of two children being born at once from one husband and one wife, without there being a secret behind the whole affair? Twins: this is far from common. And there you are; an explanation has to be found. Now there is one ready at hand, and to the Isneg mind a very reasonable one, it is not even necessary to enter into the realm of spirits: two children at once must be the product of two men; when one man who lives in bigamy begets two children simultaneously from two women, there are at least three authors, so now also these twins must be the offspring of three persons, —in this case of only one woman of course, and thus necessarily of two men.

Now what to do? Just kill one of them, put it out of the way, and so avoid the shame attached to the whole affair; kill all gossip in the bud. But is every child not welcome? Certainly it is, but a child has no business bringing a companion with it, and the joy of the parents will be complete with the single child; the other one, if alive, will not add to that joy, nor, if dead, detract from it. Here of course the husband is faced with a dilemma: either his wife is a virtuous woman or she is not; if she is, and maybe he knows her to be so, then how can she have a child by another man? If she is not, why does he not divorce her? Yes, but this dilemma does not confront the Isneg, his reasoning does not extend as far as that. If he knew his wife to have been unfaithful, that would be reason enough for him to divorce her without needing the birth of twins to convince him. Here he stands before an extraordinary event, the birth of twins; he has found an explanation for it: the action of a third person. This is a very shameful affair to both husband and wife, but he will eliminate all difficulties at once: one of the twins will be done away with. And there his reasoning stops, the incident is closed.

Here follow a few Isneg expressions with reference to little children:

Babbíń or *ababbíń*, when used by the parents: son, daughter, child.

Ababbíń, when used by the parents: sons, daughters, children.

Ababbíń, when used by other persons: little children not yet able or barely able to walk.

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vogue here now tends to retard marriage; but its introduction is still too recent and it is still too much the privilege of the few, to be able sensibly to affect the standard of morality among our Isneg.

As to conjugal fidelity, it may be said that an unfaithful wife is the exception among the Isneg; but with reference to the men, the situation is not so bright. Even polygyny is not always sufficient to put a curb to the husband's license: indeed only the rich can afford to take more than one wife, and these at the same time usually enjoy the greatest freedom on account of their wealth and social influence.

To sum up the situation, it may be said that open immorality and indecency is much less frequent among the Isneg than among several other Mountain tribes, but, although more or less well concealed, loose morals are rather the rule than the exception among young unmarried people, and among married people the state of affairs leaves much to be desired. "Doing that which may make a girl pregnant" is not what the Isneg abhors, but "making a girl actually pregnant".

With reference to honesty, the Isneg generally observes the rules laid down by his own code, and transgressions are rare. Isneg thieves are not at all common, and downright robbery, even from the Ibanag or the *idammán* (enemies of his own tribe), is a rare occurrence. This is true of children as well as of adults, although the former may occasionally try to pilfer fruits or other eatables, in which, nevertheless, they are never encouraged by their elders, who rarely fail to scold them and even to punish them.

Truthfulness also is quite ordinary among adult Isneg, but many youngsters need frequent correction on the subject. In this connection, however, we should bear in mind the existence of two inveterate habits not only among the Isneg, but also among the generality of Malays with whom I have come in contact. And first, whenever he is caught at something that might elicit from you even the smallest reprimand, he has always an excuse ready at the tip of his tongue, and any excuse will do, however preposterous it may be; he never reasons about it, the truth is not what he aims at, but the plain presentation of an excuse, be it real or imaginary. These people are certainly experts in that line.

Just to give a few examples. One day I was very much astonished to find that all my bananas had disappeared, although they were carefully stored away in a closed press, so I suspected, and not without reason, that one of my Isneg boys had found them to his taste. At the first occasion I bluntly asked the fellow what had happened to

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the ginger at the foot of the ladder. If necessary, other herbs and ginger are always available to take the place of the abandoned ones. 846 515

At other places: the young mother goes to the river and takes a bath. Nothing is changed with reference to herbs and ginger, which she took along at the time of her ceremonial bath and which she continues to carry on her person afterwards. 783

With reference to the meaning of *mamáwa*: originally it may have been applied to any kind of ceremonial ablution; later on, it may have been restricted either to the bath of a woman after her delivery (Bayag), or to the ceremony performed after the death of a married woman (Abbil).

While the mother stays inside the house, the other inmates, men not excepted if necessary, take over her ordinary duties, such as fetching water, gathering vegetables, and so on. Bayag is the only place where the husband is forbidden to leave the house for a definite number of days, as has been explained before. 846

The husband does not sleep with his wife for from two to five months after the birth of a child; everything depends on the state of the mother and the strength of the baby. [833]

Should it happen that Christian Ilоko merchants from the lowlands come along to sell their wares, which usually consist of clothes, at the time there is a newborn babe in the house, the Isneg father will never fail to get a few strips of cloth as soon as his Ilоko friends open their packs, and to burn these rags under the nose of the little one. This ceremony is called *rumidméd*, and not to comply with it is said to be *kannáw* (bad, taboo). Such burning of cloth for magical and similar purposes is an almost universal custom all over northern Luzon. The Kankanay burn a piece of cloth and throw it outside through the door, at the same time mumbling a prayer, whenever one of their children is addicted to continual crying. The Ilоko (Christians) burn cotton or rags not only at the birth of a child, but whenever somebody is sick in the house: they say that the smoke strengthens the breathing of mother and child or of the sick person, as the case may be. When bringing the little one to church for baptism, one of the attending group usually has a burning sliver of cotton in the hand and constantly keeps it as near as possible to the infant that has to be christened, at least if the priest does not object. If they know him to forbid such practices, they try to hide their diminutive torch in time before his coming, somewhere outside the building: the very offensive smell, however, rarely fails to betray them. 852 789 171

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Isneg expressions referring to names and worthy of notice are the following:

kalōbazán: a name that has the same ending as another one. *Magkalóbān*: to bear each a name with the same ending. For instance: *Balás, Kolás; Éba, Xawwá; Basán, Dawwán; Antóniyo, Asiyo*, etc.

isáń and *ébăy*: familiar diminutive names for girls in general. Similar names are: in Iloko, *ínińi*; in Ibanag, *néne-* (probably from the Spanish *nene*, "baby, whether boy or girl").

Nicknames, as applied to one particular person, are used very sparingly among the Isneg. I know of only one case: a Lettuakan boy, called *Asiyo* and baptized Pedro, is very generally called *Paláli* even by his own relatives. *Paláli* is the name of a tree, and also of its fruits, which are edible, but very sour.

The Isneg are not very good genealogists. It very often happens that a young man or an adult girl does not even know the name of one or more of their grandparents, especially if the latter died before their grandchild was born. When asked about such names, the Isneg who happens not to know them usually excuses his ignorance by saying: "*Akkáńko nasińán* (I did not see him or her)".

II. Education

It might be thought at first sight that the Isneg leads a very unhappy and miserable life, a life full of drudgery, a life devoid of all comforts and possessing only a minimum of pleasure. But when you come to consider him more intimately, to enter more deeply into the matter, it does not take long for you to be convinced of the contrary. Indeed, he has very few needs; it is comparatively easy, to quote Jerome K. Jerome in "Three Men in a Boat", for an Isneg "to have enough to eat and enough to wear, and a little more than enough to drink", and he has little work to do. Besides, look at the fine family life he is living: if he has a good diligent wife, and most Isneg women are like that, and plenty of children around, really his bliss exceeds all understanding, I mean the understanding of a Caucasian with his manifold cares and innumerable wants.

Again at first sight, it might seem that the children's education is reduced to the very minimum, or rather that the youngsters get no education at all, as everybody, not excepting the children, seems to shift for himself and to do as he pleases. One would be the more inclined to think so when comparing the Isneg with other primitive

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peoples, who have regular initiation ceremonies or puberty rites or both: in his case these are entirely absent, and so his offspring lacks a very important factor in the education of the young, as all formal instruction that usually accompanies such rites and ceremonies is entirely denied him. Nevertheless there is some kind of education given to Isneg youth, and this I am going to consider presently.

At the beginning it should be noted once for all that the Isneg is not used to divide his life into very definite periods. Possessing no puberty rites of any kind, he is ignorant of any violent transition between any two periods of his earthly existence, and so an Isneg child grows up into a young man (*bagbaxó*, plural *babbáxo*) or a young girl (*balbalásaṅ*, plural *babbalásaṅ*), marries at the first opportunity, is occasionally widowed (*bálo*, *búkud*) and perhaps remarries, and finally dies, whether comparatively young or after having reached a ripe old age (old man: *la-lakȳ*, plural *lala-lákāy*; old woman: *ba-bakát*, plural *baba-bákat*). If one would insist on looking for a kind of classification, perhaps the best way would be to divide the life of an ordinary Isneg into three periods: the first one, from his birth till he has attained the age at which any decent boy begins to wear a G-string, a little before the age of reason; the second, from the time of that important change in his dress till his marriage; and the last one, from his first marriage till his death. Here I shall consider only the first two periods, and I shall treat them both simultaneously and indistinctively. That some details refer exclusively to one of these two periods will be clear without the necessity of saying so: an Isneg evidently does not teach one of his marriageable girls the name of the mosquito, nor does he point out to a boy three years old the penalties which he is likely to incur if he renders a girl pregnant and refuses to marry her.

Formal education as we understand it, whether in schools or otherwise, through appointed teachers, is totally unknown to the Isneg, except of course instruction in Government public schools, which all Isneg children are compelled to attend; but the generality of the people are not the least convinced of the benefits, and much less of the necessity, of the sort of education they get there, especially with reference to girls.

I shall try now to trace as faithfully and as clearly as possible the process of education as followed by the Isneg, or, if such an expression seems to be too definite, the way in which Isneg boys and girls get the education they need.

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593 when he called out: " Here he is, now take a look at him ". At this juncture I do not know whether the wonder and astonishment that could be read all over the woman's face was any greater than the joy that radiated from old *Balúkat*'s eyes at having been able to give so much satisfaction to his wife. The first period of bewilderment and surprise being over, Mrs. *Balúkat* put down her basket, and both husband and wife started distributing fruits and vegetables to the whole company, putting aside the best part for the object of the old girl's wonderment. I am sorry not to be able after this lapse of time to write down the exact conversation that went on between the two; but I remember most distinctly that the whole trend of the dialogue showed clearly and patently how grateful the old woman was toward her husband for having granted her an entertainment which in her eyes was more than splendid, and how pleased the old man was for having been able to bring about the meeting in question.

852 After the birth of the first child, the young married couple *magpísi-*, which means that they prepare a certain amount of native sweets or cakes, called *písi-* on this occasion, and bring them to the parents of the husband. They themselves, however, are not allowed to eat any of them. The purpose of the *písi-* ceremony is to cause the child to grow up quickly and to protect it against sickness.

776 Besides *Sisína*, who is invoked at the time of the *amómăn*, in case
593 the latter happens while a *săy-ám* sacrifice is in progress, there is another female spirit, called *Si-rápan*, who is supposed to have some influence on the relations between husband and wife. *Si-rápan* cleans their mind, as the Isneg put it, which means that she helps them to understand one another well and to be free from jealousy, quarrelsomeness and so on, provided their habits are to her liking. Married people who are displeasing to *Si-rápan* " are not taken care of by her and come to grief ".

2. *Property and Inheritance*

421 Husband and wife retain each their own property, whether movable or immovable (fields and so on), separately, and whatever they obtain, either by inheritance from their respective parents or other relatives, or through their own personal exertions, remains their own exclusively. The husband has no more right to his wife's belongings than the latter has to her husband's. Just to give an example: no man can sell his wife's *ikó* knife, nor any woman her husband's headax.

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854 As soon as the mother is allowed to attend to her ordinary duties,
431 her first concern is to take her child and visit her relatives, her own
796 as well as those of her husband. These are then obliged by custom to give the little one a small bracelet, which consists in a string of beads and is called *battá-*. In each house that is entered for that purpose, one such *battá-* is placed over the wrist of the babe. Besides, the relatives who live in the same settlement with the parents of the child, have to perform the *maxanito* ceremony (communication with the spirits), at which a chicken is offered by the shaman, before the arrival of mother and child. This *maxanito*, however, is dispensed with in the case of people who live in different agglomerations.

●853 The mother (*magtaxíbi*) gives her child (*taxíbi*) the breast (*magpasóso*; in Iloko, *sóso* means "breast"; in Isneg "breast" is *xátat*) at every turn, and the little one has always its mother's milk at its disposition. No sooner does the baby cry than this is done, since, for an Isneg, the only plausible explanation is that it is hungry. As a rule, a child suckles its mother's breasts as long as it has not cut its first tooth, but even then you cannot call it really weaned: a little youngster running around freely may sometimes be seen partaking [262] of the same food as his newborn brother or sister. On the other hand the little babe is given cooked rice to eat very early, usually after five days; however, as a matter of course, this solid food has been chewed by the complacent parent before it is put into the infant's mouth.

854 The baby when at rest is lying down either stretched out on a mat or a piece of cloth on the floor, or more frequently in a *dóydn*, which is a rectangular piece of cloth doubled up lengthwise so as to form a kind of pouch, each end of which is suspended from some part of the house, like a hammock, by means of two strings or strips of rattan, so that it can be used as a swing.

854 If Isneg parents have to leave a little child alone in the house,
776 they usually confide it to the care of *Daraxodán*, a kind spirit, who is always at hand in such a predicament: he looks after the babe, without its elders knowing anything about it, and the little one never cries as long as he remains with it. Another spirit, *Laglagémiń*, who has the shape of a bird, is supposed to bring up any babies who are not [753] well cared for by their parents; but although such children do not [856] die while *Laglagémiń* looks after them, they always remain thin and emaciated, which, of course, the Isneg do not consider as an ideal condition for an infant.

THE ISNEG LIFE CYCLE

854 When the mother takes her child along, she carries it on her back
853 in a piece of cloth (addún; see PUBL. CATH. ANTHROP. CONF., v. I, no. 5, Fig. 52, p. 231), in which the little one takes a sitting position, its feet dangling freely beneath, and its head protruding above. At one side, the addún passes over one of the shoulders of the carrier, mostly the right one, and at the other side, under the opposite arm, its tips being knotted in front; sometimes, although rarely, the addún passes under both arms. In order to give her child the breast, the only thing the mother has to do is to give the whole outfit a little shift, allowing the baby to pass under the left arm toward the front; but even without going to such extremes, a little freedom in the position of the little one will give the latter a chance occasionally to get a few mouthfuls from the left breast of its mother by pushing its head under her left arm. This way of carrying her infant does not hamper the mother in her ordinary work, such as cleaning the field, pounding rice, and so on; besides, her movements will very often serve the child for a swing and rock it to sleep.

854 When the baby becomes a little older it is frequently carried sitting on the hip in a straddling position one foot in front and one at the back (abbayán). An older brother or sister, or some other kind-hearted person occasionally takes the place of the mother and carries the child around in one of the ways just mentioned.

/824/ Besides the ordinary precautions that have to be taken to keep the
821 child from injury, anybody who is carrying a baby around in the
854 evening should not fail to pick a leaf of tabbán or cogon grass along
789 the road and tie it to the child's ankle. Then, as soon as they reenter the house, the child should be made touch one of the three stones (taxán) of the hearth, on top if possible; if this were not done the Isneg firmly believe that the little one would get sick sooner or later. Nothing of the kind has to be done, however, if the walk took place in the morning.

854 Incidentally it may be mentioned here that small babies dispense
301 with all clothing whatsoever. A string to which a few seeds or cowries
291 (kamúsay) have been attached, and which serves it for a bracelet or, more rarely, for a necklace, is considered more than sufficient for the time being, and a small piece of cloth laid under the little one when at rest takes the place of swaddling clothes. The greatest concern of the parents is to keep the child in good health, and the amulets, whether seeds or cowries, will look after that.

854 All rags that are used with newborn babies and which are called dappin (in some places dappán), for instance the cloth that is some-

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854 times spread under them, clothes used to wipe or clean them, occasional wrappers, etc., have to be washed inside the house. If they were washed in the river or brook, which is the customary place for that kind of work, the Isneg firmly believe that the child would die a premature death.

855 291 Later on, when a few years old, the child wears a little dress, whenever possible, and when a girl has attained perhaps her fourth or fifth year, the first piece of the customary Isneg outfit that is given to her is the *kalańkáń*, a string around the waist, which she wears under her little dress if she has any, and which will be used afterwards to insert the *talút* or G-string. In many cases a boy will be given an ordinary Isneg *bádo* or coat long before he wears the *abág* or G-string. But more of this for some other chapter.

2. *Abnormal Cases*

845 I shall now consider a few extraordinary cases.

Posthumous children, which of course are comparatively rare, are, as far as I have been able to ascertain, treated in exactly the same way as other children, and the Isneg do not seem to look upon the matter as anything out of the ordinary.

Nothing special is to be noted with reference to a child who dies in its mother's womb, and with reference to a mother who dies before her child is born; in such cases the Isneg have no means of saving the survivor, and the same rites are observed as in the case of the death of an ordinary adult. A mother who cannot bring forth her child is said to be *matalánān* or *masaltân* (the latter term also means "to be stopped", for instance, a bottle, etc.). The only practice the Isneg resort to in such a case is the *maxaníto*, which is cutomary with any kind of sickness.

847 Voluntary abortion seems to be neither known nor practised. Here of course one is treading upon dangerous ground when inquiring into the matter, but nevertheless it was told me very emphatically by persons whose entire confidence I possessed that such practices were never resorted to. Do not some Isneg at least know about it, and does it not happen occasionally in some spot or another of the extensive Apayaw district? I do not know. It should be taken into consideration though that to the Isneg all children are welcome, and even in the case of a child that would be born out of wedlock, its premature death would not save the girl from the anger of her parents, nor the boy from his duty to marry the girl or to suffer some terrible punish-

46: Wilson
533, 854

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[For the texts of some Apayao nursery and feast songs, see category 539, pp. 35-39. --Analyst]

000 to be quite a differenc in their customs and dialects.
197 Along the length of the Apayao River there are three
162 separate groups. They can understand each other about the way that a Spaniard understands an Italian.

DRESS

291 The ordinary dress of the people is simple. The
[302] men wear breechcloths or G-strings, *abag*. They keep their hair long and coil it on the head. It is confined with a length of cloth wrapped turban fashion.
[304] The hands and wrists are tattooed in the boat pattern.
[142] The teeth are blackened. Each man has a small, de-
[276] corated bag, *bulsa*, in which he keeps his betel nut,
[293] *buyo*, lime bottle, tobacco, flint, tinder, and other small belongings. This is tucked, either into the G-string or in a belt woven of rattan. The woman, when about
30/ her work, wears only a tapis. She has a necklace of
523 ancestral beads, shaped from chalcedony, silver and carved amulet bones. There are also patterned porcelain beads in the string. Many of these were obtained from the Chinese when they were active traders here some five centuries ago. Gold does not appear
[304] to be used. The woman has boat-pattern tattoo marks
[291] on the back of her hands as an aid to beauty. The
[854] small children make their skins do as clothing. Babies are carried about by the mothers in slings passed over one shoulder.

292 When all dressed up and ready to go to a party,
301 the woman wears a dark tapis, *aquen;* a cloth girdle, *bajacat;* a short-waisted, long-sleeved, black, pull-on shirt, *badiyo*, all characteristically embroidered in red; a head cloth with spangles, *laddong* and *saban*, topped

252 then hulls it by pounding it with a wooden pestle in a
412 mortar fashioned of a two-foot section of a hardwood
[415] log, set on end and hollowed out. The woman then winnows it by cleverly tossing it in an oval-shaped tray woven of rattan. There will often be a set of these mortars with the women companionably pounding together, using a sort of chant.

593 The relatives are affectionate, and family ties are
● 854 strong all through life. The family life is a happy
[842] one. Babies are much desired and receive a great deal of loving care. Their wants are promptly supplied, and no little one cries its heart out for lack
524 of a mother's loving arms. The small girls do not
857 have dolls to play with but use the babies instead. Also, instead of little play houses, they early begin to play house by helping their mothers in the big houses. Many of the small chores about the house are done by the children. But they also have plenty of time for games,
[868] swimming, and other amusements. As they grow older, the girls, of course, follow the work of the mother: housework, washing, taking care of the pigs and chickens, carrying water in jars on their heads from the spring, farming, and other duties. The boys cheerfully work with their fathers in gathering wood, building houses, granaries, chicken coops, bamboo fences, etc., and in fishing and hunting. They early learn the lore of the woods; so that a boy of seven here can take much better care of himself in the open than the average Eagle Boy Scout in the United States.
[861] The children are taught a proper decorum; but corporal punishment is rare. A little scolding usually keeps them in order.

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854 times spread under them, clothes used to wipe or clean them, occasional wrappers, etc., have to be washed inside the house. If they were washed in the river or brook, which is the customary place for that kind of work, the Isneg firmly believe that the child would die a premature death.

855 291 Later on, when a few years old, the child wears a little dress, whenever possible, and when a girl has attained perhaps her fourth or fifth year, the first piece of the customary Isneg outfit that is given to her is the *kalaŋkáŋ*, a string around the waist, which she wears under her little dress if she has any, and which will be used afterwards to insert the *talút* or G-string. In many cases a boy will be given an ordinary Isneg *bádo* or coat long before he wears the *abág* or G-string. But more of this for some other chapter.

2. *Abnormal Cases*

845 I shall now consider a few extraordinary cases.

Posthumous children, which of course are comparatively rare, are, as far as I have been able to ascertain, treated in exactly the same way as other children, and the Isneg do not seem to look upon the matter as anything out of the ordinary.

Nothing special is to be noted with reference to a child who dies in its mother's womb, and with reference to a mother who dies before her child is born; in such cases the Isneg have no means of saving the survivor, and the same rites are observed as in the case of the death of an ordinary adult. A mother who cannot bring forth her child is said to be *matalánăn* or *masaltán* (the latter term also means "to be stopped", for instance, a bottle, etc.). The only practice the Isneg resort to in such a case is the *mazanito*, which is customary with any kind of sickness.

847 Voluntary abortion seems to be neither known nor practised. Here of course one is treading upon dangerous ground when inquiring into the matter, but nevertheless it was told me very emphatically by persons whose entire confidence I possessed that such practices were never resorted to. Do not some Isneg at least know about it, and does it not happen occasionally in some spot or another of the extensive Apayaw district? I do not know. It should be taken into consideration though that to the Isneg all children are welcome, and even in the case of a child that would be born out of wedlock, its premature death would not save the girl from the anger of her parents, nor the boy from his duty to marry the girl or to suffer some terrible punish-

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524 865 After this the patient takes his turn in playing the rôle of agent, and all excitement, and perhaps filled with a spirit of revenge, he will try to elicit even more applause than his predecessor by the gracefulness and abundance of his contortions, and by the keenness of his final blow. Sometimes both men repeat the performance once and again, and even several times in succession; but the general rule is one slap to each individual.

All the time some of the bystanders are challenging one another to a similar combat and as soon as the two customary blows have been struck, or in case the same two men played the *bisndg* several times in succession, as soon as these are tired or otherwise stop slapping one another, the next pair takes to the platform.

B. MENTAL EDUCATION

212 868 Let us now turn to the question of mental education. Here at least we meet with a kind of formal training. To make the matter very simple, I shall begin by mentioning the fact that the Isneg have no system of writing, and there is consequently no room for teaching anything concerned with either reading or writing; and, whereas there are no recognized hereditary chiefs among them, all children are practically on the same level. But all of them have to learn the spoken language of the people, and without the help of someone to teach them, most youngsters would remain ignorant of a good many terms that every decent Isneg should know. Moreover such knowledge has to be imparted to them at the earliest opportunity.

868 855 Here the mother, without being recognized specifically as a teacher, takes upon herself to instruct her child as soon as it begins to be able to talk. She tells it the names of articles of furniture, animals, trees, and whatever comes in their way. This is done formally, but not systematically. I mean that the mother really teaches her child, but she does this only on the occasion of meeting the object whose name she wishes her baby to know. The father also does not fail to teach his boys, who have attained the age at which they leave the usual company of their mother and follow their male parent, the names of some objects of which they might still be ignorant, for instance the names of constellations, and more especially the names of places, brooks, etc., which they meet on their way while travelling. Even in the case of small children of both sexes, the father gladly plays the instructor, whenever there is some occasion to do so, although as a rule the mother is supposed to impart most of that kind of training

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to the members of the younger generation. It is she indeed who is the most steady companion of the little ones and who naturally has the greatest influence over them; and in the case of girls, this companionship and influence continue for a comparatively long time.

C. VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

With reference to vocational training, the Isneg, probably unconsciously aware of the fact that mere theoretical teaching rarely amounts to anything, have only one way of imparting knowledge in this line, namely, by showing how to do things. Nevertheless their children have two ways of getting it, by imitating what they see and by working under the direction of people who give them formal instruction. The two ways are rather sharply defined, some kinds of work being exclusively learned by imitation and practice, while others are first formally taught and shown and then practised. Before enumerating the different occupations of the Isneg, and stating whether they are practised by boys or by girls and whether they are learned by pure imitation or by formal instruction, I should like to make a few preliminary remarks.

In general it should be said that whenever there is question of formal instruction among the Isneg, a boy is taught exclusively by his father and a girl by her mother. Other persons take the place of the parents only in case of the latters' premature decease, and even then women confine their instruction to girls and men to boys. The reason of this separation of the sexes is not far to seek: every Isneg strictly keeps to the occupations commonly performed by his or her own sex, and so the children necessarily get their knowledge also from persons of their own sex. Recently I had a little conversation with an Isneg widower which very well illustrates the matter:

He: "I am a very poor man."

I: "Poor? How can you be poor when you have so much fertile soil at your disposition?"

He: "Yes, but I have no wife."

I: "Does that make any difference?" [I knew it did, of course, but I wanted to hear him tell me so].

He: "Well, certainly; I need a woman to till my fields."

I: "Now, is that a reason? Are you not healthy and strong enough to do that yourself?"

He: "How could I do that? Do you expect me to plant the seeds and grub up the weeds?"

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869 to be able to do so; and the same story may be repeated several times
538 all over again on different occasions without the young people losing any interest in the matter.

869 The cry "*udôdit*" (a story) is heard very often when the young
517 people have placed themselves in a position for slumber, and the ex-
538 clamation "*udôditko*" (I have a story; literally: my story), emitted by an uninvited story-teller, is usually sufficient to gain him the
[273] attention of all present. Consequently Isneg tales are mostly bedtime stories: nevertheless it also happens that they are recited, this time mostly by men, at the opening of a jar of *bási* (alcoholic beverage obtained from the juice of the sugar cane), or rather during the absorption of its contents. On such occasions, whenever an old man begins to tell a story, the youngsters have no sooner got wind of the affair but they leave everything in order to come near and to listen all ears to these wonderful happenings of times gone by or of a world
[602 alien to their own. It may sometimes happen also that parents or
855] grandparents call their children or grandchildren together at the time of going to sleep in order to relate to them some traditional myth or legend: in this case, of course, the teaching should be called entirely formal.

869 How to look for omens and auguries and how to distinguish between
787 good and bad ones are both the subject of almost exclusively direct instruction. Parents and older brothers and sisters are the accepted
[602 purveyors of this knowledge, which to the Isneg is absolutely indis-
855] pensable if he wants to live in peace and beyond the power of malevolent imps and spirits.

E. MORAL EDUCATION

577 When reading books of travel, especially old ones, written by men
121 who spent a few days at the home of some primitive people, one usually meets with the statement that the latter seem to have no concept of truth and honesty, and one almost always meets with several concrete instances, which apparently prove the truth of that assertion. Not to go too far out of my way, I shall cite as an example a book that has to do almost immediately with the Philippine Islands. We read in the account of Magellan's travels written by Pigafetta that on a certain day, during his famous voyage which led to the discovery of our archipelago, the expedition landed at a place among a group of islands, the inhabitants of which boarded the vessels, laid hands on whatever took their fancy and ran away to hide among the bushes;

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or pulling the ears, in pinching any part of the body. There is no question of kicking, of forbidding to eat, of ordering to abstain from amusements or feasts. A punishment that is rather common among the Isneg is to shame the children by talking to others about their misbehavior or their bad conduct: such a punishment rarely fails to induce the child to amend its ways. Food taboos are very common with reference to women; for men I know none. Thus, women do not eat eels, lest they become blind; they abstain from dog meat, monkey, etc.; but the aim of these prohibitions is certainly not that of influencing their moral conduct or inuring them to hardship: so this is not the place to explain them any further.

Corporal punishments are almost always used when the child, whether a boy or a girl, is caught stealing or lying; it is occasionally resorted to when the child is disobedient or disrespectful. Other more severe punishments, such as the robbing of valuables, divorce, etc., have been sufficiently explained in the preceding pages. Scolding is of course much more frequent than any other punishment. Spare the rod, spoil the child, is a proverb unknown to the Isneg; in my opinion they use the rod very sparingly: it is often sufficient for a child to say: "*Maddiyā-* (I do not want)", to be left undisturbed, and to cause the parent to refrain from any further insistence. Here I have to repeat again one of my former statements: it is not the guilt that counts, but the result; so a boy may refuse to obey, and if it really makes no difference, the parent allows him to do what he likes; but if he has stolen something or refuses to help his father, that is another question; here the power of the rod will be invoked almost without exception.

Isneg parents love their children very much, and the easiest way to break down an Isneg parent's stubbornness or aloofness is to show a smiling face to the little ones, to say a nice word to them or to give them a little present. The aim of every grown-up boy and girl is to beget children; his offspring is the Isneg's most precious treasure. A houseful of boys and girls, children and grandchildren, is an invaluable and most esteemed boon; they are a crown avidly coveted by every Isneg man and woman. An Isneg father has a thousand ways of showing his affection to his children: if they are still small he will play with them for hours at a time; later on he will patiently forbear the boy's unhandiness while he is helping him at work, and still later he will see to it that he grows up a virtuous young man. The mother will do the same with boys and girls alike until the time

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855 comes for the boys to follow their father and for the girls to be left to her care. The best viands are always reserved for the little ones and dainties are stored away (*maxalúmid*) for their future use. If a child gets sick, the parents will do their utmost to relieve the little sufferer; and if it is its fate, as the Isneg put it, to die, its elders' lamentations will follow it to the grave.

731 858 597 In times of famine the children are of course the biggest sufferers, not that the Isneg does not share with them whatever food he can lay hands on, but because growing boys and girls lack the sustenance they badly need at their age, which rarely fails to be followed by results that affect them unfavorably for the rest of their life. I have heard once of a hard-pressed Isneg who sold a child for money: this is certainly a rare exception, and, as all circumstances are not known to me (I am not even sure that it was his own child), I am not free to pronounce judgment on the transaction. What I know is that the family by whom the child was adopted would certainly not cause it to regret its former life, as far as material advantages are concerned; nevertheless this is not a sufficient excuse for such an act.

855 867 184 124 It may be asked if families differ much in their solicitude for the proper moral upbringing of children, if some families are more religious-minded than others, if some families are more concerned than others in watching over their children and in safeguarding them in sex morality. What can I answer to such questions? I should like to make the following invitation to my inquirers: let them choose a certain district of the United States, say in Kansas or in Indiana or in whatever state they prefer, a district where there are no densely populated sections and where some ten thousand people are scattered over a comparatively large area, and then let them tell me the result of their investigations among inhabitants of that district with reference to the above questions. I am sure that their task would not be easier or more difficult than mine, in order to give a satisfactory survey of the situation. Nevertheless I shall try to give a few concrete instances that have come to my personal notice and which I can recall just now, leaving aside the Kankanay, among whom I resided from 1909 to 1915, and confining myself exclusively to the Isneg, with whom I have been living since 1925.

855 184 836 Take the settlement of Baliwanan. A Baliwanan girl was living with the family of my catechist at Kabugaw, where she took care of the children, washed the clothes, and did other little chores. On a certain day somebody told her father that a boy had entered the house

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at night and that the owners had allowed him to do so. He immediately set out for Kabugaw, firmly intent in claiming his daughter back, and he only desisted from his purpose after he had been convinced that the rumor was entirely unfounded. On the other hand another Baliwanan girl was allowed to follow a Kagayan into another village and to live maritally with him for a certain period of time, after which she came back home.

Go to another near-by settlement: some parents object to their daughters going to school for reasons given in the introduction of this paper, while others allow them not only to go to school but even to live at the house of the teacher.

Let us pass over to Talifugu. A girl becomes pregnant, and the case is dropped. The same man, a Kagayan, deflowers another girl with the same result, and he is left no peace until he marries her.

At Dagara: a girl has the reputation, which I understand to be deserved, of being of very loose morals; she is left all liberty by her parents; while the generality of the Dagara girls behave as decently as anywhere else.

I twice assisted at a small Isneg sacrifice, once at Ampaw and once at Abbil. In the former place, everything went on as if it were the most serious and most important act that could be performed by an Isneg: all details were attended to with the utmost earnestness and accuracy; while at Abbil, the whole ceremony seemed rather to be considered as an irksome duty: it looked like a joke when compared with the Ampaw case. It must be conceded that the Abbil people were more or less ill at ease on account of my presence; but I was equally present at Ampaw, and in the latter place I was even sitting much nearer the shaman than at Abbil, nevertheless the shaman and her helpers never flinched.

I have little chance to read books on anthropology, but I understand it has been stated in some of them that primitives think in common, that among primitives every community has something like one mind for all individuals; how exactly the books express it I do not know, but I am sure that my readers who know about it, understand what I mean. Now, I know nothing at all from personal experience about primitives living in other parts of the world, but with reference to our Mountain people, whether Negritos or Malays, Kankanay or Isneg, I dare say that anybody who would pass a few weeks among them, would not have to take the trouble any more to form an opinion on the subject or to try to frame some theory, the

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up a good many friendships, and it is the starting point of not a few quarrels among them. Voluntary talebearing, by which I mean here reporting to the interested person the gossip that somebody has spread about him, is, as far as I can judge about the matter, rather rare, at least among men.

Drunkenness is a vice that is mostly indulged in only at the time of some *sáy-ám* or other sacrifice, and this mostly by old men. Comparing their use of intoxicating drinks with what I have seen in civilized countries, I should say that the Isneg is a temperate man. Nevertheless theory is stricter than practice, except in the case of youth.

Three points are still to be considered now, namely: chastity, honesty and truthfulness.

And first as to chastity and the virtues related to it. Complete nudity is habitual among youngsters under six years of age; the little coat usually worn even by small boys, is not sufficiently long to cover them decently. Such nakedness is not considered shameful as long as the children are small; nevertheless there is some ground for concluding that it may have an effect upon sex behavior. Indeed small children are very after tickled (*magkuríra-*, *kurirkán*) in order to cause them to laugh, and this tickling is very commonly practised on or near the genitals, not only by the parents, but also by young boys and girls; especially in the case of small boys, the principal use of their penis seems to be that of being fingered by every passer-by.

As soon as the child is able to lisp a few words, the pronunciation by the child of any obscene term that finds its way into the child's vocabulary is greeted with laughter; and if later on foul language is heard to proceed from the small boy's mouth, he is applauded for his cleverness instead of being chastised for his forwardness. Little girls are usually brought up in a less dirty atmosphere, as the mother takes care of them almost exclusively as soon as they are able to walk; but little or no separation of the sexes at night is insisted upon during the first years of the little Isneg's life.

Everything considered, the sight of nudity in both sexes, touching of one another's genitals without reproof, the early excitation of the boys' genitals through indecent handling by older children and adults, the use of dirty speech without the least restraint and almost with encouragement, all these combined can do nothing else but detract from the efficiency of subsequent teaching on sex morality. The existence of the term *kassár* seems to support my inference; *kassár*

825 other monkeys should have noticed how sweetly she sang, they would surely always call upon her to sing again and again for them.

Not knowing the deceit in the monkey's invitation, she promptly presented herself before the mother monkey. After she had sang several songs, father monkey appeared and took hold of the crow. He patted her and said: "You sing so well." Then he began to choke her until she became unconscious. Father monkey let her loose and said: "Now you may sing. I think that you can sing better now." The crow tried to sing; but all she could utter was "wack-wack": so that all the monkeys laughed at her.

Up to this day the crow still sings "wack-wack."

THE ORIGIN OF THE HAWK

Many, many years ago there was an only child of a man and a woman. The child was about six years old. This small boy became very hungry and went [855] to his father, asking for sugar cane. His father was very angry at being disturbed in his work; but he had to get the sugar cane because his son cried so. Then the boy asked his father to peel his sugar cane; but the man refused and instead, sent him to his mother to do it. The small boy ran to his mother to get it done; but she sent him back to his father to do as he wished. The child was kept running back and forth.

The sixth time that the child ran, he become very tired and began to cry bitterly. Then he said to himself, "How I wish that I would become a hawk so that

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846 776 know how to keep *Talomásim* at a distance, in the case of this nameless spirit they are absolutely powerless: the only way for a young Isneg mother to avoid him is to stay in the house at night.

846 372 Fire (*apúy*) plays a very important role whenever a new Isneg citizen has been born on our planet. Leaving aside the question of the place of the mother near the hearth of the house which has just been mentioned, I should like to draw attention to the following:

1. Although, even under ordinary circumstances, the fire of the hearth is rarely extinguished completely, it is of paramount importance that it should not be let go out for a single moment during the whole period that immediately follows the birth of a child, which period lasts until the mother has recovered sufficient strength to move around freely, in fact, I believe, as long as the mother has to sleep near the hearth at night.

2. At least on the first day, that is before the child is one day old, it is absolutely forbidden for anybody to take fire or firebrands (*alitán*) from the hearth: this is strictly taboo (*kanuáw*).

3. No alien fire may be brought inside the house on that day.

4. Three other taboos have also probably to do with the respect shown to fire on such an occasion: again at least during the first day, it is strictly forbidden to use green bamboos (*namáta ńa bólo*) to feed the fire. The same prohibition is extended to the passing of green leaves over the fire in order to soften them: this is very often done with young banana leaves, young palm leaves, etc. that will be used for packing and other purposes; the fire renders them very supple and easily pliable, in such a way preventing them from splitting at every turn. A third taboo concerns anything green (*namáta*), not dry: nothing of the kind is allowed to be brought into the house. Should any of these three taboos be infringed, the Isneg firmly believe that the baby will become thin and emaciated, it will be *malandtan*.

753 856

844 A woman in childbed, wherever she be situated inside the house, is assisted by all women who belong to the same household, and even little girls are allowed to witness the birth of a child. Experienced old women of the neighborhood are called in to take the lion's share in bringing the event to a happy issue, in some places always, in others whenever the inmates of the house prove incapable of the task or when the mother has much difficulty in bringing forth her baby. Midwives are called *mańa-lón* in Isneg.

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Anything fragrant, as pineapples, etc.; also cakes, native Isneg sweets, on account of their fragrance, lest her weakness increase.

She is also forbidden to eat any kind of fish for three days after the birth of her child If both she and her child have enjoyed good health so far, she is allowed to partake of it, after the third night provided it as cooked outside the house and brought in only art it had cooled down. Should she infringe any of these taboos, she liable to become sick, which in this case is called *maḍawig*.

All Isneg parents are very anxious to give the head of their babe the right shape: so, if the little poll is much too markedly oblong, the grandmother or, in her absence, any other woman lightly presses one of her heels (*túmaṅ*) against its soft part, on top, while the little patient is sprawling on the floor; this is called *tumńán* (past tense: *sinúmaṅ*; from *túmaṅ*, "heel"; in Iloko, *túmeṅ* means "knee"). In other places, for instance at Bayag, they use another means in order to make the head of the newborn child nicely round: a small squash, duly hollowed out and thoroughly dried, is placed over it in such a way as to fit it exactly.

The period of confinement differs in duration from place to place, and it probably depends very much on the state of the mother; this is perhaps also the reason why the number of days during which some taboos have to be observed, is not always and everywhere the same. In general, however, it may be said that the period of strict confinement does not go beyond one week; after that time, the mother first does some light chores in and around the house, and later on proceeds to her ordinary duties.

In some places she goes to the river (*mamáwa*) two days after the birth of her child; but usually this necessary formality is performed on the fifth day, even though for the rest she continues to remain at home for a much longer period. At Bayag, for instance, it takes her one month before she is allowed definitely to leave the house and to start cleaning the yard, although she made her ceremonial visit to the river on the usual day, the fifth after her delivery When going to the river the mother protects herself from either rain or sunshine by means of a *saríkaw* (a kind of large round flat hat made from palm leaves) In most places she goes there alone; in Bayag, however, she is accompanied by her husband, who also watches her while at work.

But what happens at the time of that visit to the river? What is meant by *mamáwa*? Here is what was told me by the generality of my informants, including Bayag people: the woman goes to the river

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854 As soon as the mother is allowed to attend to her ordinary duties,
431 her first concern is to take her child and visit her relatives, her own
796 as well as those of her husband. These are then obliged by custom to give the little one a small bracelet, which consists in a string of beads and is called *battá-*. In each house that is entered for that purpose, one such *battá-* is placed over the wrist of the babe. Besides, the relatives who live in the same settlement with the parents of the child, have to perform the *maxaníto* ceremony (communication with the spirits), at which a chicken is offered by the shaman, before the arrival of mother and child. This *maxaníto*, however, is dispensed with in the case of people who live in different agglomerations.

853 The mother (*magtaxíbi*) gives her child (*taxíbi*) the breast (*magpasóso*; in Iloko, *sóso* means "breast"; in Isneg "breast" is *xátat*) at every turn, and the little one has always its mother's milk at its disposition. No sooner does the baby cry than this is done, since, for an Isneg, the only plausible explanation is that it is hungry. As a rule, a child suckles its mother's breasts as long as it has not cut its first tooth, but even then you cannot call it really weaned: a little youngster running around freely may sometimes be seen partaking
[262] of the same food as his newborn brother or sister. On the other hand the little babe is given cooked rice to eat very early, usually after five days; however, as a matter of course, this solid food has been chewed by the complacent parent before it is put into the infant's mouth.

854 The baby when at rest is lying down either stretched out on a mat or a piece of cloth on the floor, or more frequently in a *dóyan*, which is a rectangular piece of cloth doubled up lengthwise so as to form a kind of pouch, each end of which is suspended from some part of the house, like a hammock, by means of two strings or strips of rattan, so that it can be used as a swing.

854 If Isneg parents have to leave a little child alone in the house,
776 they usually confide it to the care of *Daraxodáń*, a kind spirit, who is always at hand in such a predicament: he looks after the babe, without its elders knowing anything about it, and the little one never cries as long as he remains with it. Another spirit, *Laglagémiń*, who has the shape of a bird, is supposed to bring up any babies who are not well cared for by their parents; but although such children do not
[753 die while *Laglagémiń* looks after them, they always remain thin and
856] emaciated, which, of course, the Isneg do not consider as an ideal condition for an infant.

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553 whoever be the person who suggested it. It is very clear though that the relatives, especially the old women, the more so if a shaman is among the latter, have a deciding vote in the matter, and that, in case of disagreement, an Isneg shaman or other old woman decides the question. But such occurrences must be rare, as the Isneg do not mind so much by what name their children are called provided they have one at the earliest opportunity. The parents, however, usually refrain from giving their child its name, as they believe that in such a case the baby would not grow up or at least would grow very slowly.

[856]

553 When baptizing an Isneg baby, we always give him some Christian
177 name of course, and I know of very few cases in which I myself was
551 not called upon to choose the name in question. Sometimes I had to
795 suggest several names, as some of them did not prove acceptable, but for this there was usually no other reason than that they were too hard for the Isneg either to pronounce or to remember. This new name is generally faithfully adhered to, although the original Isneg name is rarely forgotten and sometimes even remains preponderant; indeed a name is something much too important not to be taken into consideration. Actually many Isneg babies get a Christian name as their proper name from the outset, and so all difficulties and equivocations are eliminated at once.

That this indifference exists not only with reference to the name of a child that has to be baptized, but even with reference to the first name of any newborn babe, is evident from the fact that Christian Iloko or Kagayan school teachers are often called upon to suggest a name for the little one. So, at Ampaw for instance, which is a small agglomeration not so far from Nagbabalayan, we find a little boy called *Mabíni*, a name proposed by the teacher of the last-mentioned place at the suggestion of the father; now, even without knowing the person who gave the name, it is patent that such a name could not have been given by Isneg, as it is the family name of Mr. Apolinario Mabini, a Filipino hero of revolutionary war fame, of whom our Isneg know nothing at all. To complete the matter, I called the boy Apolinario at baptism.

551 It may be seen even from the above that any name will do. Nevertheless the Isneg also have their preference, and this especially in regard to three classes of names:

1. Names that have become traditional among the Isneg, "old names" as they call them. For instance *Súzdy*, which has no known

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462 I: "Of course, why shouldn't you:"

He: "But I never did that; I do not know anything about it."

I: "That is very easy though; and you are not too old to learn. Can you not do like this?" [Here I mimicked the action of a woman who makes holes in the ground for planting the seeds].

He: "Wouldn't that be funny. Have you ever seen a man doing a woman's work?"

I: "I do not see anything funny about it, if you need to do so in order to live."

He: "No, sir, that is not our business; that is woman's work; without a woman we can do nothing. I cannot help it, but that is the custom. Woman's work for a woman, man's work for a man."

856 It is also a fact that boys help their father and girls their mother
861 as soon as they are able to do so. No sooner have they gained the
[868] required strength but they will be given some necessary implement in order to learn its use. Very often, especially in the case of the headax *(aliwa)* of men, which is of universal use and serves almost any purpose, the instrument at first will be a small or light one, provided it serves the purpose, to be superseded later on by a heavier one of the same nature. Whereas a child usually accompanies, first its mother, and later on one of its parents according to its sex, it is but natural that it should also offer them its help, as soon as it has gained sufficient strength. Although at first the help may be very slight and insignificant, the Isneg does not lose sight of the fact that this early exercise and practice will be of great benefit to the child, and that in the end it will accrue to his own advantage.

861 Imitative types of play are very little practised, as may be deduced from the above: the children very soon have to do the real thing, why should they occupy themselves with imitations? Nevertheless it may happen that they imitate in play a certain work which is still beyond their strength: so I have seen little Isneg girls playing at pounding and winnowing rice, with sand for rice, a small hole in the ground for a mortar, a stick for a pestle, and some large leaf for a winnow; [524] but these are exceptions, and not at all frequent ones. Incidentally it may be mentioned that dolls are unknown to our little Isneg maidens; a real child will be thrust upon them as soon as they are able to carry it.

462 And now as to the sundry occupations of the Isneg.

241 An Isneg is a farmer above anything else, so no wonder that agriculture is not only his chief pursuit, but also that which is taught

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868 and ordinary work, to which his parents even now introduce him as early as possible,—were those he needed at the time of taking a head or of defending his own: and here again, the best means for acquiring them was practice by imitation or necessity. Even the use of the spear, the headax and the shield was never formally taught: a young man saw his elders at work, and did as they did. After all, a real attack, openly and face to face, has always been rather the exception; to fall unawares on an unsuspecting enemy, to kill a defenceless woman or child, and similar exploits, were usually much more in the line of the Isneg. If nevertheless some of them have been real braves, practice, not formal teaching, has made them such. But nowadays these happy times seem to be gone forever: every Isneg man cultivates his fields in peace and sits undisturbed under his coconut tree, the latter eventuality being usually the more frequent

857 524 Isneg boys and girls are found of play, this is only natural; but their choice is very limited. Indeed, except for the sport of *bisndg*, most of the time these types of play merely consist in running and wrestling, at least as far as active sports that may serve to develop bodily strength are concerned. A group of Isneg boys, whether inside or outside the house, rarely keep quiet for a long time, and very soon playful fighting, which for the most part consists in slapping and kicking one another, is indulged in. This romping, which the Isneg call by the comprehensive term of *mazaúrdd*, after a time becomes so noisy that other people present cannot hear one another's voices, until some old fellow cries: "*Pázat*" (no special meaning), at which the infernal noise stops on the spot, to begin again, of course, at the first opportunity. Isneg girls, although usually less rough and noisy, are not loath to follow the example of the members of the ruder sex; this is generally, but not always, done among themselves exclusively.

[863] 515 Baths are taken rather frequently by both adults and children: the latter either follow the example of their elders or go to take a splash in the river with their companions. In this case each sex keeps strictly apart almost without exception: indeed an Isneg mother never fails to teach her girls a certain modesty as the best means to prevent regrettable incidents. Baths are always taken in some stream of running water; ponds of still water besides being very rare in the Isneg country, are usually infested with crocodiles, and no Isneg would think of fetching water from somewhere to take his ablutions at home: his village is always situated near some river or brook, and he would consider it as the acme of absurdity to go to the stream in

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question and bring the water home, when without such trouble, the same, and even a much better, result can be obtained by using the water where it is found

The Isneg wash their hands before meals, or, to speak correctly, dip one of their hands in water with a semblance of washing it: they occasionally tell their offspring to do the same.

In order to satisfy the wants of nature, they always retire far away from the presence of other human beings lest they offend the latters' sense of smell: an Isneg resents nothing more than the disregard of this elementary courtesy, and children receive a severe scolding and sometimes a sound thrashing, if they fail to imitate their elders in this respect. Special closets for the purpose were entirely unknown here until Government officials introduced them by force: there is no lack of space in Apayaw.

Isneg women sweep the house, not only daily, but whenever there is a reason for doing so, and they clean the yard very often. Small girls are regularly told to help their mother or their elder sisters, and sometimes to do the sweeping in their stead, so that they also may learn how to perform the duties of a good housewife.

Let us now pass to the noble sport of *bisndg*. *Bisndg* is very popular all over the northern part of the Mountain Province, while Ibaloy and Kankanay seem not even to know it. Among the Isneg, not only boys and young men, but also men of mature age, frequently indulge in it; nay, at stated times, adults take part in it as in a kind of religious rite or ceremony; but more of this later. Isneg youngsters usually practice *bisndg* in imitation of their elders, merely as a kind of play, whenever it takes their fancy to do so. Although this sport is not formally taught, older people often urge boys to take part in it, and they rarely fail to break out into vociferous applause, whenever one of the young braves has performed his part befittingly, in this way encouraging the whole group to do better and better.

Bisndg certainly inures the partakers to hardship and develops their bodily strength, although, to use a minimum of words, one might say that it merely consists in slapping one another's thigh. But such a statement is all too simple; in reality the sport is much more complicated. There must be at least two men in order to play *bisndg* (Figures 1 and 2), and strictly speaking, two men are sufficient: the one who slaps, whom I shall call the *agent* for short, and the one who is slapped, the patient.

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my bananas, hoping in this way to catch him unaware, but as quick as lightning he retorted: "*Kinalbáw nāyá áto* (the dog ate them)". Now the poor boy never thought of the impossibility of that press being opened by a dog, and even in case it could have been done, of the improbability of a dog leaving the meat aside and choosing the bananas instead.

On another occasion I had observed that a kind Iloko lady had missed Mass on two consecutive Sundays; and so at our first meeting I made a little remark about the matter, but she was as quick as my Isneg boy in retorting: "I had my menses". This I merely answered with another question: "Twice a month?"

It may be hard indeed for any innocent person not to defend himself when he has been accused unjustly, but for an Isneg I think it would be simply heroic to keep silent after a reproof, even though it be slight and most amply deserved. And even when the unreasonableness of his excuse has been demonstrated to him, he must be a very dull fellow indeed if he will not immediately try another one, without even stopping to think whether it may not be as little acceptable as the one just rejected.

Another custom which very often makes abstraction of truth or error as we understand it is their manner of answering a question. No conscientious inquirer should ever forget that these people are in the habit of answering a question, not according to truth, but according to what they believe you except to hear from them. I would be the last to accuse them of wilful lying under the circumstances, and would much prefer to put the blame on their inborn desire to please you. This goes to show that one has to be very careful in proffering judgment on our Isneg, not only with reference to questions that may have been answered the wrong way, but also with reference to obedience in general to those precepts of their moral code that have to do with truthfulness and lying. The blame of the whole affair is very often to be laid, either on the inquirer himself who should know something about the mentality of this people, or on the courtesy of the latter: in this case they should be credited, not with the vice of lying, but with the social virtue of politeness.

A few Isneg expressions with a direct or indirect bearing on the education and home life of the child may here be appended:

Aydyam: Toy.

Lulluplan: Said of a child who cries for the smallest reason.

Dumdúm: Dull, unhandy at work. Also: dull at learning.

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857 *Magdaldál*: Said of a mother who badly wants to see her absent child.

192 *Kakŏboń*: Family, parents and children.

104 *Makikóboń*: To live together in the same house (two different families, servants of the family).

601 *Amá* or *animá*: Father.

Iná or *inná*: Mother.

Waxi: Brother, sister. Plural: *wawáxi*.

Manákam: Oldest brother or sister (the first of all); also: parents, ancestors.

Udiyán: Youngest brother or sister (the last of all).

Ulitág: Uncle.

Ikit: Aunt.

Kapinsán: First cousin.

Kapiduwá: Second cousin.

Kàpi-ló: Third cousin (prefix *kapi* and stem *talló*, "three").

Katuxáñan: Father-in-law, mother-in-law.

Mánúxań: Son-in-law, daughter-in-law.

Kâyoń or *katâyúg*: Brother-in-law.

Ipág: Sister-in-law.

Kabirat: The relation that exists between the husbands or wives of two brothers or sisters, or the husband of a woman and her brother's wife.

Bálo: widower, widow (mourning).

Búkud: widower, widow (after the mourning period is over).

601 Many of these terms have a very elastic meaning. *Waxi* may be either a real brother or sister, or simply any kind of relative. *Amá* and *iná* may sometimes refer to any relative whose relation is similar to that of father and mother, for instance: uncle and aunt, etc. *Kâyoń* may be either a real brother-in-law or the husband of a first cousin, etc.

III. Daily Routine

512 Although the daily life of an Isneg is not regulated by the clock,
264 there is nevertheless a certain order in the routine of his duties and occupations. The family generally rises at daybreak. An Isneg begins the day as soon as artificial light can be dispensed with, and if yams (*úbi*) or sweet potatoes (*kamusí*) are available, the women cook them on the never-absent fire, and all inmates of the house try to get their share as best they can. As soon as this informal break-

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776 764 *Ruńdd:* a spirit who invariably approaches the house at the death of one of its inmates. He looks like a big tree, and at his arrival the whole house shakes.

Xánat: a kind of giant who is to be seen roaming around, either at the house of a dead person, or along some road leading to it.

Tuktukkál: a whole swarm of spirits who come to mourn and weep at the house of a dead person, especially if the latter is a child.

851 753 The Isneg strictly forbid all children to play noisily anywhere in the settlement where an *innát* is awaiting burial; if any youngster should disobey this injunction, he would invariably become afflicted with *bońkál* (wens).

765 A person who arrives from some other agglomeration bringing in a new jar at the time a corpse is present in one of the houses, may be sure not to be able to enjoy the use of his jar for a long time: the latter is *ma-dammán.*

764 As has been stated previously, the body has to be watched night and day. At night, when most of the mourners are sleeping, from one to three persons must always remain awake, and when the latter feel very sleepy, others must take their place, lest the punishment which has already been referred to be meted out to one of their number.

In case the deceased is a married man, the widow (*bálo*) has to stay near the corpse of her husband, as soon as the body has been dressed and placed in the required position, and she has to remain there until one night after burial. For this purpose a diminutive tent (*aróbón*) is put up near the head of the dead person, on the other side of the post, toward the hearth (fig. 3). This *aróbón* usually consists of a couple of boards for the sides and a blanket for the cover, the whole outfit leaning against the wall of the house. Only men take part in fixing the *aróbón.* The widow has to stay inside all the time, she remains invisible, and she neither weeps nor laments, at least not in a loud voice: if she does so, her sobs should remain inaudible or almost so. There she partakes of the food that is pushed in by her relatives, and there she sleeps. Since the *aróbón* is comparatively small, it is quite impossible for her ever to stretch her legs. If she has to go out for some urgent reason, a board is taken out of the wall, which is not at all difficult in Isneg houses, and a ladder is placed against it. As soon as the woman leaves the house through this improvised door, she has to wrap herself up completely in another blanket, and to reenter as soon as possible. In some places she

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whenever possible the dead body of an adult is forcibly confined to the grave after one or two nights (night of burial always included). Occasionally in some out-of-the-way places, the Isneg may stick to their old custom or at least to the modified one, but this becomes rarer and rarer every day. Children are usually interred after one or two nights according to age and size (Abbil, Musimut, Bolo, etc.), so that in many cases a child who dies in the morning is buried in the evening of the same day.

And now we come to the digging of the grave. The grave consists of a hole in the ground, large enough to contain the coffined body, but usually not as deep as is actually required by law (1½ meters). This is always begun by a woman (*mañusim*) who may be a shamaness or not. This operation, however, is rather ceremonial than practical, as immediately afterwards men do the real work. If jars have to be buried together with the coffined body, a special round hole is dug near the ordinary grave, in such a way as to have the buried jars situated at the right of the dead man's body, near the place of his head if the body is lying down. When digging a hole in the ground, the Isneg use the *sáwit* or blunt point at the back of a headax, or any other instrument, to loosen the earth, and an old basket or a coconut shell (in the case of digging a grave, usually the former), to extract the loose earth and throw it out. For the rest, no definite orientation of grave or body is required, and anybody is allowed to dig the grave, as well as to carry the body and to cover it with earth: there are no persons specifically designated for these purposes. In no case are children allowed to stay near a tomb in which a body has been buried recently (*lábñg*).

Among the Kankanay, young men vie with each other to carry the body of a rich person to its last resting place, as they believe that, if the matter which exudes from the decomposed body (*deñ* in Kankanay, pronounced like English "dung") trickles upon their own, they also will be blessed by this world's goods. No such belief exists among the Isneg.

Formerly the grave was always dug under the house, and if the gravediggers happened to open a *lúbo-*, a grave already occupied, the lately deceased person was simply interred over the remains of the one in possession. This particular selection of the site for a grave gave rise, as was told me by the natives themselves, to the custom of the Isneg, which obtains to this day, of definitively stopping their work at a new house, and of going to choose some other place for the erec-

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243 789 *Nadátag*: when the whole field is covered with ears and the palay is beginning to ripen.

From now on new enemies are making their appearance, and it is the duty of every Isneg farmer to know them and to learn how to frustrate their evil-intentioned endeavors.

The first to appear at this season are the stinkbugs, who empty young ears of rice by sucking out their milky grains. These bugs, when numerous, are able to ravage within a short time the most promising field of palay. When you remark that your paddy *maxalixa* (is attacked by stinkbugs), get a bamboo tube of *básí*-beer, *añlattóñ*-herbs, and a small chick. Mix the *añlattóñ* with the *básí*, place the tube and its mixture somewhere in the center of your *kómiān*, and tie the chick next to it. After one night go and bring back the chick, which must remain alive, and leave the tube where it is. This is a sure remedy against stinkbugs and their depredations.

Then we have several kinds of rats:

The *dasság*, a large rat, resembling a vole or field mouse, but with a long tail; it lives in the bushes, and is very destructive.

The *du-mág*, another large vole or field mouse, said to be a spirit, which, when very big, the Isneg are afraid to kill.

The fruits of the *pazli*, a kind of slender and very hard spiny bamboo; when dropping on the ground, these fruits change into mice, not larger than a finger, and completely destroy the neighboring fields.

To exterminate these pests, get *latúb*, a low herb that may be found almost in any place, and put a whole plant somewhere at the foot of one of the rice stalks. With this one *latúb* the whole field will be protected, and all rats and mice that dare gnaw any of your palay will be killed.

243 857 After the rats come the birds, two kinds of which are especially destructive:

The *ballít*, a very small passerine bird with a short white bill and brown-red plumage; it is very gluttonous and usually appears in large flocks.

The *sígkaráu* (so called from its cry), also a passerine bird, and almost as much be feared as the preceding.

To frighten them away, scarecrows should be put up all through the field. Any kind will do: old rags, long strings stretched over the paddy, empty tins making noise when moved by the wind, etc. But

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these are rarely sufficient, as the birds are usually very numerous and they soon get used to what they feared at first. So the only real remedy consists in watching the field and driving the birds away by shouting (*makasáraw*), by throwing missiles at them, by pulling strings that set scarecrows in motion, etc. This is of course a very tedious process and it would take much valuable time, were it not that it can be done by the children, without any trouble on the part of the parents, except that of going now and then to see if the youngsters are not napping. The latter, however, generally enjoy this kind of a job, and get lots of fun out of it, the more so that they usually find leisure to obtain an occasional dainty, either by hunting for it in the near-by forest, or by pilfering it from an adjoining garden. Besides, they are rarely alone, and a group of Isneg boys and girls is never at a loss to find amusement in some kind of game or play, in order to fill up the time between an occasional shout, the throwing of a pebble, or the pulling of a string connected with scarecrows. The latter contrivance is one of the most convenient, as it allows the watchers to lie down, when they grow tired; the only thing for them to do is to attach the end of the string to one of their toes and to move the leg from time to time.

It also happens that the ears of rice are attacked by the *dungali*, a kind of smut fungus; but fortunately this occurs very rarely and always in rather isolated cases, which is probably due to the Isneg system of farming: fields that are scattered and are never planted with rice twice in succession.

Finally we have the most cunning of all foes, *mán*.

A passer-by may become envious of your splendid crop and, full of spite at your prospective luck, nip (*magbu-sílk*) one of the young kernels, without detaching it from its ear. Such a proceeding causes the *kómân* to be ravaged by birds.

Or a woman who has little rice herself, may be coveting yours, and stick some *aúrappút*-herbs in your field, pouring coconut oil all around them. In this way she causes your palay to disappear and to be lost to you.

When damage has been done in your rice field by evil spirits, you should go and plant a spear in it, offer *inápúxân* (betel for chewing) and pray:

Italná-ko ya orúúân ta dumálo ya atoná dâyá maúrawát (I drive the shaft [of a spear] into the ground so that the poison of the destroying spirits gather here).

252 412 [845] then hulls it by pounding it with a wooden pestle in a mortar fashioned of a two-foot section of a hardwood log, set on end and hollowed out. The woman then winnows it by cleverly tossing it in an oval-shaped tray woven of rattan. There will often be a set of these mortars with the women companionably pounding together, using a sort of chant.

593 854 [842] The relatives are affectionate, and family ties are strong all through life. The family life is a happy one. Babies are much desired and receive a great deal of loving care. Their wants are promptly supplied, and no little one cries its heart out for lack of a mother's loving arms. The small girls do not have dolls to play with but use the babies instead. Also, instead of little play houses, they early begin to play house by helping their mothers in the big houses. Many of the small chores about the house are done by the children. But they also have plenty of time for games, swimming, and other amusements. As they grow older, the girls, of course, follow the work of the mother: housework, washing, taking care of the pigs and chickens, carrying water in jars on their heads from the spring, farming, and other duties. The boys cheerfully work with their fathers in gathering wood, building houses, granaries, chicken coops, bamboo fences, etc., and in fishing and hunting. They early learn the lore of the woods; so that a boy of seven here can take much better care of himself in the open than the average Eagle Boy Scout in the United States. The children are taught a proper decorum; but corporal punishment is rare. A little scolding usually keeps them in order.

524 857 [868] [841]

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peoples, who have regular initiation ceremonies or puberty rites or both: in his case these are entirely absent, and so his offspring lacks a very important factor in the education of the young, as all formal instruction that usually accompanies such rites and ceremonies is entirely denied him. Nevertheless there is some kind of education given to Isneg youth, and this I am going to consider presently.

At the beginning it should be noted once for all that the Isneg is not used to divide his life into very definite periods. Possessing no puberty rites of any kind, he is ignorant of any violent transition between any two periods of his earthly existence, and so an Isneg child grows up into a young man (*bagbaxó*, plural *babbáxo*) or a young girl (*balbalásaṅ*, plural *babbalásaṅ*), marries at the first opportunity, is occasionally widowed (*bálo*, *búkud*) and perhaps remarries, and finally dies, whether comparatively young or after having reached a ripe old age (old man: *la-lakȃy*, plural *lala-lákăy*; old woman: *ba-bakát*, plural *baba-bákat*). If one would insist on looking for a kind of classification, perhaps the best way would be to divide the life of an ordinary Isneg into three periods: the first one, from his birth till he has attained the age at which any decent boy begins to wear a G-string, a little before the age of reason; the second, from the time of that important change in his dress till his marriage; and the last one, from his first marriage till his death. Here I shall consider only the first two periods, and I shall treat them both simultaneously and indistinctively. That some details refer exclusively to one of these two periods will be clear without the necessity of saying so: an Isneg evidently does not teach one of his marriageable girls the name of the mosquito, nor does he point out to a boy three years old the penalties which he is likely to incur if he renders a girl pregnant and refuses to marry her.

Formal education as we understand it, whether in schools or otherwise, through appointed teachers, is totally unknown to the Isneg, except of course instruction in Government public schools, which all Isneg children are compelled to attend; but the generality of the people are not the least convinced of the benefits, and much less of the necessity, of the sort of education they get there, especially with reference to girls.

I shall try now to trace as faithfully and as clearly as possible the process of education as followed by the Isneg, or, if such an expression seems to be too definite, the way in which Isneg boys and girls get the education they need.

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576 When approaching a house he wants to enter, the Isneg usually says something aloud to the inmates of the house, just to let them know that he is there and indirectly to tell them to keep their dogs at bay; but for the rest he enters without more ado: the ladder being in place will show him that somebody is at home, and if there are no signs of taboos of any kind, things he very well knows and understands, he has free access to the house. On taking leave, he says: "*Mawčyāin*, I go now (*mawčkamiyin*, we go now)" or "*Mapánnāin*, I go away [276] now (*mapánkamiyin*, we go away now)". When meeting people on the road or at some other place outside the house, a polite Isneg says: "*Áwán xawádmo*? (Have you no betel pepper?)" or something similar with reference to chewing betel; in some cases he asks for it, in others he proffers it. Such is the usual salutation all over Apayaw.

576 858 Among the Isneg the code of etiquette is indeed reduced almost to its most simple expression; their respect is mostly of the rough kind: general principles, few details. Youngsters are usually allowed to mix freely in the conversation of older people, without having the semblance of being at all forward, and they will rarely be rebuked for doing so. The old fellows will answer them most of the time just as earnestly as if they were of their own age. Nevertheless a certain respect, which may seem a very vague thing to define, is always required and rarely absent.

577 609 But let us go back to our Isneg code of morals.

"If you want to be considered as a really good Isneg, be loyal to your friends. Love your friends, hate your enemies: that is our golden rule. Help all Isneg who are not an enmity with your settlement whenever you can. For instance, if two of you have to cross a river and your companion cannot swim, see to it that you save him from drowning, if necessary. Whenever there is question of taking revenge, stand by your own people; their quarrels should be yours. If they need you as a witness in their defense, do not fail them. Ibanag justice has been imposed upon us, but never mind, save your friends from jail by all possible means: lying before an Ibanag judge is no sin, provided it redounds to your own good or to that of your friends. Rather share the punishment of a companion than save yourself by furnishing state's evidence. We have our own ways of administering justice, the Ibanag do not understand them; why should we submit to their ways imposed upon us by force? Outwardly of course you should comply lest worse befall you; but never forget that you have to put your own people above everybody else. If you

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855 comes for the boys to follow their father and for the girls to be left to her care. The best viands are always reserved for the little ones and dainties are stored away (*maxalúmid*) for their future use. If a child gets sick, the parents will do their utmost to relieve the little sufferer: and if it is its fate, as the Isneg put it, to die, its elders' lamentations will follow it to the grave.

731 In times of famine the children are of course the biggest sufferers, not that the Isneg does not share with them whatever food he can lay
• 858 hands on, but because growing boys and girls lack the sustenance
597 they badly need at their age, which rarely fails to be followed by results that affect them unfavorably for the rest of their life. I have heard once of a hard-pressed Isneg who sold a child for money: this is certainly a rare exception, and, as all circumstances are not known to me (I am not even sure that it was his own child), I am not free to pronounce judgment on the transaction. What I know is that the family by whom the child was adopted would certainly not cause it to regret its former life, as far as material advantages are concerned; nevertheless this is not a sufficient excuse for such an act.

855 It may be asked if families differ much in their solicitude for the
867 proper moral upbringing of children; if some families are more reli-
184 gious-minded than others, if some families are more concerned than others in watching over their children and in safeguarding them in
124 sex morality. What can I answer to such questions? I should like to make the following invitation to my inquirers: let them choose a certain district of the United States, say in Kansas or in Indiana or in whatever state they prefer, a district where there are no densely populated sections and where some ten thousand people are scattered over a comparatively large area, and then let them tell me the result of their investigations among inhabitants of that district with reference to the above questions. I am sure that their task would not be easier or more difficult than mine, in order to give a satisfactory survey of the situation. Nevertheless I shall try to give a few concrete instances that have come to my personal notice and which I can recall just now, leaving aside the Kankanay, among whom I resided from 1909 to 1915, and confining myself exclusively to the Isneg, with whom I have been living since 1925.

855 Take the settlement of Baliwanan. A Baliwanan girl was living
184 with the family of my catechist at Kabugaw, where she took care of
836 the children, washed the clothes, and did other little chores. On a certain day somebody told her father that a boy had entered the house

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up a good many friendships, and it is the starting point of not a few quarrels among them. Voluntary talebearing, by which I mean here reporting to the interested person the gossip that somebody has spread about him, is, as far as I can judge about the matter, rather rare, at least among men.

Drunkenness is a vice that is mostly indulged in only at the time of some *sdy-dm* or other sacrifice, and this mostly by old men. Comparing their use of intoxicating drinks with what I have seen in civilized countries, I should say that the Isneg is a temperate man. Nevertheless theory is stricter than practice, except in the case of youth.

Three points are still to be considered now, namely: chastity, honesty and truthfulness.

And first as to chastity and the virtues related to it. Complete nudity is habitual among youngsters under six years of age; the little coat usually worn even by small boys, is not sufficiently long to cover them decently. Such nakedness is not considered shameful as long as the children are small; nevertheless there is some ground for concluding that it may have an effect upon sex behavior. Indeed small children are very often tickled (*magkurire-*, *kurirkán*) in order to cause them to laugh, and this tickling is very commonly practised on or near the genitals, not only by the parents, but also by young boys and girls; especially in the case of small boys, the principal use of their penis seems to be that of being fingered by every passer-by.

As soon as the child is able to lisp a few words, the pronunciation by the child of any obscene term that finds its way into the child's vocabulary is greeted with laughter; and if later on foul language is heard to proceed from the small boy's mouth, he is applauded for his cleverness instead of being chastised for his forwardness. Little girls are usually brought up in a less dirty atmosphere, as the mother takes care of them almost exclusively as soon as they are able to walk; but little or no separation of the sexes at night is insisted upon during the first years of the little Isneg's life.

Everything considered, the sight of nudity in both sexes, touching of one another's genitals without reproof, the early excitation of the boys' genitals through indecent handling by older children and adults, the use of dirty speech without the least restraint and almost with encouragement, all these combined can do nothing else but detract from the efficiency of subsequent teaching on sex morality. The existence of the term *kassár* seems to support my inference; *kassár*

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867 means "to suffer erection", and is used only of boys and girls who
831 have not yet attained the age of puberty; another term is in use for adults.

867 And so we have reached the period between the age at which the
834 little one wears lower garments for the first time and that of puberty.
291 Formal teaching about the first elements of sex morality usually starts
858 about this time, and so little girls of this age are generally very
183 modest, although boys are not so meticulous. Provided they are circumcised, the latter do not mind very much exposing their naked body, and even when as yet uncircumcised, there is no comparison between their behavior and that of their modest little sisters. For the rest much freedom still exists, as my reference to the special term just explained seems to indicate, so that it might be called a miracle if the youngsters live a chaste life once they have attained the age
[835] of puberty. Recently a young man of some eighteen years old was arrested for having violated his little sister who is barely six years old; he said he wanted "to try".

836 Grown-up girls are of course much better in this respect than boys,
183 and both sexes usually observe the laws of modesty that have been taught them by their parents according to the Isneg code; but in
577 general I think that the morals of young people are decidedly loose.
867 *Mu[illegible]aldallów* (joking one another, boys and girls), *magkabbál* (to finger a girl's breasts; said only of boys), and similar terms, seem to indicate that the teaching of their elders is not very successful. Add to this that young men have free access at night to all houses where girls of marriageable age may be found, and it will not be wondered at that chastity is a rare flower among Isneg youth.

836 The fear of pregnancy and of its consequences is of course a great
183 deterrent to young people of both sexes, but, even leaving aside the question of self-pollution, simple fornication must not be so exceed-
867 ingly rare after all. It is true that my informants usually assure me that coitus is never practised among unengaged boys and girls of mature age; but this in my opinion cannot be accepted without a grain of salt. Indeed, the same men have also told me at first that continence is imposed upon engaged couples before their marriage, but I have learned since that the latter are free to sleep together as often as they wish even though none of the usual ceremonies has yet been performed,—and this I now know to be a universal custom all over Apayaw.

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vogue here now tends to retard marriage; but its introduction is still too recent and it is still too much the privilege of the few, to be able sensibly to affect the standard of morality among our Isneg.

As to conjugal fidelity, it may be said that an unfaithful wife is the exception among the Isneg; but with reference to the men, the situation is not so bright. Even polygyny is not always sufficient to put a curb to the husband's license: indeed only the rich can afford to take more than one wife, and these at the same time usually enjoy the greatest freedom on account of their wealth and social influence.

To sum up the situation, it may be said that open immorality and indecency is much less frequent among the Isneg than among several other Mountain tribes, but, although more or less well concealed, loose morals are rather the rule than the exception among young unmarried people, and among married people the state of affairs leaves much to be desired. "Doing that which may make a girl pregnant" is not what the Isneg abhors, but "making a girl actually pregnant".

With reference to honesty, the Isneg generally observes the rules laid down by his own code, and transgressions are rare. Isneg thieves are not at all common, and downright robbery, even from the Ibanag or the *idammán* (enemies of his own tribe), is a rare occurrence. This is true of children as well as of adults, although the former may occasionally try to pilfer fruits or other eatables, in which, nevertheless, they are never encouraged by their elders, who rarely fail to scold them and even to punish them.

Truthfulness also is quite ordinary among adult Isneg, but many youngsters need frequent correction on the subject. In this connection, however, we should bear in mind the existence of two inveterate habits not only among the Isneg, but also among the generality of Malays with whom I have come in contact. And first, whenever he is caught at something that might elicit from you even the smallest reprimand, he has always an excuse ready at the tip of his tongue, and any excuse will do, however preposterous it may be; he never reasons about it, the truth is not what he aims at, but the plain presentation of an excuse, be it real or imaginary. These people are certainly experts in that line.

Just to give a few examples. One day I was very much astonished to find that all my bananas had disappeared, although they were carefully stored away in a closed press, so I suspected, and not without reason, that one of my Isneg boys had found them to his taste. At the first occasion I bluntly asked the fellow what had happened to

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Isneg expressions referring to names and worthy of notice are the following:

kalóbazán: a name that has the same ending as another one. *Magkalóbān*: to bear each a name with the same ending. For instance: *Balás, Kolás; Éba, Xawwá; Basán, Dawwán; Antóniyo, Asiyo*, etc.

isán and *ébāy*: familiar diminutive names for girls in general. Similar names are: in Iloko, *inin*; in Ibanag, *néne-* (probably from the Spanish *nene*, "baby, whether boy or girl").

Nicknames, as applied to one particular person, are used very sparingly among the Isneg. I know of only one case: a Lettuakan boy, called *Asiyo* and baptized Pedro, is very generally called *Paláli* even by his own relatives. *Paláli* is the name of a tree, and also of its fruits, which are edible, but very sour.

The Isneg are not very good genealogists. It very often happens that a young man or an adult girl does not even know the name of one or more of their grandparents, especially if the latter died before their grandchild was born. When asked about such names, the Isneg who happens not to know them usually excuses his ignorance by saying: "*Akkáńko nasińán* (I did not see him or her)".

II. Education

It might be thought at first sight that the Isneg leads a very unhappy and miserable life, a life full of drudgery, a life devoid of all comforts and possessing only a minimum of pleasure. But when you come to consider him more intimately, to enter more deeply into the matter, it does not take long for you to be convinced of the contrary. Indeed, he has very few needs; it is comparatively easy, to quote Jerome K. Jerome in "Three Men in a Boat", for an Isneg "to have enough to eat and enough to wear, and a little more than enough to drink", and he has little work to do. Besides, look at the fine family life he is living: if he has a good diligent wife, and most Isneg women are like that, and plenty of children around, really his bliss exceeds all understanding, I mean the understanding of a Caucasian with his manifold cares and innumerable wants.

Again at first sight, it might seem that the children's education is reduced to the very minimum, or rather that the youngsters get no education at all, as everybody, not excepting the children, seems to shift for himself and to do as he pleases. One would be the more inclined to think so when comparing the Isneg with other primitive

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peoples, who have regular initiation ceremonies or puberty rites or both: in his case these are entirely absent, and so his offspring lacks a very important factor in the education of the young, as all formal instruction that usually accompanies such rites and ceremonies is entirely denied him. Nevertheless there is some kind of education given to Isneg youth, and this I am going to consider presently.

At the beginning it should be noted once for all that the Isneg is not used to divide his life into very definite periods. Possessing no puberty rites of any kind, he is ignorant of any violent transition between any two periods of his earthly existence, and so an Isneg child grows up into a young man (*bagbaxó*, plural *babbáxo*) or a young girl (*balbalásań*, plural *babbalásań*), marries at the first opportunity, is occasionally widowed (*bálo*, *búkud*) and perhaps remarries, and finally dies, whether comparatively young or after having reached a ripe old age (old man: *la-lakáy*, plural *lala-lákáy*; old woman: *ba-bakát*, plural *baba-bákat*). If one would insist on looking for a kind of classification, perhaps the best way would be to divide the life of an ordinary Isneg into three periods: the first one, from his birth till he has attained the age at which any decent boy begins to wear a G-string, a little before the age of reason; the second, from the time of that important change in his dress till his marriage; and the last one, from his first marriage till his death. Here I shall consider only the first two periods, and I shall treat them both simultaneously and indistinctively. That some details refer exclusively to one of these two periods will be clear without the necessity of saying so: an Isneg evidently does not teach one of his marriageable girls the name of the mosquito, nor does he point out to a boy three years old the penalties which he is likely to incur if he renders a girl pregnant and refuses to marry her.

Formal education as we understand it, whether in schools or otherwise, through appointed teachers, is totally unknown to the Isneg, except of course instruction in Government public schools, which all Isneg children are compelled to attend; but the generality of the people are not the least convinced of the benefits, and much less of the necessity, of the sort of education they get there, especially with reference to girls.

I shall try now to trace as faithfully and as clearly as possible the process of education as followed by the Isneg, or, if such an expression seems to be too definite, the way in which Isneg boys and girls get the education they need.

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Bisndg certainly inures the partakers to hardship and develops their bodily strength, although, to use a minimum of words, one might say that it merely consists in slapping one another's thigh. But such a statement is all too simple; in reality the sport is much more complicated. There must be at least two men in order to play *bisndg* (Figures 1 and 2), and strictly speaking, two men are sufficient: the one who slaps, whom I shall call the agent for short, and the one who is slapped, the patient. 524 865

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462 I: "Of course, why shouldn't you:"

He: "But I never did that; I do not know anything about it."

I: "That is very easy though; and you are not too old to learn. Can you not do like this?" [Here I mimicked the action of a woman who makes holes in the ground for planting the seeds].

He: "Wouldn't that be funny. Have you ever seen a man doing a woman's work?"

I: "I do not see anything funny about it, if you need to do so in order to live."

He: "No, sir, that is not our business; that is woman's work; without a woman we can do nothing. I cannot help it, but that is the custom. Woman's work for a woman, man's work for a man."

856 It is also a fact that boys help their father and girls their mother as soon as they are able to do so. No sooner have they gained the
• 861 required strength but they will be given some necessary implement in
[868] order to learn its use. Very often, especially in the case of the headax (*aliwa*) of men, which is of universal use and serves almost any purpose, the instrument at first will be a small or light one, provided it serves the purpose, to be superseded later on by a heavier one of the same nature. Whereas a child usually accompanies, first its mother, and later on one of its parents according to its sex, it is but natural that it should also offer them its help, as soon as it has gained sufficient strength. Although at first the help may be very slight and insignificant, the Isneg does not lose sight of the fact that this early exercise and practice will be of great benefit to the child, and that in the end it will accrue to his own advantage.

861 Imitative types of play are very little practised, as may be deduced from the above: the children very soon have to do the real thing, why should they occupy themselves with imitations? Nevertheless it may happen that they imitate in play a certain work which is still beyond their strength: so I have seen little Isneg girls playing at pounding and winnowing rice, with sand for rice, a small hole in the ground for a mortar, a stick for a pestle, and some large leaf for a winnow;
[524] but these are exceptions, and not at all frequent ones. Incidentally it may be mentioned that dolls are unknown to our little Isneg maidens; a real child will be thrust upon them as soon as they are able to carry it.

462 And now as to the sundry occupations of the Isneg.

241 An Isneg is a farmer above anything else, so no wonder that agriculture is not only his chief pursuit, but also that which is taught

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626 hardest labor will be gladly accepted in order to avoid shame, which
558 to an Isneg seems to be a kind of synthesis of all evils. That is also
578 the reason why ridicule is such a powerful weapon among the Isneg. For fear of ridicule a man will cover himself modestly when appearing in the presence of women, and miscreants will resort to ridicule in order to induce a young man to commit the worst crimes. No Isneg can stand ridicule.

626 Among the Isneg pride and ambition are only second to shame as incentives for being virtuous and conducting oneself honorably; nevertheless they are far from having the same power as shame, and parents will use them in a much smaller degree than the latter motive.
[461] The indolence of the Isneg has considerably lessened the power of ambition and pride as a motive for complying with the tenets of their moral code.

And so also praise and encouragement, although they rarely fail to help an Isneg youngster onward on the path of duty, are much less powerful than the all-feared ridicule. Isneg parents, however, are very well aware of the fact that a little occasional praise and a timely word of encouragement will rarely fail to be appreciated by the child, and that they will often do very much for the latter's betterment or the continuance of its right behavior.

Flattery is not so much in their line, and it is comparatively rarely resorted to in order to make a young man or woman behave decently. In the case of smaller children, however, it will often be used with the best of results.

The hope of a reward is not always as powerful as the fear of punishment, at least in the case of the little ones. But allow me to reserve the treatment of this subject for one of the following paragraphs.

3. Methods of Training

361 I shall not enter here into a large number of details with reference
867 to the methods used in the training of children, as very much has been said already in my lengthy treatment of the moral code. I shall
[881] go over the whole matter rather quickly, the more so as there is no question of initiation or puberty rites among the Isneg.

[602] Although elders, whosoever they be, may occasionally take a hand in the training of children, nevertheless this task devolves principally on the parents, and to a certain extent also on the grandparents. The tribe or community as such has little or nothing to do with the moral upbringing of the younger members of any given settlement.

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Not only the absence of initiation ceremonies, but even that of any customs that might aim to teach or mold moral conduct, as dieting, fasting and so on, is a great drawback to the efficient training of Isneg youth. I repeat it, young people are taught to avoid hardship much more than to get inured to it, and this seemingly has much to do with keeping our Isneg in habitual indolence, and rendering them easily dejected at the smallest difficulty or the slightest pain.

Here now I shall enumerate the virtues and acts of virtue that are formally taught according to the Isneg moral code, and those that are less formally taught, and shall give a few supplementary details. It should be stated once for all that all, or almost all, training in this line is done directly; I mean that the Isneg rarely, if ever, use stories or fables in order to inculcate the principles that regulate moral conduct. Some of their tales might perhaps have such a very desirable effect, but the generality have not, and I really wonder if, even in the case of those that have a kind of moral attached to them, the Isneg really use them for the purpose of teaching right behavior. The tales seem to be much more a means of teaching the youngsters the traditions of the race, especially with reference to spirits and kindred subjects, and very often also they are simply a pastime for people who have few means of diversion and amusement.

The teaching of religious practices has been explained at length in a preceding paragraph, and here I have nothing to add on that subject. Headhunting as a duty has rarely been taught ex professo: all the traditions of the people and the paramount importance of this custom in the life of an Isneg tended formerly to impress it very strongly upon the mind of the child. Actually of course the taking of heads, which is fast disappearing, has no more the same appeal to the members of the younger generation; so this part of the Isneg moral code is bound to lapse sooner or later, provided the Government can keep the people in control for a sufficiently long period of time. This is what happened with the Ibaloy, among whom by this time headhunting is an unknown quantity, and with the Kankanay, among whom the same custom is almost completely rooted out.

Obedience and respect for their elders is very formally taught to the children, not only by father and mother, but also by other members of the older generation. Besides small boys and girls learn by practical experience the necessity of obeying and respecting their elders, as it is not a rare occurrence to see a whipping follow in the wake of a transgression of this most important duty of a child.

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867 577 Honesty and truthfulness are subjects of very frequent training, especially the latter. Rarely a day passes without hearing some denunciation of the vice of lying from the mouth of an Isneg, and children are really brought up in an atmosphere of honesty and truth: this cannot be denied, although a lie in their eyes has not exactly the same meaning as with us. A lie, as defined by an Isneg, would mean something like this: "uselessly to tell an untruth to a friend", in this way excluding from its definition the telling of an untruth in order to avoid difficulties or in order to save a friend, and the deception practised on the Ibanag and their kindred.

An Isneg child is deterred from boasting mostly through ridicule, while talebearing, which is called treason, and jealousy form less frequent subjects of teaching.

Youngsters have not to be taught *ex professo* that killing among friends is a terrible crime. Loyalty to friends and related subjects are sufficiently explained without the necessity of including such a hateful crime among the usual prohibitions: if you have to be loyal to your friends, your first duty of course is to respect their life.

861 867 626 I have been talking freely about Isneg training and teaching, but when and where is youth educated and instructed in the tenets of the moral code? Well, at any time. This is a very indefinite answer indeed, but the time and place of teaching is at least equally indefinite. An Isneg parent may instruct his offspring when at home, he may do so while at work in the field; Isneg know nothing about school periods, no bells are used among them in order to go over from one exercise to another, there are neither watches nor clocks in Isneg houses, and to an Isneg time is not money. Nevertheless formal training mostly coincides with some special happening; a breach of the moral code, whether committed by outsiders or by the children themselves, or some extraordinary act of virtue, are the most frequent occasions in which the precepts of Isneg morality are instilled into the minds of the young.

861 626 Scolding,—which in many cases is exceedingly severe and covers the culprit with shame in the face of the whole neighborhood,—and other punishments are frequently resorted to regulate the conduct of children. Corporal punishments take place only in the case of the smaller children, while the fear of being scolded is a frequent deterrent for boys and girls of every age. The former consist in slapping the head, the cheeks, the shoulders, the back or the buttocks, in whipping the buttocks or the legs, thighs and calves, in twisting

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or pulling the ears, in pinching any part of the body. There is no question of kicking, of forbidding to eat, of ordering to abstain from amusements or feasts. A punishment that is rather common among the Isneg is to shame the children by talking to others about their misbehavior or their bad conduct: such a punishment rarely fails to induce the child to amend its ways. Food taboos are very common with reference to women; for men I know none. Thus, women do not eat eels, lest they become blind; they abstain from dog meat, monkey, etc.; but the aim of these prohibitions is certainly not that of influencing their moral conduct or inuring them to hardship: so this is not the place to explain them any further.

Corporal punishments are almost always used when the child, whether a boy or a girl, is caught stealing or lying; it is occasionally resorted to when the child is disobedient or disrespectful. Other more severe punishments, such as the robbing of valuables, divorce, etc., have been sufficiently explained in the preceding pages. Scolding is of course much more frequent than any other punishment. Spare the rod, spoil the child, is a proverb unknown to the Isneg; in my opinion they use the rod very sparingly: it is often sufficient for a child to say: "*Maddiyâ-* (I do not want)", to be left undisturbed, and to cause the parent to refrain from any further insistence. Here I have to repeat again one of my former statements: it is not the guilt that counts, but the result; so a boy may refuse to obey, and if it really makes no difference, the parent allows him to do what he likes; but if he has stolen something or refuses to help his father, that is another question; here the power of the rod will be invoked almost without exception.

Isneg parents love their children very much, and the easiest way to break down an Isneg parent's stubbornness or aloofness is to show a smiling face to the little ones, to say a nice word to them or to give them a little present. The aim of every grown-up boy and girl is to beget children; his offspring is the Isneg's most precious treasure. A houseful of boys and girls, children and grandchildren, is an invaluable and most esteemed boon; they are a crown avidly coveted by every Isneg man and woman. An Isneg father has a thousand ways of showing his affection to his children: if they are still small he will play with them for hours at a time; later on he will patiently forbear the boy's unhandiness while he is helping him at work, and still later he will see to it that he grows up a virtuous young man. The mother will do the same with boys and girls alike until the time

252 412 [415] then hulls it by pounding it with a wooden pestle in a mortar fashioned of a two-foot section of a hardwood log, set on end and hollowed out. The woman then winnows it by cleverly tossing it in an oval-shaped tray woven of rattan. There will often be a set of these mortars with the women companionably pounding together, using a sort of chant.

593 854 [842] The relatives are affectionate, and family ties are strong all through life. The family life is a happy one. Babies are much desired and receive a great deal of loving care. Their wants are promptly supplied, and no little one cries its heart out for lack 524 857 of a mother's loving arms. The small girls do not have dolls to play with but use the babies instead. Also, instead of little play houses, they early begin to play house by helping their mothers in the big houses. Many of the small chores about the house are done by the children. But they also have plenty of time for games, [868] swimming, and other amusements. As they grow older, the girls, of course, follow the work of the mother: housework, washing, taking care of the pigs and chickens, carrying water in jars on their heads from the spring, farming, and other duties. The boys cheerfully work with their fathers in gathering wood, building houses, granaries, chicken coops, bamboo fences, etc., and in fishing and hunting. They early learn the lore of the woods; so that a boy of seven here can take much better care of himself in the open than the average Eagle Boy Scout in the United States. [861] The children are taught a proper decorum; but corporal punishment is rare. A little scolding usually keeps them in order.

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868 and ordinary work, to which his parents even now introduce him as early as possible,—were those he needed at the time of taking a head or of defending his own; and here again, the best means for acquiring them was practice by imitation or necessity. Even the use of the spear, the headax and the shield was never formally taught: a young man saw his elders at work, and did as they did. After all, a real attack, openly and face to face, has always been rather the exception; to fall unawares on an unsuspecting enemy, to kill a defenceless woman or child, and similar exploits, were usually much more in the line of the Isneg. If nevertheless some of them have been real braves, practice, not formal teaching, has made them such. But nowadays these happy times seem to be gone forever: every Isneg man cultivates his fields in peace and sits undisturbed under his coconut tree, the latter eventuality being usually the more frequent

857 524 Isneg boys and girls are found of play, this is only natural; but their choice is very limited. Indeed, except for the sport of *bisnág*, most of the time these types of play merely consist in running and wrestling, at least as far as active sports that may serve to develop bodily strength are concerned. A group of Isneg boys, whether inside or outside the house, rarely keep quiet for a long time, and very soon playful fighting, which for the most part consists in slapping and kicking one another, is indulged in. This romping, which the Isneg call by the comprehensive term of *mazaúrád*, after a time becomes so noisy that other people present cannot hear one another's voices, until some old fellow cries: "*Páxat*" (no special meaning), at which the infernal noise stops on the spot, to begin again, of course, at the first opportunity. Isneg girls, although usually less rough and noisy, are not loath to follow the example of the members of the ruder sex; this is generally, but not always, done among themselves exclusively.

• [863] 515 Baths are taken rather frequently by both adults and children: the latter either follow the example of their elders or go to take a splash in the river with their companions. In this case each sex keeps strictly apart almost without exception: indeed an Isneg mother never fails to teach her girls a certain modesty as the best means to prevent [36] regrettable incidents. Baths are always taken in some stream of running water; ponds of still water besides being very rare in the Isneg country, are usually infested with crocodiles, and no Isneg would think of fetching water from somewhere to take his ablutions at home: his village is always situated near some river or brook, and he would consider it as the acme of absurdity to go to the stream in

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question and bring the water home, when without such trouble, the same, and even a much better, result can be obtained by using the water where it is found 515

The Isneg wash their hands before meals, or, to speak correctly, dip one of their hands in water with a semblance of washing it: they occasionally tell their offspring to do the same. 264 515 862

In order to satisfy the wants of nature, they always retire far away from the presence of other human beings lest they offend the latters' sense of smell: an Isneg resents nothing more than the disregard of this elementary courtesy, and children receive a severe scolding and sometimes a sound thrashing, if they fail to imitate their elders in this respect. Special closets for the purpose were entirely unknown here until Government officials introduced them by force: there is no lack of space in Apayaw. 514 863 177

Isneg women sweep the house, not only daily, but whenever there is a reason for doing so, and they clean the yard very often. Small girls are regularly told to help their mother or their elder sisters, and sometimes to do the sweeping in their stead, so that they also may learn how to perform the duties of a good housewife. 356 863

Let us now pass to the noble sport of *bisndg*. *Bisndg* is very popular all over the northern part of the Mountain Province, while Ibaloy and Kankanay seem not even to know it. Among the Isneg, not only boys and young men, but also men of mature age, frequently indulge in it; nay, at stated times, adults take part in it as in a kind of religious rite or ceremony; but more of this later. Isneg youngsters usually practice *bisndg* in imitation of their elders, merely as a kind of play, whenever it takes their fancy to do so. Although this sport is not formally taught, older people often urge boys to take part in it, and they rarely fail to break out into vociferous applause, whenever one of the young braves has performed his part befittingly, in this way encouraging the whole group to do better and better. 524 857 865 865 201 861

Bisndg certainly inures the partakers to hardship and develops their bodily strength, although, to use a minimum of words, one might say that it merely consists in slapping one another's thigh. But such a statement is all too simple; in reality the sport is much more complicated. There must be at least two men in order to play *bisndg* (Figures 1 and 2), and strictly speaking, two men are sufficient: the one who slaps, whom I shall call the agent for short, and the one who is slapped, the patient. 524 865

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And first the patient (*mogtdn*). This man takes a sitting posture, in the case of the Isneg mostly on the ground or on the floor, and extends both legs in such a way as to expose the vastus externus of the quadriceps extensor muscle of one of his thighs. Sometimes the exposed leg is slightly bent at the knee, in order to obtain a uniformly even surface. Lest the leg in question be moved from its position or the muscle relax through trembling, the patient usually thrusts one of his hands (the left, in case he presents the right thigh to be slapped) between the two legs and sustains the exposed thigh from beneath.

FIG. 1. THE *Bimá'ŋ* GAME

When everything is ready, the other man, the agent (*maŋná*) prepares himself to strike a blow on the exposed muscle with the flat of his hand. This preparation is very elaborate: the agent starts from a place at some distance from the patient and approaches, retreats and approaches again several times in succession, every time contorting his body in every possible way, and swinging his arms, especially the one that has to strike the blow, to and fro, up and down, as if he was going to strike a score of enemies. When coming near his opponent, he occasionally pats the exposed muscle with just a slight

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blow, as if to prepare both that muscle and his own hand for the final blow. The more abundant and gracious the contortions of the agent, the more his performance will be admired by the bystanders. All the while, of course, the patient follows the movements of his opponent with anxious eyes, and as soon as the latter has struck his

FIG. 2. THE *Magtá'n* IN THE *Bisal'g* GAME

blow, provided it was well done, patient and lookers-on alike examine the skin of the slapped thigh to see if it has been cracked. This is far from being a rare occurrence, and occasionally blood may be seen spurting from the cracks. The best blows are those that are given with a short dry slap and that resound with a clear clapping noise.

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524 After this the patient takes his turn in playing the rôle of agent,
•865 and all excitement, and perhaps filled with a spirit of revenge, he will try to elicit even more applause than his predecessor by the gracefulness and abundance of his contortions, and by the keenness of his final blow. Sometimes both men repeat the performance once and again, and even several times in succession; but the general rule is one slap to each individual.

All the time some of the bystanders are challenging one another to a similar combat and as soon as the two customary blows have been struck, or in case the same two men played the *bisndg* several times in succession, as soon as these are tired or otherwise stop slapping one another, the next pair takes to the platform.

B. MENTAL EDUCATION

212 Let us now turn to the question of mental education. Here at
868 least we meet with a kind of formal training. To make the matter very simple. I shall begin by mentioning the fact that the Isneg have no system of writing, and there is consequently no room for teaching anything concerned with either reading or writing; and, whereas there are no recognized hereditary chiefs among them, all children are practically on the same level. But all of them have to learn the spoken language of the people, and without the help of someone to teach them, most youngsters would remain ignorant of a good many terms that every decent Isneg should know. Moreover such knowledge has to be imparted to them at the earliest opportunity.

868 Here the mother, without being recognized specifically as a teacher,
855 takes upon herself to instruct her child as soon as it begins to be able to talk. She tells it the names of articles of furniture, animals, trees, and whatever comes in their way. This is done formally, but not systematically. I mean that the mother really teaches her child, but she does this only on the occasion of meeting the object whose name she wishes her baby to know. The father also does not fail to teach his boys, who have attained the age at which they leave the usual company of their mother and follow their male parent, the names of some objects of which they might still be ignorant, for instance the names of constellations, and more especially the names of places, brooks, etc., which they meet on their way while travelling. Even in the case of small children of both sexes, the father gladly plays the instructor, whenever there is some occasion to do so, although as a rule the mother is supposed to impart most of that kind of training

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626 hardest labor will be gladly accepted in order to avoid shame, which
558 to an Isneg seems to be a kind of synthesis of all evils. That is also
578 the reason why ridicule is such a powerful weapon among the Isneg. For fear of ridicule a man will cover himself modestly when appearing in the presence of women, and miscreants will resort to ridicule in order to induce a young man to commit the worst crimes. No Isneg can stand ridicule.

626 Among the Isneg pride and ambition are only second to shame as incentives for being virtuous and conducting oneself honorably; nevertheless they are far from having the same power as shame, and parents will use them in a much smaller degree than the latter motive.
[461] The indolence of the Isneg has considerably lessened the power of ambition and pride as a motive for complying with the tenets of their moral code.

And so also praise and encouragement, although they rarely fail to help an Isneg youngster onward on the path of duty, are much less powerful than the all-feared ridicule. Isneg parents, however, are very well aware of the fact that a little occasional praise and a timely word of encouragement will rarely fail to be appreciated by the child, and that they will often do very much for the latter's betterment or the continuance of its right behavior.

Flattery is not so much in their line, and it is comparatively rarely resorted to in order to make a young man or woman behave decently. In the case of smaller children, however, it will often be used with the best of results.

The hope of a reward is not always as powerful as the fear of punishment, at least in the case of the little ones. But allow me to reserve the treatment of this subject for one of the following paragraphs.

3. Methods of Training

361 I shall not enter here into a large number of details with reference
• 867 to the methods used in the training of children, as very much has been said already in my lengthy treatment of the moral code. I shall
[881] go over the whole matter rather quickly, the more so as there is no question of initiation or puberty rites among the Isneg.

[602] Although elders, whosoever they be, may occasionally take a hand in the training of children, nevertheless this task devolves principally on the parents, and to a certain extent also on the grandparents. The tribe or community as such has little or nothing to do with the moral upbringing of the younger members of any given settlement.

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Not only the absence of initiation ceremonies, but even that of any customs that might aim to teach or mold moral conduct, as dieting, fasting and so on, is a great drawback to the efficient training of Isneg youth. I repeat it, young people are taught to avoid hardship much more than to get inured to it, and this seemingly has much to do with keeping our Isneg in habitual indolence, and rendering them easily dejected at the smallest difficulty or the slightest pain.

Here now I shall enumerate the virtues and acts of virtue that are formally taught according to the Isneg moral code, and those that are less formally taught, and shall give a few supplementary details. It should be stated once for all that all, or almost all, training in this line is done directly; I mean that the Isneg rarely, if ever, use stories or fables in order to inculcate the principles that regulate moral conduct. Some of their tales might perhaps have such a very desirable effect, but the generality have not, and I really wonder if, even in the case of those that have a kind of moral attached to them, the Isneg really use them for the purpose of teaching right behavior. The tales seem to be much more a means of teaching the youngsters the traditions of the race, especially with reference to spirits and kindred subjects, and very often also they are simply a pastime for people who have few means of diversion and amusement.

The teaching of religious practices has been explained at length in a preceding paragraph, and here I have nothing to add on that subject. Headhunting as a duty has rarely been taught ex professo: all the traditions of the people and the paramount importance of this custom in the life of an Isneg tended formerly to impress it very strongly upon the mind of the child. Actually of course the taking of heads, which is fast disappearing, has no more the same appeal to the members of the younger generation; so this part of the Isneg moral code is bound to lapse sooner or later, provided the Government can keep the people in control for a sufficiently long period of time. This is what happened with the Ibaloy, among whom by this time headhunting is an unknown quantity, and with the Kankanay, among whom the same custom is almost completely rooted out.

Obedience and respect for their elders is very formally taught to the children, not only by father and mother, but also by other members of the older generation. Besides small boys and girls learn by practical experience the necessity of obeying and respecting their elders, as it is not a rare occurrence to see a whipping follow in the wake of a transgression of this most important duty of a child.

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867 Loyalty to friends and generosity are also made the subject of special teaching on the part of Isneg parents. Occasions do not fail in which the latter explain to their offspring the ugliness of avariciousness and of lack of open-handedness.

867 576 Gratitude, however, is rarely mentioned. Does an Isneg perhaps consider this virtue as a necessary sequel of one's duty of being loyal to a friend in need? Whatever goes on in their mind, the Isneg are certainly not very demonstrative about it. They seem to take a kindness among friends as a matter of course, and they are perhaps not very far from the truth. I am thoroughly convinced though that gratitude is very well known and also practised among our Isneg, but a white man would sometimes prefer to see or hear a little more about it. I repeat it, the Isneg are over-stingy in their expressions of gratitude, and formulas such as "thank you" and so on are unknown to them.

On the other hand the duty of hospitality is very expressly taught to every Isneg boy and girl, and the consequences that are liable to result from lack of hospitality on the part of an Isneg married woman are known to everybody; such a misdemeanor may be a sufficient reason for an Isneg husband to divorce his wife.

867 577 558 To take revenge and to sustain a quarrel are signs of courage in the eyes of an Isneg, and the latter virtue is esteemed and highly praised by all. In his eyes nobody deserves more ridicule than a coward, and such a person usually gets an ample share of the same. Although quarreling and anger as such are considered as bad, everything depends on the reason why, so that rightful anger and maintaining one's rights despite everything are absolutely required in a man who does not want to be called timid. Control of one's temper in many instances would be synonymous with cowardice. All this is so firmly ingrained in the Isneg mind that no formal teaching is necessary. A youngster will ever be applauded for his courage and will be encouraged to go ahead, if he takes revenge after having sustained some injury, if he leaves nothing undone to keep the right on his side while engaged in a dispute, and if he is angry without going into extremes any time that he is firmly convinced that he is not wrong.

867 577 Laziness does not need any special reproof, as every young man and every girl know through daily experience the necessity of forestalling any bad reputation on the subject, lest marriage be either postponed indefinitely or, if already contracted, broken asunder without mercy. With reference to the smaller children, the necessity of

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obedience forcibly impresses upon their minds at the same time their duty of being diligent at work, as the parents do not fail to take them along when attending to their daily tasks, as soon as the youngsters are able to lend a helping hand. 867 577

Modesty, chastity, conjugal fidelity and temperance are virtues that are frequently subjects of very special teaching. Just as obedience is an ordinary topic of conversation when talking with the little ones, so the aforementioned virtues are often mentioned when young people receive some admonition or warning on the part of their parents. Besides, the knowledge of the consequences of immorality with unfortunate results and the punishment it entails helps not a little to deter Isneg youth from indulging in such excesses. After all this, it would be superfluous to tell young people of both sexes to sleep apart: the girls mostly attend to that without any special warning. In Bontok there are common dormitories for girls as well as for boys, and in many other places in the Mountain Province every village has its boys' dormitories. These institutions, which probably were originally planned as a safeguard to the morals of the young on account of the smallness of the huts of the natives, have since degenerated into haunts of vice. Among the Isneg the houses are fortunately large enough to keep the whole family together, so that the parents can watch the youngsters at leisure, if they choose to do so. Nevertheless the absence of rooms renders complete control very difficult. Although the Isneg have not to contend with the Bontok brothels, if I may call these girls' dormitories by such an ugly name, which in my opinion and experience they amply deserve, still they have not yet attained to perfection under this respect on account of the absence of separate rooms in their comparatively large and commodious dwellings. 867 836

Temperance in eating and drinking, although perhaps not so frequently inculcated as modesty, chastity and the rest, are nevertheless very clearly taught, especially to the boys; while the teaching of chastity as we understand it is, in the case of the Isneg, reduced to that of decent relations between the sexes. Sins against nature are never mentioned. Self-pollution is probably practised occasionally by some members of the male sex. Of other sins in that line I have never heard anything; by which of course I do not want to deny their existence, but simply to state that they are certainly not indulged in frequently and less so openly, as otherwise they would certainly have come to my notice. 867 577 576

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867 577 Honesty and truthfulness are subjects of very frequent training, especially the latter. Rarely a day passes without hearing some denunciation of the vice of lying from the mouth of an Isneg, and children are really brought up in an atmosphere of honesty and truth: this cannot be denied, although a lie in their eyes has not exactly the same meaning as with us. A lie, as defined by an Isneg, would mean something like this: "uselessly to tell an untruth to a friend", in this way excluding from its definition the telling of an untruth in order to avoid difficulties or in order to save a friend, and the deception practised on the Ibanag and their kindred.

An Isneg child is deterred from boasting mostly through ridicule, while talebearing, which is called treason, and jealousy form less frequent subjects of teaching.

Youngsters have not to be taught *ex professo* that killing among friends is a terrible crime. Loyalty to friends and related subjects are sufficiently explained without the necessity of including such a hateful crime among the usual prohibitions: if you have to be loyal to your friends, your first duty of course is to respect their life.

861 867 626 I have been talking freely about Isneg training and teaching, but when and where is youth educated and instructed in the tenets of the moral code? Well, at any time. This is a very indefinite answer indeed, but the time and place of teaching is at least equally indefinite. An Isneg parent may instruct his offspring when at home, he may do so while at work in the field; Isneg know nothing about school periods, no bells are used among them in order to go over from one exercise to another, there are neither watches nor clocks in Isneg houses, and to an Isneg time is not money. Nevertheless formal training mostly coincides with some special happening; a breach of the moral code, whether committed by outsiders or by the children themselves, or some extraordinary act of virtue, are the most frequent occasions in which the precepts of Isneg morality are instilled into the minds of the young.

861 626 Scolding,—which in many cases is exceedingly severe and covers the culprit with shame in the face of the whole neighborhood,—and other punishments are frequently resorted to regulate the conduct of children. Corporal punishments take place only in the case of the smaller children, while the fear of being scolded is a frequent deterrent for boys and girls of every age. The former consist in slapping the head, the cheeks, the shoulders, the back or the buttocks, in whipping the buttocks or the legs, thighs and calves, in twisting

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855 comes for the boys to follow their father and for the girls to be left to her care. The best viands are always reserved for the little ones and dainties are stored away (*maxalúmid*) for their future use. If a child gets sick, the parents will do their utmost to relieve the little sufferer; and if it is its fate, as the Isneg put it, to die, its elders' lamentations will follow it to the grave.

731 In times of famine the children are of course the biggest sufferers, not that the Isneg does not share with them whatever food he can lay 858 hands on, but because growing boys and girls lack the sustenance they badly need at their age, which rarely fails to be followed by 597 results that affect them unfavorably for the rest of their life. I have heard once of a hard-pressed Isneg who sold a child for money: this is certainly a rare exception, and, as all circumstances are not known to me (I am not even sure that it was his own child), I am not free to pronounce judgment on the transaction. What I know is that the family by whom the child was adopted would certainly not cause it to regret its former life, as far as material advantages are concerned; nevertheless this is not a sufficient excuse for such an act.

855 It may be asked if families differ much in their solicitude for the proper moral upbringing of children, if some families are more reli- 867 gious-minded than others, if some families are more concerned than 184 others in watching over their children and in safeguarding them in sex morality. What can I answer to such questions? I should like 124 to make the following invitation to my inquirers: let them choose a certain district of the United States, say in Kansas or in Indiana or in whatever state they prefer, a district where there are no densely populated sections and where some ten thousand people are scattered over a comparatively large area, and then let them tell me the result of their investigations among inhabitants of that district with reference to the above questions. I am sure that their task would not be easier or more difficult than mine, in order to give a satisfactory survey of the situation. Nevertheless I shall try to give a few concrete instances that have come to my personal notice and which I can recall just now, leaving aside the Kankanay, among whom I resided from 1909 to 1915, and confining myself exclusively to the Isneg, with whom I have been living since 1925.

855 Take the settlement of Baliwanan. A Baliwanan girl was living 184 with the family of my catechist at Kabugaw, where she took care of the children, washed the clothes, and did other little chores. On a 836 certain day somebody told her father that a boy had entered the house

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up a good many friendships, and it is the starting point of not a few quarrels among them. Voluntary talebearing, by which I mean here reporting to the interested person the gossip that somebody has spread about him, is, as far as I can judge about the matter, rather rare, at least among men.

Drunkenness is a vice that is mostly indulged in only at the time of some *sáy-dm* or other sacrifice, and this mostly by old men. Comparing their use of intoxicating drinks with what I have seen in civilized countries, I should say that the Isneg is a temperate man. Nevertheless theory is stricter than practice, except in the case of youth.

Three points are still to be considered now, namely: chastity, honesty and truthfulness.

And first as to chastity and the virtues related to it. Complete nudity is habitual among youngsters under six years of age; the little coat usually worn even by small boys, is not sufficiently long to cover them decently. Such nakedness is not considered shameful as long as the children are small; nevertheless there is some ground for concluding that it may have an effect upon sex behavior. Indeed small children are very after tickled (*magkurira-, kurirkán*) in order to cause them to laugh, and this tickling is very commonly practised on or near the genitals, not only by the parents, but also by young boys and girls; especially in the case of small boys, the principal use of their penis seems to be that of being fingered by every passer-by.

As soon as the child is able to lisp a few words, the pronunciation by the child of any obscene term that finds its way into the child's vocabulary is greeted with laughter; and if later on foul language is heard to proceed from the small boy's mouth, he is applauded for his cleverness instead of being chastised for his forwardness. Little girls are usually brought up in a less dirty atmosphere, as the mother takes care of them almost exclusively as soon as they are able to walk; but little or no separation of the sexes at night is insisted upon during the first years of the little Isneg's life.

Everything considered, the sight of nudity in both sexes, touching of one another's genitals without reproof, the early excitation of the boys' genitals through indecent handling by older children and adults, the use of dirty speech without the least restraint and almost with encouragement, all these combined can do nothing else but detract from the efficiency of subsequent teaching on sex morality. The existence of the term *kassár* seems to support my inference; *kassár*

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867 means "to suffer erection", and is used only of boys and girls who
831 have not yet attained the age of puberty; another term is in use for adults.

And so we have reached the period between the age at which the
867 little one wears lower garments for the first time and that of puberty.
834 Formal teaching about the first elements of sex morality usually starts
291 about this time, and so little girls of this age are generally very modest, although boys are not so meticulous. Provided they are
858 circumcised, the latter do not mind very much exposing their naked
183 body, and even when as yet uncircumcised, there is no comparison between their behavior and that of their modest little sisters. For the rest much freedom still exists, as my reference to the special term just explained seems to indicate, so that it might be called a miracle if the youngsters live a chaste life once they have attained the age
[835] of puberty. Recently a young man of some eighteen years old was arrested for having violated his little sister who is barely six years old; he said he wanted "to try".

836 Grown-up girls are of course much better in this respect than boys,
183 and both sexes usually observe the laws of modesty that have been taught them by their parents according to the Isneg code; but in
577 general I think that the morals of young people are decidedly loose.
867 *Magdaldallâw* (joking one another, boys and girls), *magkabbâl* (to finger a girl's breasts; said only of boys), and similar terms, seem to indicate that the teaching of their elders is not very successful. Add to this that young men have free access at night to all houses where girls of marriageable age may be found, and it will not be wondered at that chastity is a rare flower among Isneg youth.

836 The fear of pregnancy and of its consequences is of course a great
183 deterrent to young people of both sexes, but, even leaving aside the question of self-pollution, simple fornication must not be so exceed-
867 ingly rare after all. It is true that my informants usually assure me that coitus is never practised among unengaged boys and girls of mature age; but this in my opinion cannot be accepted without a grain of salt. Indeed, the same men have also told me at first that continence is imposed upon engaged couples before their marriage, but I have learned since that the latter are free to sleep together as often as they wish even though none of the usual ceremonies has yet been performed,—and this I now know to be a universal custom all over Apayaw.

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Not so long ago I opened two dormitories for High School students, one for boys and one for girls. These young people came here directly from their villages, for the most part without having received as yet any serious Christian instruction. Since that time I have been inclined more than once to stop the whole affair; at any rate I shall certainly never again accept them indiscriminately. If I had to watch them strictly only on one side, it would not be so bad; but when even some of the girls have to be kept under close surveillance, the situation becomes almost intolerable. The dormitories had barely been started, when I had to expel one boy and one girl: it was not simply a matter of the boy writing love letters, with the girl answering them; but he openly proposed in writing to sleep with her, and the girl consented, also in writing, and gave a date for their future meeting.

Recently one of the girls from the girls' dormitory told me that, at the time she was still studying in her home village, a few of her classmates had absolutely refused to study the prayers (to prepare for baptism), and this for the following reason: "If we were Christians we should not be allowed any more to sleep with the boys at night [using each other's arm for a pillow; not: performing coitus], and this we cannot endure". The last part of this sentence is here put down textually, just as I heard it.

Coeducation which obtains in the public schools helps not a little to take away the small restraint that native Isneg teaching may have produced, and the example of persons who should show them better ways is sometimes far from being an aid to our frail young people on the arduous path of purity and chastity.

Nevertheless children born out of wedlock are the exception. How can we explain this? There is no question of contraceptive measures or voluntary abortion as far as I know, so the reason has to be found elsewhere. This state of affairs may be explained either by the practice of solitary vice or by marriage subsequent on the pregnancy of the girl in every case. Now the latter explanation is in my opinion more often concordant with the actual facts than the former. The boys go to *mamabáy* (court the girls) early in life, and they may have had sex relations very often before the dreaded result occurred. Besides Isneg boys and girls marry very early, and they are allowed to sleep together as soon as they are engaged, so that it is an easy matter to arrange everything in such a way as not to cause the child to be considered as born out of wedlock. Public education as it is in

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183 vogue here now tends to retard marriage; but its introduction is still
178 too recent and it is still too much the privilege of the few, to be able
177 sensibly to affect the standard of morality among our Isneg.

As to conjugal fidelity, it may be said that an unfaithful wife is
837 the exception among the Isneg; but with reference to the men, the
183 situation is not so bright. Even polygyny is not always sufficient
184 to put a curb to the husband's license: indeed only the rich can afford to take more than one wife, and these at the same time usually enjoy the greatest freedom on account of their wealth and social influence.

577 To sum up the situation, it may be said that open immorality and
183 indecency is much less frequent among the Isneg than among several
171 other Mountain tribes, but, although more or less well concealed, loose
836 morals are rather the rule than the exception among young unmarried people, and among married people the state of affairs leaves much to be desired. "Doing that which may make a girl pregnant" is not what the Isneg abhors, but "making a girl actually pregnant".

577 With reference to honesty, the Isneg generally observes the rules
183 laid down by his own code, and transgressions are rare. Isneg thieves
685 are not at all common, and downright robbery, even from the Ibanag or the *idammán* (enemies of his own tribe), is a rare occurrence. This
858 is true of children as well as of adults, although the former may
867 occasionally try to pilfer fruits or other eatables, in which, nevertheless, they are never encouraged by their elders, who rarely fail to scold them and even to punish them.

577 Truthfulness also is quite ordinary among adult Isneg, but many
867 youngsters need frequent correction on the subject. In this connec-
158 tion, however, we should bear in mind the existence of two inveterate habits not only among the Isneg, but also among the generality of
183 Malays with whom I have come in contact. And first, whenever he
811 is caught at something that might elicit from you even the smallest reprimand, he has always an excuse ready at the tip of his tongue, and any excuse will do, however preposterous it may be; he never reasons about it, the truth is not what he aims at, but the plain presentation of an excuse, be it real or imaginary. These people are certainly experts in that line.

577 Just to give a few examples. One day I was very much astonished
158 to find that all my bananas had disappeared, although they were care-
183 fully stored away in a closed press, so I suspected, and not without reason, that one of my Isneg boys had found them to his taste. At
811 the first occasion I bluntly asked the fellow what had happened to

The Common Law enjoins that man must not: steal, tell false stories of others, court the wife of another, nor make trouble at a feast. It further enjoins that a man must respect the rights of individuals, give food to visitors, give aid to neighbors, and that parents shall teach children the old customs and legends, as well as correct them in order that they may grow up properly. 685 683 684 689 867

The Apayaos have a very complete system of social etiquette which might be characteristic of a high culture. It displays a nice sense of fitness and an innate kindliness of nature. Hispitable customs make the visitor's stay a happy one. There is even no embarrassing sense of indebtedness for gifts of service or materials to be expressed: for the people have no word meaning "thank you" in their dialect. When one goes on a journey, there is no word meaning "goodbye": no sad word of farewell. One just walks away as if he were going down to the river to take a bath. When he returns, even after a long absence there is no word of greeting. He is treated just as if he had only come back from taking his bath. As a matter of fact he may have; for it is the custom to take a bath in the last river crossed before reaching home. 576 192 515

The people keep their houses and surrounding grounds clean and neat. Clothing is kept washed, and daily baths in the river are taken. The bark of the *taplet* tree is used for cleansing purpose. 356 515 824

The Apayaos are remarkedly modest about their persons. A woman must not allow her legs to spread when squatting to a sitting position nor allow her tapis to go above her knees. Even when there are no 516 834 834

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A. PHYSICAL EDUCATION

868

And first as to physical education. As soon as an Isneg child is able to roam around without any assistance, the mother, who up till now rarely failed to take it along by carrying it on her back, very often makes it accompany her when she goes to the field, to the river or wherever duty calls, and from now on the little one has to walk at least for some part of the journey. When a boy grows older he mostly accompanies his father, while a girl continues to follow in the trail of her mother, or rather to precede her mother, as this is the usual way. In this manner children learn how to ascend and descend mountain slopes, how to cling to precipitous cliffs by using both fingers and toes, and how to cross rivers and brooks. Occasionally the parent tells his offspring in what crevice of the rock he should insert his great toe, but this is mostly learned by experience and practice.

Even swimming is never taught ex professo. This may perhaps be the reason why you can find in almost every agglomeration a few girls and sometimes a couple of boys who are unable to keep themselves afloat. Recently a young man from Nagilian was drowned at the confluence of the Tabayagan and the Apayaw, just below Abbil; and one of my houseboys from Bolo is not able to recover his property without assistance, if it happens to fall down into deep water at the time of washing clothes or taking a bath. In both cases the boys failed to learn how to swim, although they were born and reared on the banks of the Apayaw.

A good amount of almost daily walking is supposed to be a sufficient natural guarantee for boys and girls to grow up sturdy and healthy, as far as required by an Isneg, while the only kind of preternatural help that is resorted to in order to keep the child from sickness, is merely to attach a string with a few seeds or cowries strung on it, either around the neck or at the wrist of the babe, or to make it wear a few herbs, the secret of the shaman, somewhere on the body.

All this goes to show that there is really no recognized system of physical training: hardship is avoided as much as possible, and if anything were taught the young about it, it would be to avoid it rather than to be inured to it, if you except perhaps the sport of *bisndg*, to which I shall refer presently.

Formerly, the only bodily strength, agility and skill that were necessary to an Isneg boy,—besides those required for his daily walks

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868 and ordinary work, to which his parents even now introduce him as early as possible,—were those he needed at the time of taking a head or of defending his own; and here again, the best means for acquiring them was practice by imitation or necessity. Even the use of the spear, the headax and the shield was never formally taught: a young man saw his elders at work, and did as they did. After all, a real attack, openly and face to face, has always been rather the exception; to fall unawares on an unsuspecting enemy, to kill a defenceless woman or child, and similar exploits, were usually much more in the line of the Isneg. If nevertheless some of them have been real braves, practice, not formal teaching, has made them such. But nowadays these happy times seem to be gone forever: every Isneg man cultivates his fields in peace and sits undisturbed under his coconut tree, the latter eventuality being usually the more frequent

857 524 Isneg boys and girls are found of play, this is only natural; but their choice is very limited. Indeed, except for the sport of *bisnág*, most of the time these types of play merely consist in running and wrestling, at least as far as active sports that may serve to develop bodily strength are concerned. A group of Isneg boys, whether inside or outside the house, rarely keep quiet for a long time, and very soon playful fighting, which for the most part consists in slapping and kicking one another, is indulged in. This romping, which the Isneg call by the comprehensive term of *maxaúrád*, after a time becomes so noisy that other people present cannot hear one another's voices, until some old fellow cries: "*Páxat*" (no special meaning), at which the infernal noise stops on the spot, to begin again, of course, at the first opportunity. Isneg girls, although usually less rough and noisy, are not loath to follow the example of the members of the ruder sex; this is generally, but not always, done among themselves exclusively.

[863] 515 Baths are taken rather frequently by both adults and children: the latter either follow the example of their elders or go to take a splash in the river with their companions. In this case each sex keeps strictly apart almost without exception: indeed an Isneg mother never fails to teach her girls a certain modesty as the best means to prevent regrettable incidents. Baths are always taken in some stream of [136] running water; ponds of still water besides being very rare in the Isneg country, are usually infested with crocodiles, and no Isneg would think of fetching water from somewhere to take his ablutions at home: his village is always situated near some river or brook, and he would consider it as the acme of absurdity to go to the stream in

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524 865 After this the patient takes his turn in playing the rôle of agent, and all excitement, and perhaps filled with a spirit of revenge, he will try to elicit even more applause than his predecessor by the gracefulness and abundance of his contortions, and by the keenness of his final blow. Sometimes both men repeat the performance once and again, and even several times in succession; but the general rule is one slap to each individual.

All the time some of the bystanders are challenging one another to a similar combat and as soon as the two customary blows have been struck, or in case the same two men played the *bisndg* several times in succession, as soon as these are tired or otherwise stop slapping one another, the next pair takes to the platform.

B. MENTAL EDUCATION

212 868 Let us now turn to the question of mental education. Here at least we meet with a kind of formal training. To make the matter very simple, I shall begin by mentioning the fact that the Isneg have no system of writing, and there is consequently no room for teaching anything concerned with either reading or writing; and, whereas there are no recognized hereditary chiefs among them, all children are practically on the same level. But all of them have to learn the spoken language of the people, and without the help of someone to teach them, most youngsters would remain ignorant of a good many terms that every decent Isneg should know. Moreover such knowledge has to be imparted to them at the earliest opportunity.

868 855 Here the mother, without being recognized specifically as a teacher, takes upon herself to instruct her child as soon as it begins to be able to talk. She tells it the names of articles of furniture, animals, trees, and whatever comes in their way. This is done formally, but not systematically. I mean that the mother really teaches her child, but she does this only on the occasion of meeting the object whose name she wishes her baby to know. The father also does not fail to teach his boys, who have attained the age at which they leave the usual company of their mother and follow their male parent, the names of some objects of which they might still be ignorant, for instance the names of constellations, and more especially the names of places, brooks, etc., which they meet on their way while travelling. Even in the case of small children of both sexes, the father gladly plays the instructor, whenever there is some occasion to do so, although as a rule the mother is supposed to impart most of that kind of training

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to the members of the younger generation. It is she indeed who is the most steady companion of the little ones and who naturally has the greatest influence over them; and in the case of girls, this companionship and influence continue for a comparatively long time.

C. VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

With reference to vocational training, the Isneg, probably unconsciously aware of the fact that mere theoretical teaching rarely amounts to anything, have only one way of imparting knowledge in this line, namely, by showing how to do things. Nevertheless their children have two ways of getting it, by imitating what they see and by working under the direction of people who give them formal instruction. The two ways are rather sharply defined, some kinds of work being exclusively learned by imitation and practice, while others are first formally taught and shown and then practised. Before enumerating the different occupations of the Isneg, and stating whether they are practised by boys or by girls and whether they are learned by pure imitation or by formal instruction, I should like to make a few preliminary remarks.

In general it should be said that whenever there is question of formal instruction among the Isneg, a boy is taught exclusively by his father and a girl by her mother. Other persons take the place of the parents only in case of the latters' premature decease, and even then women confine their instruction to girls and men to boys. The reason of this separation of the sexes is not far to seek: every Isneg strictly keeps to the occupations commonly performed by his or her own sex, and so the children necessarily get their knowledge also from persons of their own sex. Recently I had a little conversation with an Isneg widower which very well illustrates the matter:

He: "I am a very poor man."

I: "Poor? How can you be poor when you have so much fertile soil at your disposition?"

He: "Yes, but I have no wife."

I: "Does that make any difference?" [I knew it did, of course, but I wanted to hear him tell me so].

He: "Well, certainly; I need a woman to till my fields."

I: "Now, is that a reason? Are you not healthy and strong enough to do that yourself?"

He: "How could I do that? Do you expect me to plant the seeds and grub up the weeds?"

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462 I: "Of course, why shouldn't you:"

He: "But I never did that; I do not know anything about it."

I: "That is very easy though; and you are not too old to learn. Can you not do like this?" [Here I mimicked the action of a woman who makes holes in the ground for planting the seeds].

He: "Wouldn't that be funny. Have you ever seen a man doing a woman's work?"

I: "I do not see anything funny about it, if you need to do so in order to live."

He: "No, sir, that is not our business; that is woman's work; without a woman we can do nothing. I cannot help it, but that is the custom. Woman's work for a woman, man's work for a man."

856 It is also a fact that boys help their father and girls their mother
861 as soon as they are able to do so. No sooner have they gained the required strength but they will be given some necessary implement in order to learn its use. Very often, especially in the case of the headax [868] *(aliwá)* of men, which is of universal use and serves almost any purpose, the instrument at first will be a small or light one, provided it serves the purpose, to be superseded later on by a heavier one of the same nature. Whereas a child usually accompanies, first its mother, and later on one of its parents according to its sex, it is but natural that it should also offer them its help, as soon as it has gained sufficient strength. Although at first the help may be very slight and insignificant, the Isneg does not lose sight of the fact that this early exercise and practice will be of great benefit to the child, and that in the end it will accrue to his own advantage.

861 Imitative types of play are very little practised, as may be deduced from the above: the children very soon have to do the real thing, why should they occupy themselves with imitations? Nevertheless it may happen that they imitate in play a certain work which is still beyond their strength: so I have seen little Isneg girls playing at pounding and winnowing rice, with sand for rice, a small hole in the ground for a mortar, a stick for a pestle, and some large leaf for a winnow; [524] but these are exceptions, and not at all frequent ones. Incidentally it may be mentioned that dolls are unknown to our little Isneg maidens; a real child will be thrust upon them as soon as they are able to carry it.

462 And now as to the sundry occupations of the Isneg.

241 An Isneg is a farmer above anything else, so no wonder that agriculture is not only his chief pursuit, but also that which is taught

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his children earlier and more extensively than any other work. At the same time he believes in the division of labor; so even in this respect, among the Isneg, the two sexes simply complement one another.

The agricultural system of the Isneg is a very wasteful one, as he never plants his rice in the same field for two consecutive years. He has to clear every year a part of the forest or bush: now this work is the exclusive duty of the men. A father tells and shows his boy which part of the forest or bush should be chosen for a future field; then both start the work by cutting down small trees and undergrowth, and finish it by burning the dried plants. The boy imitates his father during the whole procedure, but an occasional hint on the part of the parent is rarely absent, especially in the case of the smaller boys. Then comes the turn of the women, to whom from now on the whole work devolves almost exclusively. The mother teaches her girls how to plant rice, corn, taro, yams, sweet potatoes and the rest, how to weed the fields, and how to harvest the crops. The only time at which the father, with the boys as his pupils, intervenes is when a fence has to be erected around the field.

In brief, almost everything relating to agriculture is formally taught to the children, but it is done in such a way that they can immediately start practising what they have learned, by imitating their elders. The only exception is the original clearing of a chosen field, which is learned by imitation alone; at that time of course the boy should already be old enough to wield at least a small headax, and consequently he must have seen his father at work in former years, and needs no further instruction on the subject.

Pounding rice and preparing the meals are never taught: just as soon as a girl is old enough, she helps her mother, and picks these things up just naturally Even boys learn how to cook a simple meal (and all Isneg meals deserve that qualification) in the same way, as later on, especially when travelling, they will have to do it without the assistance of the women.

Hunting, fishing and preparing trees for apiculture, which are men's pursuits, are learned almost exclusively by imitation: a boy sees what others do, whether they be his older relatives or just some other boys who have already been initiated into the secrets of the game, and he acts like they do. That an occasional word of instruction or warning may be offered the young man, cannot be denied, but as a whole no formal teaching takes place.

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462 The same may be said with reference to simple and ordinary car-
335 pentry, in which most all Isneg are more or less expert. Indeed
868 when there is question of building a new house, the whole agglomer-
ation is summoned to take part. Nevertheless one or more men, more skilled than the rest, usually take the lead, and others do what they are told; in the meanwhile the youngsters pick up whatever they can according to each one's capacity of understanding and skill of hand.

462 Baskets are woven by the women, while the weaving of bownets
285 falls to the share of the men. In both cases young people learn the
868 work merely by imitating what is done by their elders.

462 Perhaps the only kind of work that is performed among the Isneg
326 by special craftsmen, and not by everybody indifferently, is that of
868 the blacksmith, and here again boys learn by imitation. While still
184 small, they merely go and look, but once they have attained their tenth year or so, they help their elders and learn the profession through practice. This is the more easy, as such occupations are not monopolized by a few individuals in each agglomeration, but are professed by the whole settlement or at least by several families, in a very restricted number of places.

868 One subject in which a boy generally receives formal instruction, at least if he wants to learn it, is that of managing a boat, of handling an oar, a paddle and a pole: the father is the recognized teacher of his offspring in this respect; but the whole is of course limited almost exclusively to places that are situated along the Apayaw in its lower course. In a few other places, parents teach their children how to manage a raft, but such teaching is generally much less formal, at least when there is only question of crossing a stream or of travelling over parts of a river that are easy to pass, as most youngsters, girls not excluded, will have seen their elders at work, and will try to imitate them without the necessity of such teaching. An occasional plunge rarely does them any harm, as the majority swim like rats, and those who would not float in case of taking an involuntary bath usually do not take the risk of trying to manage any water craft without the help of others.

D. RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

771 And now we come to the fields of religion and morality, which, in the case of the Isneg, seem to have each their own rather well-defined sphere, without encroaching the one upon the other, at least in so far as morality is concerned with man's duties to his fellow men. Nevertheless generalities are of little or no value, so I shall try to give as

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lighten that of the young shaman who has to confide these things to memory. Here stops the exclusive rôle of the *dorarákit* or shaman as far as religious instruction is concerned.

Dancing and singing, whether religious or otherwise, are learned by pure imitation. Songs are improvised most of the time; the only exceptions are a few scattered terms and a limited number of sentences, more especially a kind of refrain or burden, that recurs at the end of every verse or every stanza in most Isneg songs. These traditional terms and sentences are mostly archaic, and their meaning is a mystery to at least the generality of the Isneg; perhaps some of them have never had any meaning at all.

All Isneg beliefs, whether they have to do with magic or with religion, whether they refer to the world of spirits or to the state of a person after death, are simply picked up, or, as the Isneg put it, "they hear them (*maxi-náda da*)." This means that there is no formal instruction about the matter. Aged persons, particularly old women, and still more especially shamans, freely talk about these things at the slightest provocation, and youngsters are always eager to listen to them. This, however, does not exclude the possibility and even the probability of the members of the older generation talking about magical or religious beliefs purposely and with the direct intention of telling the children about them. And that such instruction, whether intended or not, is sometimes really very efficacious is proved by the fact that I have had among my informants girls of barely ten years old who know everything about certain spirits and could vividly describe them to me. This is the more easily understood when one remembers that all these extraordinary details agree very well with the usual trend of the Isneg mind toward the supernatural, so that the children experience little difficulty in keeping them impressed upon their memory.

Myths and legends, stories and tales, which by the way are sometimes far from being religious, are mostly related by the parents and grandparents in the evening, when the whole family is stretched out on the floor and ready to sleep. The Isneg are not in the habit of making much use of artificial light, and they very often go to sleep almost at sunset, so that there is usually ample time for the old people to comply with the wishes of the youngsters, who among them as well as among us, are always eager to hear a story, and the more fantastic the story, the better. Even young boys and girls are sometimes invited to play the rôle of story-teller, provided they are known

252 412 [415] then hulls it by pounding it with a wooden pestle in a mortar fashioned of a two-foot section of a hardwood log, set on end and hollowed out. The woman then winnows it by cleverly tossing it in an oval-shaped tray woven of rattan. There will often be a set of these mortars with the women companionably pounding together, using a sort of chant.

593 854 [842] The relatives are affectionate, and family ties are strong all through life. The family life is a happy one. Babies are much desired and receive a great deal of loving care. Their wants are promptly supplied, and no little one cries its heart out for lack 524 857 of a mother's loving arms. The small girls do not have dolls to play with but use the babies instead. Also, instead of little play houses, they early begin to play house by helping their mothers in the big houses. Many of the small chores about the house are done by the children. But they also have plenty of time for games. [868] swimming, and other amusements. As they grow older, the girls, of course, follow the work of the mother: housework, washing, taking care of the pigs and chickens, carrying water in jars on their heads from the spring, farming, and other duties. The boys cheerfully work with their fathers in gathering wood, building houses, granaries, chicken coops, bamboo fences, etc., and in fishing and hunting. They early learn the lore of the woods; so that a boy of seven here can take much better care of himself in the open than the average Eagle Boy Scout in the United States. [861] The children are taught a proper decorum; but corporal punishment is rare. A little scolding usually keeps them in order.

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many details as possible, although I am far from claiming that my study about Isneg religion and morality has so far been exhaustive or that my knowledge of these subjects cannot be improved upon. A whole lifetime would scarcely be sufficient to disentagle all the intricate knots, the more so that, especially as regards religion, the Isneg are sometimes far from logical in their reasoning.

In religious instruction the *dorarákit* or shaman plays the dominant rôle, as it is she who conducts religious ceremonies, and it is she through whom the spirits and the souls of the dead are supposed to communicate with man. Now let us see in how far the shaman imparts formal instruction, and in how far young people have to learn by merely looking on.

The *dorarákit* directly teaches her pupils by explaining to them the meaning of the rites and ceremonies, at the time of some *sáy-ám* or other sacrifice accompanied by *maxanito*, and almost exclusively on such occasions. Her pupils at the time are first of all the young *dorarákit*, who have been chosen and consecrated mostly when still in their infancy, and secondly all members of the younger generation who are willing to listen. Consequently this kind of teaching is done while the ceremonies in question are under way and it is illustrated by their performance. It is not the place here to enter into details about the ceremonies just referred to; it will suffice to say that the *sáy-ám* is a kind of public sacrifice in which dogs and pigs are offered to the spirits, and that *maxanito* refers to the action of the shaman at the time she is supposed to be possessed either by a spirit or by the soul of a deceased person, who speaks through her mouth. In this the Isneg shaman differs from the Kankanay one; the latter is usually supposed merely to communicate with beings of the other world, to talk to them, while in the case of the Isneg the spirit is supposed to talk through the shaman. Besides, a Kankanay shaman plays a very secondary rôle: she is mostly of use only at the time of sickness, when she has altercations with the spirits who are supposed to cause the disease or when she goes around to look for the *ab-abiik* (Kankanay) or soul, which a sick person is supposed to have lost; while sacrifices, whether public or private, are presided over by men. Let this be enough for the time being.

I just stated that the Isneg shaman explains the meaning of religious rites and ceremonies to her puipls. The manner of conducting these ceremonies, however, is not formally taught: in this respect a young *dorarákit* is a mere looker-on. When the time comes for the

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869 latter to conduct a similar ceremony or to assist her elders at the same, the only aid she will get from some experienced shaman will be an occasional hint as to what she has to do. In general, however, she will already have learned these things on previous occasions, so that she simply imitates now what she has often seen before. The explanations given previously by the older shamans with reference to the meaning of these ceremonies will of course have helped her the better to impress everything upon her memory.

869 I have been told very positively that the prayers or formulas, which
782 are recited on certain occasions, especially in cases of sickness, are
788 never the subject of any direct teaching on the part of the shaman. It is true that the number of Isneg prayers is comparatively small, and that, in general, Isneg recitations, whether in prayer or song, are far from being stereotyped. Some of them, however, especially some formulas more or less in verse or rhyme, which are recited by the shamans while they extract the cause of sickness in the form of iron, herbs, etc., from the body of a sick person, are rather complicated, and as far as I know, of a certain stable and less variable nature.

869 Now how aspirant *dorarákit* are able to learn them without receiving formal instruction, I should say even often repeated instruction, is more or less of a puzzle to me, the more so that these formulas are rarely pronounced distinctly and that many of the terms have become obsolete and are actually meaningless to the natives. Nevertheless, I repeat it, it was told me most positively that they are not taught, that they are simply listened to and picked up. Perhaps what seems very indistinct to outsiders is much less so to the initiated, and probably the rhythm and rhyme help the younger shamans to learn these recitations by heart without too much difficulty. Besides, I know from personal experience that the same regular sequence of sentences or verses is rarely adhered to. Whenever I have tried to write down some of these formulas at the dictation of a shaman, my informant almost invariably inverted the order of the sentences at a second recitation; these women often made me quite nervous, as it was well nigh impossible to write down exactly what they had been reciting. Isneg shamans always talk very quickly when reciting from memory, so I had very often to ask them to repeat a certain part, after I had written down as correctly as possible one or more catch phrases of each verse or sentence; but their second recitation almost never coincided with the first one. Such a state of affairs, of course, makes the task of the recorder doubly difficult, although it may happen to

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lighten that of the young shaman who has to confide these things to memory. Here stops the exclusive rôle of the *dorarákif* or shaman as far as religious instruction is concerned.

Dancing and singing, whether religious or otherwise, are learned by pure imitation. Songs are improvised most of the time; the only exceptions are a few scattered terms and a limited number of sentences, more especially a kind of refrain or burden, that recurs at the end of every verse or every stanza in most Isneg songs. These traditional terms and sentences are mostly archaic, and their meaning is a mystery to at least the generality of the Isneg; perhaps some of them have never had any meaning at all.

All Isneg beliefs, whether they have to do with magic or with religion, whether they refer to the world of spirits or to the state of a person after death, are simply picked up, or, as the Isneg put it, "they hear them (*maxi-náda da*)." This means that there is no formal instruction about the matter. Aged persons, particularly old women, and still more especially shamans, freely talk about these things at the slightest provocation, and youngsters are always eager to listen to them. This, however, does not exclude the possibility and even the probability of the members of the older generation talking about magical or religious beliefs purposely and with the direct intention of telling the children about them. And that such instruction, whether intended or not, is sometimes really very efficacious is proved by the fact that I have had among my informants girls of barely ten years old who know everything about certain spirits and could vividly describe them to me. This is the more easily understood when one remembers that all these extraordinary details agree very well with the usual trend of the Isneg mind toward the supernatural, so that the children experience little difficulty in keeping them impressed upon their memory.

Myths and legends, stories and tales, which by the way are sometimes far from being religious, are mostly related by the parents and grandparents in the evening, when the whole family is stretched out on the floor and ready to sleep. The Isneg are not in the habit of making much use of artificial light, and they very often go to sleep almost at sunset, so that there is usually ample time for the old people to comply with the wishes of the youngsters, who among them as well as among us, are always eager to hear a story, and the more fantastic the story, the better. Even young boys and girls are sometimes invited to play the rôle of story-teller, provided they are known

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869 to be able to do so; and the same story may be repeated several times
538 all over again on different occasions without the young people losing any interest in the matter.

869 The cry "*udôdit*" (a story) is heard very often when the young
517 people have placed themselves in a position for slumber, and the ex-
538 clamation "*udôditko*" (I have a story; literally: my story), emitted by an uninvited story-teller, is usually sufficient to gain him the
[273] attention of all present. Consequently Isneg tales are mostly bedtime stories: nevertheless it also happens that they are recited, this time mostly by men, at the opening of a jar of *bási* (alcoholic beverage obtained from the juice of the sugar cane), or rather during the absorption of its contents. On such occasions, whenever an old man begins to tell a story, the youngsters have no sooner got wind of the affair but they leave everything in order to come near and to listen all ears to these wonderful happenings of times gone by or of a world
[602 alien to their own. It may sometimes happen also that parents or
855] grandparents call their children or grandchildren together at the time of going to sleep in order to relate to them some traditional myth or legend: in this case, of course, the teaching should be called entirely formal.

869 How to look for omens and auguries and how to distinguish between
787 good and bad ones are both the subject of almost exclusively direct instruction. Parents and older brothers and sisters are the accepted
[602 purveyors of this knowledge, which to the Isneg is absolutely indis-
855] pensable if he wants to live in peace and beyond the power of malevolent imps and spirits.

E. MORAL EDUCATION

577 When reading books of travel, especially old ones, written by men
121 who spent a few days at the home of some primitive people, one usually meets with the statement that the latter seem to have no concept of truth and honesty, and one almost always meets with several concrete instances, which apparently prove the truth of that assertion. Not to go too far out of my way, I shall cite as an example a book that has to do almost immediately with the Philippine Islands. We read in the account of Magellan's travels written by Pigafetta that on a certain day, during his famous voyage which led to the discovery of our archipelago, the expedition landed at a place among a group of islands, the inhabitants of which boarded the vessels, laid hands on whatever took their fancy and ran away to hide among the bushes;

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593 The family is a very important entity among the Isneg, and their family life is comparatively intense. There is no question of man and wife associating only for the duties incident to the procreation of children. All members of the household keep rather close together until the young people are able to form a new family, and even in this case the latter usually remain with their elders for a considerable period of their married life. To establish a family, if possible with plenty of children around, is the ultimate goal of every Isneg boy and [671] girl. In principle the rights of the individual are subordinate to those of the family, while state paternalism cannot be thought of.

177 It is true that actually the Government often interferes with the native customs of the Isneg, and in many cases it could not very well 593 do otherwise, but the latter consider it as alien and regard its ways as entirely contrary to their traditions; they would most certainly like to get rid of it at the first opportunity. The Isneg submit of course, as the constabulary is supposed to be mostly wide awake, but they generally do so very reluctantly and often under protest; occasionally they even disobey, and sometimes not without reason, especially in cases of interference with their traditional family life.

177 Just to give a couple of examples. The local authorities force the parents to send their children to school; anybody who disregards this ● 871 rule is punished by being obliged to furnish free labor to the Gov- 582 ernment. Now the wisdom of this regulation cannot always reason- 593 ably be doubted, because, if no strict measures were taken, nobody would go to school. But even children of marriageable age very often fall under this rule, as Apayaw is sparsely populated and the officials are anxious to present decent reports to their superiors; and so Isneg parents who allow their children to marry, face a very disagreeable dilemma: they have either to continue to send to school, in this way breaking up the home as they understand it, or to disobey and be liable to be taken into custody by policemen. It should be noted here that the law of the land recognizes such marriages as valid, but local officials sometimes have little regard for them. By this [797] time, however, the Isneg have found a way out, namely by becoming Christians and contracting marriage before the priest. Such marriages are always duly recorded of course, and so the young people escape forced attendance at school, and the parents avoid trouble with the Government. After all it is the Church that helps the Isneg to keep to his original traditions about the essentials of marriage and home life.

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The Isneg are not very good genealogists. It very often happens that a young man or an adult girl does not even know the name of one or more of their grandparents, especially if the latter died before their grandchild was born. When asked about such names, the Isneg who happens not to know them usually excuses his ignorance by saying: "*Akkáńko nasińán* (I did not see him or her)".

II. Education

It might be thought at first sight that the Isneg leads a very unhappy and miserable life, a life full of drudgery, a life devoid of all comforts and possessing only a minimum of pleasure. But when you come to consider him more intimately, to enter more deeply into the matter, it does not take long for you to be convinced of the contrary. Indeed, he has very few needs; it is comparatively easy, to quote Jerome K. Jerome in "Three Men in a Boat", for an Isneg "to have enough to eat and enough to wear, and a little more than enough to drink", and he has little work to do. Besides, look at the fine family life he is living: if he has a good diligent wife, and most Isneg women are like that, and plenty of children around, really his bliss exceeds all understanding, I mean the understanding of a Caucasian with his manifold cares and innumerable wants.

Again at first sight, it might seem that the children's education is reduced to the very minimum, or rather that the youngsters get no education at all, as everybody, not excepting the children, seems to shift for himself and to do as he pleases. One would be the more inclined to think so when comparing the Isneg with other primitive

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Formal education as we understand it, whether in schools or otherwise, through appointed teachers, is totally unknown to the Isneg, except of course instruction in Government public schools, which all Isneg children are compelled to attend; but the generality of the people are not the least convinced of the benefits, and much less of the necessity, of the sort of education they get there, especially with reference to girls.

I shall try now to trace as faithfully and as clearly as possible the process of education as followed by the Isneg, or, if such an expression seems to be too definite, the way in which Isneg boys and girls get the education they need.

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4. Actual Moral Behavior

And now I come to the consideration of Isneg practice as compared with theory. I always promise to be brief, but I rarely live up to my promises; so I shall see what I can do about it now.

The Isneg are far less fanatical in matters religious than, for instance, the Kankanay. Their religious practices are also comparatively few and far between, and the women usually play the most important rôle. A person who disobeys (*saúran*) any injunction of the shaman is not considered as being a traitor; he is mostly left to his own devices, although his disobedience is not exactly lauded as an act of virtue. Nevertheless not only the old women, but also the old men are usually very punctual in complying with all directions of the shaman and in observing whatever their religious convictions impose upon them. I purposely say "old" men and women, as among the younger generation, this respect for the heathen practices of their tribe seems to be on the wane. The influence of the schools which are supposed to be neutral, is a decided factor in this matter. The teachers, being Christians, have no sympathy with what they call the superstitions and ridiculous practices of the Isneg. Although perhaps they keep these sentiments to themselves during school hours, the sparseness of the population in a district where schoolboys and schoolgirls very often live far from the schoolhouse, forces many of the latter to remain in the immediate neighborhood of the teacher's house for five consecutive days every week, which necessarily allows the influence of the Christian schoolmaster to be very far-reaching.

Besides, Christians are entering Apayaw in large numbers every year, some to stay, others as transient guests. Since the country is practically pacified, nothing keeps them back any more, and so they also exert an undermining influence on all matters that relate to Isneg religion as such. This immigration coupled with Isneg temporary emigration, tends to teach the people the futility and even the error of their beliefs. Indeed an Isneg who enters the Iloko or Kagayan country, and stays there for a certain time, cannot fail to bring back a spirit of indifference with reference to his native religion.

It may be the place here to say a few words anent the relations of the Isneg with the Catholic missionary. In general it must be said that all over the Mountain Province the priest has usually met with the sympathy of the natives. During the Philippine Revolution against Spain, when Spanish friars were taken into custody by the

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Not so long ago I opened two dormitories for High School students, one for boys and one for girls. These young people came here directly from their villages, for the most part without having received as yet any serious Christian instruction. Since that time I have been inclined more than once to stop the whole affair; at any rate I shall certainly never again accept them indiscriminately. If I had to watch them strictly only on one side, it would not be so bad; but when even some of the girls have to be kept under close surveillance, the situation becomes almost intolerable. The dormitories had barely been started, when I had to expel one boy and one girl: it was not simply a matter of the boy writing love letters, with the girl answering them; but he openly proposed in writing to sleep with her, and the girl consented, also in writing, and gave a date for their future meeting.

Recently one of the girls from the girls' dormitory told me that, at the time she was still studying in her home village, a few of her classmates had absolutely refused to study the prayers (to prepare for baptism), and this for the following reason: "If we were Christians we should not be allowed any more to sleep with the boys at night [using each other's arm for a pillow; not: performing coitus], and this we cannot endure". The last part of this sentence is here put down textually, just as I heard it.

Coeducation which obtains in the public schools helps not a little to take away the small restraint that native Isneg teaching may have produced, and the example of persons who should show them better ways is sometimes far from being an aid to our frail young people on the arduous path of purity and chastity.

Nevertheless children born out of wedlock are the exception. How can we explain this? There is no question of contraceptive measures or voluntary abortion as far as I know, so the reason has to be found elsewhere. This state of affairs may be explained either by the practice of solitary vice or by marriage subsequent on the pregnancy of the girl in every case. Now the latter explanation is in my opinion more often concordant with the actual facts than the former. The boys go to *mamabdy* (court the girls) early in life, and they may have had sex relations very often before the dreaded result occurred. Besides Isneg boys and girls marry very early, and they are allowed to sleep together as soon as they are engaged, so that it is an easy matter to arrange everything in such a way as not to cause the child to be considered as born out of wedlock. Public education as it is in

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626 hardest labor will be gladly accepted in order to avoid shame, which
558 to an Isneg seems to be a kind of synthesis of all evils. That is also
578 the reason why ridicule is such a powerful weapon among the Isneg. For fear of ridicule a man will cover himself modestly when appearing in the presence of women, and miscreants will resort to ridicule in order to induce a young man to commit the worst crimes. No Isneg can stand ridicule.

626 Among the Isneg pride and ambition are only second to shame as incentives for being virtuous and conducting oneself honorably; nevertheless they are far from having the same power as shame, and parents will use them in a much smaller degree than the latter motive.
[461] The indolence of the Isneg has considerably lessened the power of ambition and pride as a motive for complying with the tenets of their moral code.

And so also praise and encouragement, although they rarely fail to help an Isneg youngster onward on the path of duty, are much less powerful than the all-feared ridicule. Isneg parents, however, are very well aware of the fact that a little occasional praise and a timely word of encouragement will rarely fail to be appreciated by the child, and that they will often do very much for the latter's betterment or the continuance of its right behavior.

Flattery is not so much in their line, and it is comparatively rarely resorted to in order to make a young man or woman behave decently. In the case of smaller children, however, it will often be used with the best of results.

The hope of a reward is not always as powerful as the fear of punishment, at least in the case of the little ones. But allow me to reserve the treatment of this subject for one of the following paragraphs.

3. Methods of Training

861 I shall not enter here into a large number of details with reference
867 to the methods used in the training of children, as very much has been said already in my lengthy treatment of the moral code. I shall
[881] go over the whole matter rather quickly, the more so as there is no question of initiation or puberty rites among the Isneg.

[602] Although elders, whosoever they be, may occasionally take a hand in the training of children, nevertheless this task devolves principally on the parents, and to a certain extent also on the grandparents. The tribe or community as such has little or nothing to do with the moral upbringing of the younger members of any given settlement.

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4. *Actual Moral Behavior*

And now I come to the consideration of Isneg practice as compared with theory. I always promise to be brief, but I rarely live up to my promises; so I shall see what I can do about it now.

The Isneg are far less fanatical in matters religious than, for instance, the Kankanay. Their religious practices are also comparatively few and far between, and the women usually play the most important rôle. A person who disobeys (*saáran*) any injunction of the shaman is not considered as being a traitor; he is mostly left to his own devices, although his disobedience is not exactly lauded as an act of virtue. Nevertheless not only the old women, but also the old men are usually very punctual in complying with all directions of the shaman and in observing whatever their religious convictions impose upon them. I purposely say "old" men and women, as among the younger generation, this respect for the heathen practices of their tribe seems to be on the wane. The influence of the schools which are supposed to be neutral, is a decided factor in this matter. The teachers, being Christians, have no sympathy with what they call the superstitions and ridiculous practices of the Isneg. Although perhaps they keep these sentiments to themselves during school hours, the sparseness of the population in a district where schoolboys and schoolgirls very often live far from the schoolhouse, forces many of the latter to remain in the immediate neighborhood of the teacher's house for five consecutive days every week, which necessarily allows the influence of the Christian schoolmaster to be very far-reaching.

Besides, Christians are entering Apayaw in large numbers every year, some to stay, others as transient guests. Since the country is practically pacified, nothing keeps them back any more, and so they also exert an undermining influence on all matters that relate to Isneg religion as such. This immigration coupled with Isneg temporary emigration, tends to teach the people the futility and even the error of their beliefs. Indeed an Isneg who enters the Iloko or Kagayan country, and stays there for a certain time, cannot fail to bring back a spirit of indifference with reference to his native religion.

It may be the place here to say a few words anent the relations of the Isneg with the Catholic missionary. In general it must be said that all over the Mountain Province the priest has usually met with the sympathy of the natives. During the Philippine Revolution against Spain, when Spanish friars were taken into custody by the

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In short, Isneg religious and magical practices are still firmly adhered to by the generality of old men and women, while with the younger set they tend to be considered as mere superstitions, that are observed more through fear than through conviction, just as among the Christian Iloko, many remnants of the old native religion are still to be found scattered all over the country in the form of superstitious practices. There can be no doubt about the fact that in Apayaw the way is open for the Christian religion to supplant the old native one: the former is considered as a step forward by almost every Isneg, and practically nobody objects to the young people embracing it; in fact, most of the old people themselves insist on having their children baptized and even instructed in the doctrine of the Christians.

The duty of headhunting has perforce to fall into desuetude, as the vigilance of the authorities prevents it from being practised, at least on a large scale. With reference to isolated cases, which do not fail at times to appear sporadically, the guilty parties rarely escape due punishment, as the Isneg live too much in very small scattered communities to be able to hide them successfully. The older people still foster the desire of freedom in their hearts of course, but the younger generation will little by little forget all about it, and the usual ceremonies, although persevering in the form of superstitions, will very soon have lost their significance. Enough already has been said about this, and it is needless to repeat it all over again.

In the question of obedience and respect due to parents and elders, the Isneg usually conform with their teaching on the subject, and the same may be said with reference to loyalty either to friends or to people who are not at enmity with them. Downright disobedience is really very rare, even in the case of grown-up boys and girls, and respect for older people perseveres all through life. A few isolated cases may be encountered occasionally, but they are certainly the exception. Actually of course the same loyalty cannot always be observed as before, namely participation in headhunting expeditions and so on, and now and then a few members of the younger generation will even stand by the Government against malefactors of their own people; but in general it may be said that respect for the law has not yet attained such an ascendency as to cause an Isneg to be a traitor to his friends.

The practice of revenge has also necessarily suffered an important transformation. The duty of revenge remains intact though, and it

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587 888 887 171 Among the Isneg, widowers rarely remain in that state for any length of time, and they never fail to find somebody to share their home for the rest of their days. The same may be said in general with reference to young widows. An elderly widow, on the contrary, is not always so anxious to contract again the bonds of matrimony, but she will not be the less respected for that. Among the Bontok Igorot, a miserable hut, much poorer even than their ordinary dwellings, is built apart from the rest for a childless old widow, and there she lives practically abandoned by everybody. Such things do not happen in the Isneg country: the old women never fail to find somebody who is willing to give them shelter; they are as much respected as anybody else, and if they happen to be shamanesses, even more than the rest. Divorced persons are in the same condition as widows and widowers as far as the question of remarriage is concerned.

765 587 Widows and widowers, or polygamous husbands who mourn the death of one of their wives, are forbidden to remarry as long as they wear their mourning weeds, and it is only after the ceremony connected with their change of garments that they are again free in this respect.

3. *Divorce*

586 684 Much has been said already about questions related to divorce, and I shall not repeat it here. The statement has also been made and the evidence therefor given that, among the Isneg, the absence of children is not a reason for divorce, while the contrary is true with almost all other natives of the Mountain Province, among whom the lack of children is the chief reason for permanent separation with subsequent freedom to marry somebody else.

Among the Isneg the general rule is that people marry and live together maritally until the end of their days; nevertheless divorce is far from being infrequent. The following are the most important reasons for dissolution of the marriage relation:

By the husband:

586 684 837 1. Adultery of the woman. Among the Isneg an unfaithful wife is not readily forgiven, and a young husband rarely fails to watch his wife if he has some solid ground for suspecting her fidelity.

586 684 461 2. Habitual laziness. At the time of his marriage, an Isneg man is far from expecting to have to do most of the work himself, as the division of labor is ruled by custom, and the share of the women is very considerable, as has been stated in the preceding pages. Be-

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593 also with those of your grandparents, of your elder brothers and sisters,
577 and so forth; in short, you should obey any relative of yours who
576 happens to be older than you are. Have you ever heard of a dutiful Isneg child disregarding even the smallest wishes of his parents and elder relatives? Would it not be utter presumption on your part to prefer your own will to that of your elders? If you have relatives around that are younger than you are, brothers, sisters, nephews, nieces, cousins, and so on, then you also have a right to tell them what you want, and you are perfectly right in shifting the heaviest burdens upon their shoulders; but your own elders, listen to them. Obey your elders, and make younger people obey you, that is the Isneg law."

593 When going from Butaw to Ilocos in 1926, I personally assisted at
577 such a shifting of the burden to a younger one's shoulders, which was
576 a practical fulfilment of Isneg law and a very literal one at that. It
888 happened in the case of old *Balúkat*, who together with his son, already a married man, accompanied me on that journey and carried my baggage. Before we started, I had divided the whole load into two almost equal parts, in order to avoid all altercations and lest we suffer any unnecessary delay. But, before we left Butaw, *Balúkat* took away a generous portion of his own share and shifted it to that of his son. Later on, probably convinced that his own package was still a little heavy, he again took off a few articles and solemnly transferred them to the load of his son. On both occasions *Balúkat* gave us the reason for his conduct: the other man was his son and was still young and strong, while he himself was fast becoming old; and again, on both occasions, the younger man complied with the utmost submission and without showing the smallest sign of vexation, taking everything for granted and never losing the smile on his face.

"You should not only obey your parents, but also respect them. Now, with reference to this latter duty, remember that its scope is much wider than that of simple obedience. Everybody who is older than you deserves your respect, and so you owe it not only to your own relatives, but also to all persons who may be considered as your elders, even though they be not in the least related to you. Would it not be brazen effrontery on your part to be at all disrespectful to an old man or an old woman? It is true that sometimes they have certain whims that may perhaps look ridiculous to you, but although you should be inclined to laugh at their ravings, never appear to be doing so. If an older man or woman scold you, be careful never to raise your voice against him, but keep quiet, or if possible excuse

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yourself as best you can. Any kind of excuse will do in order to escape a thrashing or a severe scolding, provided it proves acceptable; but take care not to be caught lying: this could but add to the latter's resentment. To get out of a bad predicament a little deceit is not forbidden, but not everybody can use it with good results; so be careful about it".

Lately, when paying a visit to *Basílig* at Pansian, his daughters set the table (in the Isneg way, of course) for him, and partook of the food only after their father had finished his own meal, although this is not required by custom.

In general the Isneg have a high regard for their parents and elders, although in our eyes their conduct may sometimes seem to be lacking in outward signs of respect. Their standard of etiquette and politeness is not exactly the same as our own. An Isneg child calls its parents "father" and "mother", and a usual title of respect for aged people is *kakáy*, but for the rest it is not very demonstrative.

So, when an Isneg mother recently came to visit her son at my house, the other boys repeatedly told him that his mother was there, but he did not move in the least: the old woman had to go and look for him herself somewhere around the house. Nevertheless that boy had asked me on a former occasion to be allowed to stop going to school in order to help his widowed mother with the wages he would be able to earn that way.

To be convinced that Isneg children respect their elders, although most all outward signs common to our own code are usually absent, it is sufficient to observe their behavior and that of their elders, whenever something untoward has happened. Isneg children look like angels, if you compare their attitude and whole demeanor with that of older men and women, who shout and gesticulate and allow the whole neighborhood to know what happened, without having to go out of its way to listen to the conversation. Boys and girls usually keep quiet when their parents are angry, while in the case of older people it is a question of proving who has the loudest voice, the one that carries the farthest: among the Isneg, the biggest shouter usually gains the victory.

An unmannerly person is called *toxároń*; this epithet, however, is only applied as far as I know, to a person who drinks directly from the *urád*, a bamboo that is used for fetching water, instead of using a cup.

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of the girl's parents, or if he is a married man, both husband and wife remain where they are after the *lablabág* ceremony, namely in the house of the husband or in that of his parents.

C. FAMILY LIFE

It is not rare to find two or more Isneg families living in one and the same house, as these are usually very roomy. And so it may take a long time before any of the married sons attempt to live elsewhere. This is also a boon to the old people, of course, as in this way they always find a home for their old age with one of their married children.

From now on the young wife will have little time for pleasure, and, although it would be wrong to call her a slave, in our eyes at least she will be leading the life of a drudge. She will be the first to begin work and the last to finish it. Every day she will have to prepare the meals and to clean the dishes; most of her mornings, if not her entire days, will be passed in the field; and when coming back home in the afternoon, she will have to comply with her usual household duties: pound the rice or grind the corn, and feed the hogs. Most of the time she will have to nurse a baby while attending to her other work, not that the little ones come in such quick succession, as usually at least a year and a half elapses between the birth of two children, and very often one or more of them die in infancy, but because the time of nursing is not confined to the first year of her babe: even children two and three years old may be found occasionally partaking of their mother's milk and using it as a supplementary food.

The husband on the contrary will find his married life to be very little different from what he had been used to before. His life may perhaps even appear lighter to him now than it was before he contracted marriage, as he will be mostly his own master, and he will not pass so many sleepless nights as when, as a young man, he was assiduously courting the girls, a custom that plays havoc with the health of a good many Isneg boys.

1. Domestic Relationships

The Isneg husband is the head of the family, and ultimate decisions are always taken by him; nevertheless the woman is no unimportant entity in the government of the house. An Isneg man rarely transacts any important business without the consent of the women folk, and he is usually humble and obedient at the smallest hint of his

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